

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**THE EXPERIENCE OF SEXUAL COERCION AMONG  
YOUNG WOMEN IN CENTRAL PROVINCE, KENYA**

ONE VOLUME

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**ABSTRACT**

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Research on adolescents in the developing world is a fairly new field and has focused, somewhat narrowly, on the timing of sexual initiation, fertility, and family planning. Until recently, little attention has been paid to the context of sexual relations for young people. Scattered research in sub-Saharan Africa has suggested that a considerable proportion of young women have experienced non-consensual sex. Yet, these studies are often drawn from selective samples and the questions on coercion are ambiguously phrased.

This study combines quantitative and qualitative data in exploring the experience of sexual coercion among young women in Central Province, Kenya. A population-based survey was conducted among over 2,700 young men and women aged 10 to 26 in Central Province, Kenya, as well as 62 in-depth interviews. In all, 11 percent of sexually experienced young women had experienced coerced sex. Most girls were coerced by intimate partners, either boyfriends or husbands. Coerced girls experienced sexual initiation at significantly younger ages than girls who had not experienced coercion and had partners who were considerably older than themselves, compared to non-coerced girls. Multivariate analysis revealed that girls whose mothers have at least some secondary education and girls who have worked for pay are significantly less likely to have experienced coercion than those who have mothers with low education or those who have never worked for pay. Among sexually experienced girls, the experience of coercion is associated with a greater number of sex partners and increased experience of sexually transmitted infections. Girls interviewed during the in-depth interviews described the extent to which boys put them under pressure to have sex and the enormous regret and guilt they feel after having sex that is unwanted or coerced.

The study provides powerful implications for adolescent reproductive health programmes in sub-Saharan Africa. Current programmatic content largely assumes that sex that young people have is consensual and that young women should 'just say no' to sex. This study revealed that girls are often simply not in a position to refuse sex, a fact that programmes for young people do not adequately address. Further, the study underscores the potential benefits of extending development programmes to young women, including programmes to increase levels of education and programmes that promote positive and safe livelihoods.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>i.</b>
<b>TABLES AND FIGURES</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 History of the Kikuyus in Kenya	6
2.2 Traditional Patterns of adolescent sexual activity among Kikuyus	7
2.3 Adolescent sexual activity in sub-Saharan Africa	10
2.4 Sexual coercion	22
2.5 Discussion	36
<b>CHAPTER THREE: SURVEY RESEARCH METHODS</b>	<b>40</b>
3.1 Context of the research project	40
3.2 Target population and study area	42
3.3 Sample size and sampling	45
3.4 Questionnaires	48
3.5 Measurement of sexual coercion	51
3.6 Training of interviewers, fieldwork, and data entry	54
3.7 Data analysis	55
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA QUALITY, SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, AND DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS</b>	<b>63</b>
4.1 Response rate of the survey	64
4.2 Quality of age reporting	69
4.3 Sample characteristics	72
4.4 Adolescent transitions: Education, work, marriage and parenthood	77
4.5 Adolescent transitions: sexual activity	91
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: COERCED SEX: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS</b>	<b>101</b>
5.1 Extent and circumstances of coerced sex	101
5.2 Comparing victims of coercion with never-coerced young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model	110
5.3 Comparing victims of coercion with never-coerced sexually experienced young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model	121
5.4 Comparing married victims of coercion with never-coerced, married young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model	133
5.5 Discussion	138

<b>CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS</b>	<b>143</b>
6.1 Context of the research	144
6.2 Interview guides	144
6.3 Training of interviewers and data collection	145
6.4 Key informants	146
6.5 Data analysis	148
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS FROM THE QUALITATIVE STUDY</b>	<b>150</b>
7.1 Preferences for partners	150
7.2 The context of sexual relations	154
7.3 Reasons for abstinence	157
7.4 Negotiation of romantic relationships and sex	160
7.5 Perceptions of sexual activity	170
7.6 Discussion	173
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>176</b>
8.1 Summary of results	177
8.2 Limitations of the research	181
8.3 Policy and program implications	183
8.4 Priorities for future research	188
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEWER ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE	189
APPENDIX TWO: SELF ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE	239
APPENDIX THREE: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE	243
APPENDIX FOUR: SPEARMAN'S RHO CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS	244
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>247</b>

## TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2.1	Studies of adolescent sexual activity in sub-Saharan Africa	15
Table 2.2	Studies of sexual coercion	35
Table 3.1	Population characteristics of four experimental sub-locations, Nyeri District	44
Table 3.2	Wantedness and outcome of sexual proposition involving money or gifts	53
Table 3.3	Independent variables used in investigating sexual coercion	60
Table 4.1	Eligible households and adolescents, Nyeri Municipality	65
Table 4.2	Response rate of the survey, by sex of the respondent	66
Table 4.3	Response rate of the survey, by district	68
Table 4.4	Sample characteristics, by sex	73
Table 4.5	Sample characteristics, by municipality	76
Table 4.6	Main reason for school leaving, by sex	81
Table 4.7	Students' views on their school	82
Table 4.8	Characteristics that young people look for in a husband or wife	85
Table 4.9	Characteristics of young people's marriages, by sex	87
Table 4.10	Control over sex within marriage, by sex	88
Table 4.11	Adolescents' views on their village	90
Table 4.12	Adolescent mobility, by sex	91
Table 4.13	Age differences with first sexual partner, by sex	93
Table 4.14	Number of lifetime sex partners, by sex	94
Table 4.15	Timing of last sexual intercourse by sex and marital status	94
Table 4.16	'Wantedness' of sex among those that had and did not have sex	95
Table 4.17	Condom use among sexually experienced adolescents, by sex	96
Table 4.18	Comparison of responses on consistent condom use	97
Table 4.19	Young people's rating of aspects of RH services, by sex	99
Table 5.1	Percentage of all young women reporting coerced sex, by current age, and cumulative age at first coercion among coerced girls	102
Table 5.2	Percentage of girls aged 10 to 26 experiencing coerced sex, by condition under which sex took place	103

Table 5.3	Girls aged 10 to 26 who have experienced coerced sex, by selected characteristics of the experience (n=100)	105
Table 5.4	Context of experience, by type of coercion experienced	107
Table 5.5	Comparison of girls aged 10 to 26 who have experienced coerced sex, with those who have not (n=1619)	111
Table 5.6	Independent variables, measurement and type of variable	113
Table 5.7	Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for ten fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time to sexual coercion	118
Table 5.8	Hazard model predicting time to coercion among girls aged 10 to 26	119
Table 5.9	Age at first sex for coerced and non-coerced girls	122
Table 5.10	Relationship with first sexual partner, for coerced and non-coerced girls	122
Table 5.11	Age difference with first sexual partner, for coerced and non-coerced girls	123
Table 5.12	Characteristics of sexually experienced girls, by coercion experience	124
Table 5.13	Independent variables, measurement and type of variable	127
Table 5.14	Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for eleven fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time to coercion	129
Table 5.15	Hazard model comparing time to coercion among sexually experienced young women aged 10 to 26	131
Table 5.16	Characteristics of married young women, by coercion experience	134
Table 5.17	Independent variables, measurement and type of variable	136
Table 5.18	Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for four fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time to marital sexual coercion	137
Table 5.19	Hazard model comparing time to marital coercion among married young women aged 10 to 26	137
Table 6.1	Characteristics of key informants, by District	148

Figure 2.1	Median Age at first sex, first marriage, and first birth among Kenyan women aged 25 to 49	12
Figure 2.2	Median age at first sex, first marriage and first birth among women in Central Province aged 25 to 49	12
Figure 2.3	Percentage of respondents who have had sexual intercourse by age 18, by age cohort and sex	20
Figure 2.4	Cumulative proportion of unmarried Nyeri girls reporting sexual activity, by method of questionnaire administration	31
Figure 2.5	Cumulative proportion of unmarried Nyeri boys reporting sexual activity, by method of questionnaire administration	31
Figure 3.1	Explanatory framework for sexual coercion	58
Figure 4.1	Age distribution of respondents (n=2712)	70
Figure 4.2	Distribution of reported age at first sex, by sex (n=2712)	71
Figure 4.3	School, marital and working status of young people, aged 10 - 26	78
Figure 4.4	Cumulative proportion of adolescents enrolled in school, by age and sex	80
Figure 4.5	Cumulative proportion of young people working for pay, by age and sex	83
Figure 4.6	Cumulative proportion of young people who are married, by age and sex	86
Figure 4.7	Cumulative proportion getting pregnant or causing a pregnancy, by age and sex	89
Figure 4.8	Cumulative proportion of young people having sex, by age and sex	92
Figure 5.1	Frequency distribution of age at first coercion (n=100)	114
Figure 5.2	Survival function for coerced sex (n=1233)	115
Figure 5.3	Hazard function for coerced sex (n=1233)	116
Figure 5.4	Summary of results from multivariate analysis	140

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Patterns of adolescent sexual behaviour and fertility are increasingly seen as critical areas for public health attention, particularly in the developing world. This results from the recognition that adolescents constitute significant proportions of countries' populations; that adolescents are disproportionately suffering from negative consequences of unprotected sex such as unwanted pregnancy, illegal and unsafe abortions, and sexually transmitted infections; and that a considerable proportion of new HIV infections are among this age group. In Africa, adolescence is a relatively new phenomenon, where, traditionally, young people moved directly from the child status to the status of adult. Expansion of education, earlier onset of puberty, and delays in marriage have combined to create a social category – the adolescent - that is relatively new to the continent. For young people, adolescence is a period of transition, when they prepare for adult roles and responsibilities. It is also a time of enormous change and transition. During this time their bodies mature, they discover their sexuality, seek independence, and leave school; many join the workforce, bear children and get married.

The earliest studies of young people's sexual behaviour in sub-Saharan Africa focused narrowly on sexual behaviour, family planning, and fertility. These studies sought to understand when young people initiate sexual intercourse, whether they use family planning, and the extent to which they get pregnant. These early studies found that many African adolescents initiate sex at early ages, much of the sex that adolescents have is unprotected, and that they are lacking in knowledge regarding their own bodies, reproduction, reproductive risks, and family planning. What these studies lacked is an understanding of the environment in which adolescents live and the context of sexual relations. More recently, adolescent sexual behaviour studies have examined the context and meanings of young people's sex. These studies, mostly drawing from qualitative data, have highlighted that the experience of early sex is very different for African girls compared to boys, and that more than just peer pressure plays a role in young people's decision to have sex. What is distinct about

the studies of African adolescents is that various forms of coercion and power differentials seem to play an integral role in sexual initiation and subsequent sex. This is especially true for girls. Sex with men and boys who are considerably older than themselves, and sex that results from pressure or force seems to be a fairly common occurrence for the African girl.

Programmes targeted at adolescents in Africa rarely take the context of sexual activity into account. Further, they often disregard the particular circumstances of boys compared to girls. Currently, programmatic messages for young people emphasize the risky nature of early and unprotected sex, on the assumption that if one is aware of risks, one will avoid sex. Yet, programs do not adequately acknowledge that, for many girls, the sex that they experience is not wanted and not consensual. In effect, this ‘just say no’ approach to adolescent programming does not take into account the fact that many girls do not have a say in whether or not they have sex. Global public health attention is increasingly being paid to gender-based violence, including sexual coercion. At the same time, there has been little examination of young women’s experiences of sexual coercion in the developing world.

**The main aim of the study is to expand our understanding of the nature of sex for adolescent girls in Kenya, especially the extent to which, and context within which coerced sex takes place.** Specifically, the key objectives are:

- Highlight the similarities and differences between boys’ and girls’ experiences during the transition to adulthood. This includes the timing of significant milestones including schooling, work, marriage, and parenthood.
- Explore the extent of sexual coercion among adolescent girls, including the timing of coercion and who was the perpetrator of coercion.
- Identify factors that are associated with the experience of coercion, including individual and familial factors, that might increase girls’ vulnerability to being coerced.

- Explore the experience and perceptions of sexual negotiation, including coercion, from the point of view of young people themselves, both girls and boys alike.
- Suggest possible directions for adolescent programming and future research, based on the findings of the research.

The study utilizes both qualitative and quantitative data that have been collected as part of a stream of work on non-consensual sex. A large-scale, population-based survey of adolescents was conducted in early 2001 among married and unmarried adolescent boys and girls aged 10 to 26 in Central Province Kenya, where the Kikuyu ethnic group dominates. This survey is part of a larger intervention research project to measure the impact of a culturally consistent community- and private sector-based reproductive health intervention on adolescents in the project area. For the descriptive analysis on adolescent transitions, boys' experiences will be contrasted with girls', drawing on data from both the married and unmarried. For sections focusing on explaining sexual coercion, data analysis will concentrate on the experiences of female respondents.

Using qualitative data from in-depth interviews with 62 young people, I will examine the contexts and meanings of sexual negotiation and coercive sex from young people's point of view. The manner in which sex is negotiated from boys' and girls' points of view will be explored, resulting in a typology of ways in which young people end up having sex. I will examine the context within which coercion takes place and adolescents' reaction to the experience of either coercing sex, or being coerced.

The study is conducted among a predominantly Kikuyu population in Central Province, Kenya. In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I will place the Kikuyu into cultural context, reviewing traditional passages into adulthood, courtship and marriage, as well as the changing context of sexual behaviour for adolescents. This chapter will also review existing literature on sexual behaviour among adolescents in Africa as

well as the global literature on sexual coercion. Chapter 3 gives an explanation of the research methods used in the quantitative study including the study area, questionnaire development and measurement of coercion, the sample size and sampling procedures, the data collection procedures, and the analysis. Chapter 4 discusses the response rate of the survey and other data quality issues, as well as the sample characteristics. I will also describe the timing and nature of adolescent transitions to adulthood including school attendance and school leaving, entry into the work world, entry into marriage, and parenthood. The earliest sexual experiences are also examined, reviewing the timing of sexual initiation for boys and girls, who their partners are, and the extent of condom use during sexual relations. This descriptive analysis highlights differences in the adolescent experiences of boys compared to girls. Chapter 5 is an in-depth analysis exploring the experience of coerced sex among young women in the sample. Descriptive analysis of coerced sex will be presented after which three levels of comparisons will be made: 1) comparing coerced girls with all young women aged 10 to 26; 2) comparing coerced girls with all sexually experienced young women; and 3) comparing young women coerced within marriage to all married young women. Hazard models will be used to predict time-to-coercion using a number of independent variables collected in the survey.

Chapter 6 introduces the aspect of the study drawing from qualitative data. In this chapter, I describe the methodology used to collect the qualitative data, the recruitment of respondents, development of discussion guides, data collection and analysis. The following chapter, Chapter 7, explores girls' and boys' experiences and perceptions of sexual negotiation. A typology of sexual negotiation will be built ranging from consensual sex, to sex that is coerced. Coercive sex will be disaggregated into types of coercion, as described by young people. This chapter will focus again on the similarities and differences between boys' and girls' perceptions of sex, including their perceptions of coerced sex. In Chapter 8, I summarize the findings of the research. Some of the study limitations will also be highlighted. Based on the findings, recommendations will be made regarding the direction of

future research, as well as implications for programmes targeting adolescent boys and girls on the continent.

This study is part of a larger adolescent intervention research study funded by The Rockefeller Foundation. The qualitative study was funded by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). At the Population Council, I was lead researcher on the studies, designing all research instruments, conducting analysis of data, and writing up results. Colleagues at the Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya provided comments on draft research instruments as well as some of the analysis. Population Council colleagues also commented on earlier versions of some of the chapters. The work on this thesis was done by me, during the period for which I was registered as a postgraduate student at the University of Southampton.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

The principle aims for this chapter are to set the data for this study in its cultural context, to review the state of our understanding of adolescent sexual behaviour in Africa, and to review what is known about sexual coercion. In doing so, I will identify gaps in the understanding of adolescent sexual behaviour as well as weaknesses in the research of sexual coercion.

Data for this thesis were drawn from a predominantly Kikuyu area in Kenya. First, I review the literature on the customs of the Kikuyu of Kenya, with particular emphasis on puberty rites and marriage customs. Following this, the literature on young people's sexuality and sexual behaviour are reviewed. As studies of the Kikuyu, specifically, are limited, I will focus on studies conducted among young people in sub-Saharan Africa. Levels of premarital sexual activity will be examined along with the context and motivations for young people initiating sex. Given the enormous changes in adolescent sexual behaviour, I will review various authors' opinions on the changes in young people's patterns of sex, focusing on authors that examine changes taking place in Kenya. It will be suggested that sexual coercion is a new, and perhaps ignored, phenomenon in East and Southern Africa.

Sexual coercion will be defined and existing literature reviewed, both from Western contexts and from the African context. Measurement issues will be examined, both in terms of measuring premarital sex and in terms of defining and measuring coercion. Finally, I will highlight the gaps in the sexual behaviour and coercion literature, as well as methodological weaknesses in previous studies.

### **2.1. History of Kikuyus in Kenya**

Kikuyus are a Bantu-speaking group, arriving in Kenya around 1500 and eventually making their way to Central Highlands by 1880, from the Coastal region of Kenya (Worthman and Whiting, 1987; Muriuki, 1974). From the Central Highland region,

they attempted to migrate southward towards what is now Nairobi, but this movement was eventually halted by resistance from the Masai. The Kikuyu ethnic group is the largest group in Kenya, numbering 4.5 million and comprising 21 percent of the population (Kenya Population Census, 1989). Traditionally, the Kikuyu inhabit the Central Highland region of Kenya, including Nyeri, Kiambu, Murang'a, and Kirinyaga Districts, located in Central Province. The Kikuyu are agriculturalists, growing maize, beans, and, more recently, cash crops such as tea and coffee. Recently, population and land pressure has resulted in the Kikuyu migrating to other areas of Kenya, including the Rift Valley area, in the central part of the country, where land is more readily available. About one third of Kikuyus live outside what is traditionally considered their homeland (Muriuki, 1974).

According to Kikuyu mythology, the Kikuyu originated from Kere-Nyaga (Mount Kenya), when the founder of the tribe, Gikuyu, was taken to the top of the mountain by Mogai, the Divider of the Universe. Here, Mogai told Gikuyu to descend the mountain and establish a homestead near a group of fig trees. When Mogai descended, he found his wife Moombi, the mother of the Kikuyu tribe (Kenyatta, 1938). Gikuyu and Moombi had nine daughters whose ancestors comprise the nine clans of the Kikuyu.

## **2.2. Traditional patterns of adolescent sexual activity among Kikuyus**

### ***2.2.1. Passage into adulthood***

Traditionally, Kikuyu boys and girls could only have sex after undergoing a socially recognized right of passage into adulthood, which included circumcision. Having sex before one was circumcised – for both boys and girls - was considered disgraceful and marriage for the uncircumcised was out of the question. Typically, girls were circumcised between the ages of ten and fourteen, and boys, fifteen to eighteen (Cagnolo, 1933; Mugo, 1982). Circumcision was carried out as part of a series of elaborate ceremonies on groups of boys and girls of the same age set (*riika*). While initiation ceremonies were held every year for smaller groups of girls, boys were only

initiated during large *riika* initiations, every four and a half years (Leakey, 1977; Worthman and Whiting, 1987). During this time, the initiates had a *mutiri* (for boys) or *atiri* (for girls), meaning counsellor, that was appointed by their parents to counsel them on sexual behaviour as well as to nurse the wounds of the circumcision (Alhberg, 1996). The *mutiri / atiri* was an adult, sometimes an aunt or uncle, identified as someone parents found respectable and trustworthy. Among the Kikuyu, it is taboo for parents to talk to their own sons or daughters about sexual matters (Worthman and Whiting, 1987).

Following circumcision, boys were expected to train as warriors, defend Kikuyu territory and scout new land for conquest. Girls were expected to help their mothers in domestic duties and gardening. For girls, the period of maidenhood – between the circumcision and marriage was about four to six years (Worthman and Whiting, 1987). For boys, bachelorhood lasted about eight to ten years.

### 2.2.2. Courtship

Kikuyu marriages were patri-local and exogamous, meaning that girls married outside their own hamlet and their own clan, living with the husband's family. Therefore, courtship consisted of relations between age sets of different hamlets, rather than relations between individuals. Maidens and bachelors engaged in courtship at dances and feasts organized for this purpose. During these events, young men would aim to impress young women through dance, after which the young woman would select a partner with whom she would spend the rest of the evening. Typically, partners would retire to one communal hut and engage in a practice called *ombani na ngweko* (platonic love and fondling). *Ngweko*, or non-penetrative sex, involves girls tying leather skirts and aprons around their waists and between the legs to cover the genital area. Sexual expression was allowed between partners but touching the genital area was strictly forbidden (Kenya, 1938; Ahlburg, 1996; Leakey, 1977). Girls were warned that if, during *ngweko* events, a partner tried to touch her pubic apron or have full intercourse with her, she should have nothing to do with that boy. The communal nature of the *ngweko* event also gave added security that the rules of *ngweko* would



be followed. If a boy persisted in attempting intercourse, the girl was told to tell of the boy's digressions to other girls and warriors, resulting in a public shame for the boy and his family (Leakey, 1977).

Even once a boy is circumcised, access to courting girls and *ngweko* is not immediate. After undergoing circumcision, boys' access to girls is governed by elder men and senior warriors. A series of levies were charged to the *riika* who were circumcised together, mostly in terms of goats, in order for boys to have access to social events with girls and to their cooking (Leakey, 1977; Cagnolo, 1933). On average, boys in a *riika* had to wait over one year before they were allowed to attend dances, and even then, they were required to dance at a distance from the others (Leakey, 1977). As a result, it was senior warriors, not the novice warriors, who controlled access to younger, newly initiated girls. On average, senior warriors controlled access to newly initiated, unmarried girls for nine years – the time between completion of one regiment group and commencement of another (Leakey, 1977). This practice reinforced the Kikuyu practice of marriage across age sets where typically younger women married men who were older than themselves, in the *riika* that preceded their own (Worthman and Whiting, 1987).

### 2.2.3. Premarital pregnancy

Still, premarital pregnancy was not unheard of. Often, couples would engage in premarital intercourse if marriage negotiations were underway. If a pregnancy did occur, it usually hastened completion of the marriage process and was not considered out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Where the responsible male did not marry the girl he made pregnant, his family was charged a heavy fine. Even where the man responsible for the pregnancy refused marriage, the unwed mother would not remain unwed for long, because of the practice of polygamy and the value placed on women's contribution to the household in terms of labour (Worthman and Whiting, 1987).

#### 2.2.4. Marriage

During *ngweko* events, young women, not young men, selected the partner with whom she would be intimate. A girl was expected to partner with a variety of young men, rather than ally herself to any one young man that she favoured (Kenyatta, 1938; Worthman and Whiting, 1987). In fact, it was considered “unsociable” for a girl to select the same partner repeatedly at an *ngweko* event. This practice allowed unmarried young people to become acquainted with several potential marriage partners, without the threat of premarital or unwanted pregnancy. Kikuyu marriages were not arranged, but boys and girls were free to select their mate, as long as that mate was from the appropriate clan and age grade. When a boy was interested marrying a girl, he visited the girl’s homestead with several of his agetates and asked the girl – not her parents – if he could be “adopted” in her homestead (Kenyatta, 1938) or, alternatively, for snuff (Mugo, 1982). Consent from the girl essentially started the process of marriage, including payment of dowry to the girl’s family (Kenyatta, 1938). As marriage partners were required to be from different age sets, girls were typically five to ten years younger than their husbands. The ideal qualities in husbands and wives were diligence in work, rather than physical beauty (Cagnolo, 1939; Mugo, 1982). Family background and wealth was reportedly not important, as long as both parties were hardworking (Mugo, 1982).

### **2.3. Adolescent sexual activity in sub-Saharan Africa**

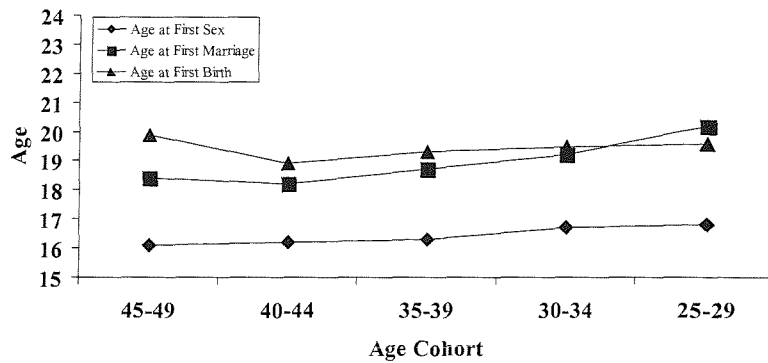
Adolescent sexual and reproductive behaviour appears to be changing drastically in sub-Saharan Africa generally, in Kenya, and among the Kikuyu. While the onset of puberty is occurring at earlier and earlier ages, a far greater proportion of girls and boys in sub-Saharan Africa have educational and employment opportunities than in the past (Adegoke, 2001). This has created a widening of the time period during which young women are capable of reproducing but not considered eligible for marriage (Gyepi-Garbrah, 1985, Mensch and Lloyd, 1998).

### 2.3.1. Timing of sex, marriage, and first birth

Indeed, several authors describe changes in adolescent sexual behaviour as the biggest change in family life of the Kikuyu (Were, 1986) – or among Kenyans, generally (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1997) - in the past 100 years. Often, these changes are expressed in terms of premarital births or premarital sexual intercourse. During recent decades, increases in premarital births in Kenya are particularly striking (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993). Data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) reveal that 27 percent of Kenyan women aged 20 to 24 experience a premarital birth by age 20, while only 14 percent of their older counterparts aged 35 to 39 had the same experience (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993). In fact, Kenya is one of three African countries to have experienced a cross-over between age at first marriage and age at first birth; whereas thirty years ago, age at first marriage preceded age at first birth by about six months, now, mean age at first birth *precedes* mean age at marriage (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993).

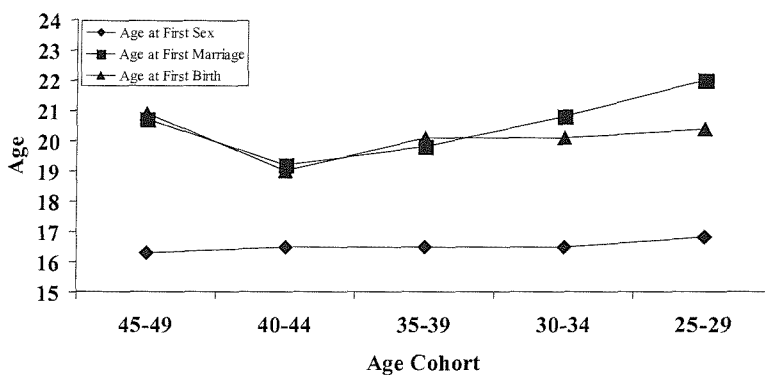
What these statistics do not reflect is whether changes have been taking place in the timing of sexual initiation, the timing of marriage, or both. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 present data from the 1998 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, comparing the reported median age at first sex, first marriage, and first birth, between different cohorts of women, for Kenya generally (Figure 2.1) and for Central Province specifically (Figure 2.2) (NCPD, 1998). It should be noted that retrospective reporting of sexual initiation, age at first birth, and age at first marriage might be subject to biases that vary between age cohorts. For example, older women might more truthfully report sexual initiation compared to younger women or, alternatively, their self-reports might be subject to errors due to the passage of time.

Figure 2.1: Median age at first sex, first marriage and first birth among Kenyan women aged 25 to 49



Source, NCPD, 1998

Figure 2.2: Median age at first sex, first marriage and first birth among women in Central Province, aged 25 to 49



Source, NCPD, 1998

Age at first sex, among successive cohorts of women, appears to have remained quite stable. Women who are currently older, aged 45 to 49, report first sexual intercourse, on average, at age 16, while younger women, aged 25 to 29, report having first had

sex just below the age of 17 years, on average. Similarly age at first birth has been relatively stable; Central Province girls experienced a first birth between the ages of 19.0 and 20.4 years.

What seems to have changed the most drastically in the demographic experience of women is the timing of marriage. In Central Province the gap between first birth and first marriage appears to be dramatic and quickly widening. Among 30 to 34 year olds, marriage followed first birth by about half a year; among 25 to 29 year olds, marriage followed first birth by, on average, over a year and a half. A similar trend is evident for Kenya as a whole, but not quite so dramatic as for Central Province.

Traditionally, marriage was a phased, fluid process that involved bride price negotiations and payments between the girls' family and the boys'. There was no one identifiable point that marked the couple as married (Meekers, 1992). Kikuyu genealogies indicate that, while the majority of girls engaged in the marriage process were pregnant by the time marriage arrangements were completed, premarital births were rare. A historical review of births in a Kikuyu community between 1940 and 1970 found no births to unwed mothers in the 1940's; 4.8 percent of births were to the unmarried in the 1950's; and 11.4 percent in the 1960's (Worthman and Whiting, 1987). As mentioned, traditionally, the girl that became pregnant premaritally was, generally, hastened into a socially sanctioned marriage relationship where she had greater chances for material and social support for herself and their children. While there is evidence that girls' might still use a premarital pregnancy to accelerate the marriage process, this might no longer be an effective marriage strategy (Calves, 1999). Currently, it appears that conceptions that occur premaritally often do not necessarily result in marriage, which often results in compromises to the single mother's education, socio-economic status, and status in the community (Gage-Brandon, 1993; Gage, 1998; Calves, 1999).

### 2.3.2. Levels of premarital sexual activity

In the African context, several studies have attempted to document the extent of unmarried adolescent populations that have had sexual intercourse. Table 2.1 lists studies that have investigated sexual activity of adolescents and the results.

**Table 2.1: Studies of adolescent sexual activity in sub-Saharan Africa**

Study	Country	Study Design	Questionnaire Administration	Sample Size	Extent of Premarital Sexual Activity
Agei, William, and Elsbeth Epema, "Sexual Behaviour and Contraceptive Use Among 15 to 24 Year Olds in Uganda" (1992)	Uganda Urban and rural districts	Population based survey	Interviewer administered questionnaire	4510 married and unmarried adolescents aged 15 to 24	85 percent of males 81 percent of females (Note that there is not differentiation between the married and unmarried in analysis)
Ajayi, Ayo, and L. Marangu, J. Miller, J. Paxman, "Adolescent Sexuality and Fertility in Kenya: A Survey of Knowledge, Perceptions and Practices" (1991)	Kenya 9 Districts (2 urban, 7 rural)	Population based survey	Interviewer administered questionnaire	3316 unmarried adolescents aged 12 to 19	39 percent of girls 62 percent of boys
Amazigo, Uche, "Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Knowledge and Use Among In-School Adolescents in Nigeria" (1997)	Nigeria Anambra and Enugu States	Sample of students in senior secondary school	Interviewer administered questionnaire	2460 unmarried students in senior secondary school	Girls: 21 percent of 14 year olds; 31 percent of 15 year olds; 50 percent of 17 year olds Boys: 37 percent of 14 year olds; 34 percent of 15 year olds; 40 percent of 17 year olds
Boonene, E. "Fertility and Contraceptive Use Among Young Adults in Harare, Zimbabwe" (1991)	Zimbabwe, Harare	Population based survey	Interviewer administered questionnaire	1941 married and unmarried adolescents aged 14 to 24	49 percent of never-married boys 14 percent of never married women 50 percent of ever married women (reporting that first sex was premarital)
Gage-Brandon, Anastasia, and Dominique Meekers, "Sex, Contraception and Childbearing before Marriage in sub-Saharan Africa," (1993)	Botswana, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Zimbabwe	Analysis of never-married girls in DHS data	Interviewer administered questionnaire	Unmarried girls aged 15 to 24	78 percent of girls in Botswana; 4 percent of girls in Burundi; 45 percent of girls in Ghana; 44 percent of girls in Kenya; 78 percent of girls in Liberia; 23 percent of girls in Zimbabwe
Gorgen, Regina, "Sexual Behaviour and Attitudes Among Unmarried Youth in Guinea" (1998)	Guinea 3 towns	Mixed sample of primary and secondary students and youth from informal sector occupations.	Self administered questionnaire for in-school; interviewer administered questionnaire for out of school	3603 unmarried adolescents aged 15 to 24	50 percent of females 76 percent of males
Kiragu, K. "The Correlates of Premarital Sexual Activity among School Age Adolescents in Kenya" (1993)	Kenya Nakuru District	Sample of primary, and secondary school students	Self-administered questionnaire	3032 unmarried adolescents (mean age 15 for primary sample and 17 for 2ndary sample)	48 percent of boys in primary school 69 percent of boys in secondary school 17 percent of girls in primary school 27 percent of girls in secondary school

As expected, sexual activity increases with age. Boys generally report sexually experience to a greater extent than girls. The extent to which unmarried young people are sexually active varies widely across sub-Saharan African countries. Differences in the extent of sexual experience across countries could be due to a number of factors. First, there could be true differences between countries and regions in the extent to which young people engage in sex premaritally. In studies in Latin America, using adolescent surveys developed by Centers for Disease Control (CDC), 15 to 19-year-old girls' reporting of sexual activity differed between countries in the same region by as much as 23 percentage points, except for Jamaica where dramatic cultural differences between Jamaican and Spanish-based cultures were given for girls' greater involvement in intercourse (Morris, 1994).

One major reason for differences across studies is undoubtedly due to the selectivity of the samples used. Many of the studies interview young people from school, which is a highly selective and often elite fraction of the population. For example, in Kenya that enjoys a fairly high level of educational enrolment and attainment, gross enrolment rates for 1999 in primary school were 92 percent for boys and 89 percent for girls. For secondary school, rates were only 26 percent for boys and 22 percent for girls, making the secondary school population a highly selective group of young people (UNICEF, 1999). Further, the educational policy in most sub-Saharan African countries is that girls that become pregnant while in school are expelled from school or temporarily withdrawn (Odaga and Heneveld, 1995). At a minimum, young women who are in-school represent those who have been successful in avoiding pregnancy, perhaps through abstinence or use of family planning. Therefore, it is likely that reported levels of sexual activity derived from school-based samples under-estimate the extent of sexual experience in the adolescent population. Sexual activity is highly age dependent and differences in ages of the sampled populations and distributions of respondents within each of the samples, can account for observed differences in the extent of sexual experience in these studies. Studies using younger samples will, undoubtedly, reveal lower levels of sexual experience than studies sampling from older populations. Finally, most studies of adolescents sample the



unmarried only. At the same time, young people, especially girls, who are sexually active early might be hastened into marriage, resulting in samples of girls who have successfully avoided marriage through abstinence, use of family planning, or varying cultural norms for marrying girls off.

### 2.3.3. Context of sexual relations

Recent studies in the sub-Saharan region have documented the context of premarital sexual relations for adolescents, including who their partners are, how often they have sex, and what were their motivations for engaging in sex. As in the past, numerous studies have found that girls' partners are usually older than themselves. Boys partners tend to be girls of similar age or younger than themselves (Konde-Lule, et al., 1997; Calves and Meekers, 1997; Gorgen, et. al, 1998, Kiragu, et. al, 1993; Amazigo et. al, 1997; Rwenge, 2000). In one study in Kenya, girls were, on average, 4 years younger than their partner while boys' partners were the "same age" (Kiragu, et. al., 1993). Age differences between partners most likely have implications for power and decision-making within relationships, where younger girls have diminished power in relationships with older men (Gage, 1998, Singh, et al, 2000).

Contrary to popular belief, the frequency of sex among unmarried adolescents is rather low and sporadic. In fact, the term "sexually active" might be misleading, implying that adolescents engage in more or less regular sexual intercourse. Among unmarried, sexually experienced adolescents in Ghana, Mali, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, only about half have had sex in the last month (Singh, et al, 2000). In Kenya, among sexually experienced adolescents aged 15 to 19, only 44 percent of girls and 45 percent of boys had had intercourse in the month prior to survey (NCPD, 1999).

Reasons and motivations for having sex appear to be strongly differentiated along gender lines. Succumbing to the pressure from boys, the desire to please boyfriends, and fear of termination of the relationship if sex is not granted, are often cited by girls as reasons for engaging in sex (Gorgen, et. al, 1998). Expression of love is also an

important reason given by girls, though one study combining qualitative and quantitative methods suggested that girls over-report “love”, as they consider it the socially acceptable reason for initiating sex (Gueye, et al., 2001). Financial support in terms of money, school fees, and presents is also mentioned by girls (Amazigo, et al, 1997, Calves and Meekers, 1997, Rwenge, 2000). Boys report engaging in sex out of curiosity, to gain respect from other boys, to avoid damage to their reputations, and because of peer pressure (Gorgen, 1998, Kiragu and Zabin 1993, Gueye et al, 2001). Some studies also suggest that some boys have sex for material gain (Calves and Meekers, 1997). However, studies pay relatively little attention to boys’ initiation and motivations for having sex compared to girls, which perhaps reflects respondents’ or researchers’ general acceptance of boys having premarital intercourse and questioning of girls having sex (Singh, et. al, 2000).

#### 2.3.4. Explaining changes in sexual relations

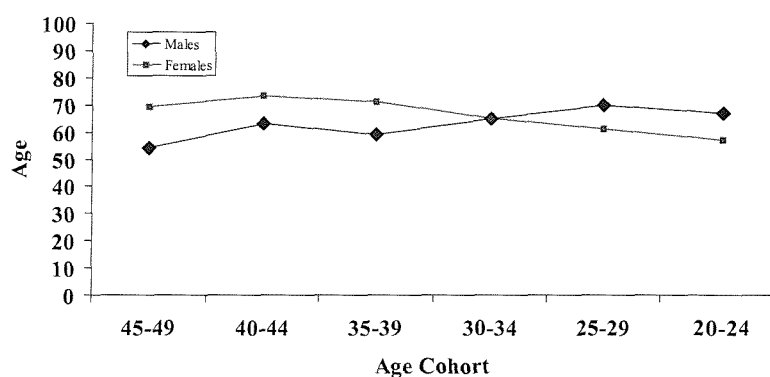
Most authors who attempt to explain the changes in adolescent reproductive experience and outcomes in Kenya attribute changes to loosening of traditional mechanisms and extended familial structures that previously managed and monitored adolescent sexual expression and reproduction. Were et. al. (1986) discusses the contraction of the Kikuyu family structure, from extended families to nuclear families. He postulates that Kikuyu adolescents have become individually-focused, rather than community focused; and that this change has resulted in adolescents having shifted their values from adhering to community norms and expectations, to expressing and pursuing individual needs. Increases in premarital sex, he argues, is a reflection of the expression of individual sexual needs and urges, rather than the norms of the community (Were, 1986). Were’s account, however, focuses narrowly on the changing values and morals of girls, and pays little attention to boys, to the community at large, or to shifts in marriage patterns.

Changes in the circumcision ceremony, in concert with the expansion of education, have also been considered as affecting changes in patterns of premarital sex and reproduction. Maina-Alhberg and her colleagues (1996) discuss that, traditionally,

Kikuyus had an adult *mutiri* (for boys) or *atiri* (for girls) who guided the circumcision process, gave sex education, and oversaw the proper introduction into sexual life, as dictated by social norms and regulations. The traditional circumcision process, itself, involved a significant amount of pain, as there was no anaesthesia. The experience of that pain, itself, represented a rite of passage necessary to understand the hardship of adulthood. Currently, most Kikuyus are circumcised in the hospital and without experience of significant pain; their traditional guides (*mutiri* and *atiri*) have been replaced, nominally, by young people of their own age. The practice of *ngweko*, where older men controlled access to girls and where there were mechanisms to regulate sexual intercourse, has disappeared. Maina-Alhberg argues that currently peer *mutiri* encourage boys' initiation into sex soon after the circumcision, which effectively replaces a phased learning process and re-enacts pain (through intercourse while the penis is still healing) that replaces the pain that marked traditional transition to adulthood.

While the author focuses on boys' sexual initiation, Maina-Ahlberg's argument is very much in line with arguments made for the changing nature of adolescent sexual relations, for Africa as a whole. Bledsoe and Cohen (1993) summarize the African experience – drawing largely on evidence from West Africa – that loosening and changing controls on boys, primarily, not girls, have been most instrumental in the observed evolution of sexual behaviour among adolescents. They argue that, while boys' sexual expression was once controlled by elders, it is now no longer subject to external control, resulting in earlier age at first sex for boys. They hypothesize that boys who are subject to negligible external control, in turn, put pressure on girls to have sex. Figure 2.3 reveals the percentage of Kenyan DHS respondents who had sex before the age of 18, by sex and age cohort. In fact, it does appear that the percentage of boys initiating sex at early ages is rising in Kenya, while girls early initiation is decreasing.

Figure 2.3: Percentage of respondents who have had sexual intercourse by age 18, by age cohort and sex



Source, NCPD, 1998

Worthman and Whiting (1987) present perhaps the most Kikuyu-specific and comprehensive argument regarding the changing nature of sexual relations for adolescents. They argue that the spread of schooling has altered the nature of the traditional puberty rites and age set system, where girls and boys of the same age set were prohibited from engaging in sexual relations. Increasingly, greater value is placed on schooling than on undergoing puberty rites. Fewer and fewer Kikuyu girls undergo circumcision and boys are increasingly circumcised individually, by medical professionals. Among the Kikuyu, while 42.5 percent of women aged 15 to 49 are circumcised, only 17.6 percent of their eldest daughters aged at least 15 years, had been circumcised (NCPD, 1999). As a result, girls' eligibility for courtship, sexual relations, and marriage, while once marked by the circumcision ceremony, is now more ambiguous. While older males traditionally controlled access to newly circumcised girls, this system has been devalued in favour of schooling. Further, school has created the social proximity of boys and girls of the same or similar ages. It is argued that the school group has replaced the age set and that parallel groups of boys and girls are in closer proximity, socially, than was allowed traditionally. The authors cite that age at first birth for boys has decreased drastically, while that for

girls has increased slightly. This, it is suggested, reflects boys' increased ability to engage in sexual activity at younger ages. Regarding increases in unwed motherhood, it is argued that boys' families are less likely to take on responsibility of a premarital pregnancy, due to preference to continue with schooling, the increased economic demands of education and decreased emphasis on bride price among the Kikuyu.

The authors make a strong argument that the changing nature of adolescent sexual activity is linked with the increased value of schooling and devaluation of traditional systems that controlled young people's sexual behaviour, and rules governing marriage. The paper, however, does not make a strong delineation between the unique circumstances of adolescent girls compared to boys. For example, authors suggest that sexual partners of adolescents are schoolmates, young people of the same or similar ages. However, research in the region suggests that, particularly for girls, sexual partners are often significantly older than themselves.

Moreover, none of the studies examining changes in adolescent sexual behaviour explore non-consensual sex. All of these studies assume that sex for adolescents is consensual and a result of individual choice or, at most, peer pressure. Most studies on adolescent motivations to engage in sex are drawn from qualitative data, mostly focus groups. In focus groups, participants are usually asked to discuss experiences of young people their own age or young people they know, rather than their own personal experiences. Focus group data, however, are unlikely to spontaneously reveal information on sensitive issues, such as sexual coercion, but rather reflect idealized norms of the respondents (Helitzer-Allen, et al, 1994). Among the authors examining changes in sexual practices, failure to examine the changing nature of sex with regard to the emergence of sex that is not consensual is likely because sexual coercion is only recently emerging in the adolescent sexual behaviour literature.

## 2.4 Sexual coercion

### 2.4.1. Defining sexual coercion

Sexual coercion is usually classified as one form of gender-based violence, which is violence against girls or women that results, principally, from their lesser social status compared to men. In 1993, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence Against Women, which describes violence against women as: “Any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty whether occurring in public or private life” (Heise et al, 1999). Gender based violence is a broad term including acquaintance and stranger rape, marital rape, wartime rape, wife beating, sexual abuse of girls, trafficking in women and girls, forced prostitution, sexual harassment, female genital cutting, and female infanticide.

Sexual coercion is just one form of gender-based violence and refers to a range of experiences that compels one to have sex against her or his will (Heise, et al, 1999). Sexual coercion exists along a continuum and includes being physically forced to have sex (rape), having sex out of fear of violence or retaliation, having sex that is economically coerced, and sexual assault, which is forced sexual contact other than penetration. The fact that sexual coercion is often couched within gender-based violence suggests that boys cannot be coerced. However, when boys, including adolescent boys, are victims of sexual violence, it is usually categorized as child abuse (Heise, et al, 1994).

### 2.4.2 Sexual coercion among adolescents

A number of studies, mostly from Western countries, have measured the extent of sexual coercion, in particular rape. Because of the increased sensitivity of eliciting such information from children and adolescents, most of the studies of sexual coercion have focused on women, especially married women. In one of the earliest publications to highlight violence against women as a public health concern, authors

summarize existing research on the extent of rape among college-aged young women. The five studies reviewed were from developed countries and most samples were selective because they were drawn from university-based populations. Rates of completed rape among women in the studies ranged from 8.1 percent in a Canadian study, to 15.4 percent in a US-based study (Heise, et al, 1994).

Non-voluntary sex was measured in a longitudinal, nationally representative study of American adolescents. Among 1121 young adults aged 18 to 22, 7 percent reported ever having been raped, with the highest rates of rape among white girls, of whom 13 percent reported a rape experience by age 20 (Moore, et al, 1989). Girls who have sex at younger ages are more likely to have experienced forced sex, than those who started having sex at later ages, a finding which is consistent with other studies (Dickson et al, 1998, Abma, et al, 1998). Among white girls, correlates of non-voluntary sex were having a disability, having lived apart from parents before the age of 16, and living at or below poverty level. Parental smoking, drug use and heavy drinking were also associated with elevated risk of experiencing non-voluntary sex. Variables included in the model, however, tended to focus on household and family-level characteristics as authors assumed experience of forced sex were largely related to vulnerabilities at the household level and the inability of parents to protect adolescent children. The only individual-level variable included in the model was whether or not the respondent had a physical, emotional or mental limitation.

Another study of non-voluntary first intercourse used the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), an American nationally representative, longitudinal study (Abma, et al, 1998). In this study, 9 percent of young women reported that their first intercourse was not voluntary. In addition to characterizing sex as simply voluntary or non-voluntary, researchers asked respondents to rate the 'wantedness' of their first intercourse on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unwanted and 10 being extremely wanted. Responses on the 'wantedness' scale were compared to reports of non-voluntary first sex. The reports of 'wantedness' of first sex as non-voluntary were highly consistent. No respondents who reported non-voluntary sex gave a

'wantedness' score higher than 6. On the other hand, 45 percent of those who rated the 'wantedness' of first sex as 1, reported that first sex was voluntary. In this study, the age of the partner was inversely associated with the 'wantedness' of sex; the greater the age difference, the more likely that sex was not wanted. Similarly, use of contraception and use of condoms at first intercourse was associated with the 'wantedness' of first sex; young women who wanted to have their first sex were more likely to use contraception and/or condoms than those that did not want their first sex. Mother's education and relationship with partner were also associated with the 'wantedness' of sex. Having a mother who had not completed secondary education and relationships where partners were not steady boyfriends, were significantly associated with the increased likelihood that first sex was not wanted.

Some studies of young women have underscored the long-term negative effects of sexual coercion during early years. Studies have highlighted the long-term psychological impact of early sexual abuse as depression, suicide ideation, negative self-esteem and lowered self-efficacy, drug addiction, and alcoholism (UNICEF, 2000, Heise et al, 1994, Heise et al, 1998, Boyer and Fine, 1992). A study in Washington State, USA, examines the relationship between teenage pregnancy and earlier sexual abuse (Boyer and Fine, 1992). The study found high rates of sexual abuse among the ever-pregnant teens in the study. About 44 percent of the sample reported a rape experience, with the perpetrator averaging 8 years older than the victim. Eleven percent of the respondents reported that their pregnancy was a result of the rape. In bivariate analysis, factors significantly associated with the experience of sexual abuse – molestation, attempted rape, or rape – were grade repetition, being expelled from school, having dropped out of school, living on one's own, mean age at first intercourse, partners mean age at first intercourse, drug use during intercourse, partners' drug use during intercourse, and experience of two or more pregnancies. Compared to the general population, young women in the sample had initiated sex nearly 2 ½ years earlier. While authors highlight that their findings are not generalizable to the entire population, they conclude that sexual victimization has been overlooked as a factor in high-risk sexual behaviour (Boyer and Fine, 1992).



### 2.4.3 Sexual coercion among adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa

The earliest accounts of adolescent sexual activity among the Kikuyu do not mention sexual coercion or sex against one's will. What is described is the traditional checks put in place to guard against unwanted touching. Kenyatta (1938) describes that romantic touch and fondling among adolescent initiates - *ngweko* - was done in a highly supervised group setting and girls were expected to report boys who attempted to touch their genitalia or who attempted penetration: "If a man is detected by a girl trying to loosen her garments during the night of *ngweko*, she generally reports the matter to all her friends in the district. The matter is taken to the age-group meeting (*getongano kia riika*). Such a man would be ostracized by his friends and would be debarred from having *ngweko* with other girls, as they would not trust or have confidence in him" (Kenyatta, 1938, p. 160). In this way, there were strong social controls on boys deterring them from forcing girls to have sex.

The laws in Kenya regarding rape are ambiguous at best. Rape, incest and sexual harassment are considered "offences against morality", not against a person, and rape is defined as "carnal knowledge against the order of nature," which does not specify that the act was non-consensual. Rape and defilement (rape of the girl aged 14 or younger) is punishable to a maximum of life imprisonment. At the same time, rape by a father, grandfather, uncle or brother carries a maximum five-year sentence. There is considerable controversy as to whether marital rape is illegal. According to the Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA), the section of the Penal code addressing rape and "unlawful intercourse" has been traditionally interpreted as sex outside of marriage (Chesoni, 1998).

Evidence of sexual coercion is only recently emerging in developing country settings. In the mid 1990's, Heise and colleagues (1994), described that, while sexual abuse is well documented in Western countries, there is only "indirect evidence [of sexual abuse] available elsewhere [developing countries]" (Heise, et al, 1994). More recent studies have hypothesized that sexual coercion is more common among adolescent

girls in developing countries than among adult women, possibly because power imbalances are more acute for younger women and their partners (Gage, 1998, Opong, 1995, Njovana and Watts, 1996).

One of the earliest surveys that revealed the extent of coercion was conducted among 10,000 secondary school girls in Kenya (Youri, 1993). In this study, 24 percent of sexually experienced girls report that they had been “forced” into their first encounter. Another early study to gauge contraceptive use among high school students in Kenya found, almost by accident, that among 9 percent of sexually experienced girls in the study non-use of family planning was attributed to the fact that sex had been ‘forced’ (Kiragu and Zabin, 1995). In a population-based study in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 12 percent of sexually experienced girls aged 10 to 24 reported that force was the main reason they first had sex when they did (Phiri and Erulkar, 2000).

One study in Cape Town, South Africa, investigated the relationship between teenage pregnancy and the experience of coercion (Jewkes, et al, forthcoming). In this study, 191 pregnant teenagers aged 19 and below were matched to 353 controls who had never been pregnant. Pregnant teens were significantly more likely to have older partners and to have experienced forced sex. Similarly, 32 percent of pregnant teens reported that their sexual initiation resulted from rape or ‘force’ while 18 percent of the non-pregnant controls were raped at first sex. Interestingly, study respondents made a distinction between sex that was forced and rape, with rape more often being perpetrated by strangers or relatives and force more often being used by boyfriends. In particular, girls that reported force were less likely to report that they were in love with their partner or that they were curious about sex. This finding underscores the ambiguities in measuring coerced sex (see section 2.4.5 “*Measuring sexual activity and sexual coercion among adolescents*”).

Data regarding the prevalence of sexual coercion in sub-Saharan Africa are much more sketchy compared to the West, mainly because research initiatives are fairly

new, there have been few opportunities for studies with representative samples, and because measurement of sexual coercion has not evolved (see section 2.4.5, “*Measuring sexual activity and sexual coercion among adolescents*”). Moreover, existing studies merely measure the prevalence of sexual coercion and have not gone further to try to explain or predict the experience of coercion among young people.

Because sexual coercion is just an emerging area for African-based researchers, much of the published research on coercion has been qualitative and the majority of studies have been conducted in South Africa. The South African studies, in particular, reflect a tremendous amount of violence in the context of intimate partner relationships, which is often attributed to the country’s recent political and social transition (Maitse, 1998). Pregnant girls in a study in Cape Town described that partners used violent strategies throughout the relationship to gain sex, using violence to initiate sex and physical assault to maintain sexual relationships (Wood and Jewkes, 1997). In a clinic based study to assess sexual decision making in Durban, South Africa, girls reported that one main reason for not discussing AIDS or for non-use of condoms, was fear of physical violence (Varga, 1997). In this study, girls reported that refusing their boyfriends sex, nearly always resulted in sex that was physically coerced. Similarly, boys viewed sexual intercourse within the first few weeks of a relationship as a must, citing that it legitimated the relationship as a romantic one.

Few studies have sought to understand the perceptions and meanings of coerced sex among African adolescents. One study in Nigeria used the narrative research method with secondary school students and those in apprenticeship programmes to explore the meaning and nature of coerced sex (Ademola, et al, 2001). Participants described coercive behaviour as being threatened or forced into sex, engaging in unwanted touching, verbal abuse, non-consensual sex resulting from deception such as forced exposure to pornography and the use of traditional charms, and insistence, or not taking ‘no’ for an answer. Perpetrators of coercive behaviour were perceived to be, most often, boys or men that girls know and girls were seen to be naïve, thereby increasing their vulnerability to being the victims of coercion. Ogunyemi (2000) used

similar categories to measure coerced first sex among 958 respondents in urban Nigeria (Ogunyemi, 2000). The study found that 14 percent of boys and 13 percent of girls had been 'raped' or 'date raped' during their first sexual intercourse. However, researchers' definition of 'rape' and 'date rape' was somewhat unorthodox and ambiguous, including use of charms, deception, or manipulation.

#### *2.4.4 Explaining sexual coercion*

A number of authors have attempted to explain the reasons for gender-based violence, including sexual coercion. Moore and Helzner (1996) highlight culturally prescribed notions of masculinity and femininity as the source of gender-based violence. Heise and colleagues (1994) suggest that the aetiology of gender-based violence is complex and needs further investigation. A complex web of power relations between men and women, economic differences between men and women, self-identity, sexuality, cultural norms, and social structures, combine to perpetuate or even encourage male domination of women. One cross-cultural study looked at social factors that are associated with the prevalence of gender-based violence in countries (Levinson, 1989, as cited in Heise, 1994). That study found that factors that predict violence in societies are economic inequality between men and women, women's limited decision-making in the home, a tradition of using violence in conflict resolution, and legal restrictions on women's right to divorce. Participants at a meeting devoted to the topic also outlined various theories regarding the origin of sexual coercion (Heise, et al, 1995). One theory stems from the idea that males are inherently more violent than females and that sexual coercion is one outcome of the greater propensity of males toward violence. However, an ethnographic review of 156 traditional societies found that in 47 percent of societies studied cases of rape were absent or extremely rare, suggesting that male violence against women is not inherently male. One theory on sexual violence put forward a multi-level framework. This framework included multiple layers of vulnerabilities, working in concert. These include personal vulnerabilities such as history of abuse, forces operating in the immediate circumstances of coercion such as drugs and alcohol, forces in the social structures

such as pressure from peers and macro level forces including cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity (Heise, et al, 1995).

#### *2.4.5 Measuring sexual activity and sexual coercion among adolescents*

A number of studies have acknowledged the difficulties in eliciting reliable reports of sexual coercion specifically (Ellsberg, et al, 2001, UNICEF, 2000, Heise, et al, 1998, Heise et al, 1995) and sexual activity among unmarried adolescents, in general (Mensch et al, 1999, Singh et al, 2000). The under-reporting of sexual coercion among adolescents is likely to be compounded by under-reporting of sexual intercourse in the first place.

While there has been increased research on adolescent sexual activity, little attention has been paid to *the reporting* of sensitive behaviours in research, and resulting data quality, perhaps because of the complexity of the issue (Bloom, 1998). Premarital sex is such a sensitive and unsanctioned issue in many countries that unmarried adolescents – especially girls – might be less likely to admit that they have had sex before marriage, especially in contexts where a premium is placed on virginity at marriage (Gage-Brandon, 1993). In many cultures, boys might exaggerate their sexual experience as it is seen as a mark of manhood (Boonene, 1991; Gage-Brandon, 1993).

Mensch, Bruce, and Greene (1998) discuss difficulties in eliciting accurate information on sexual activity from adolescents. Comparing adolescent surveys from Latin America, authors find significant differences in reporting of sexual activity, only attributable to differences in data collection. Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) use interviewer administration and many members of the same household are questioned. It is unlikely that unmarried young women would want to admit sexual activity when other members of the household are being interviewed, even despite assurances of confidentiality. Comparing DHS-style interviewing with techniques used in Centers for Disease Control (CDC) studies, with younger interviewers and interviewing only adolescents in selected households, authors observe between a ten

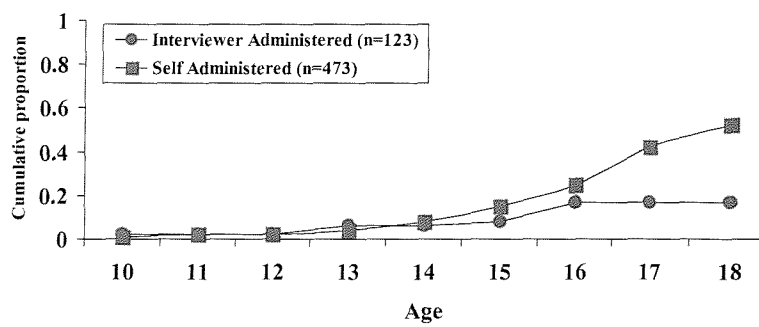
and thirteen percentage point difference in the reporting of premarital sex among girls using the different methodologies (Mensch et. al., 1998).

Methods other than interviewer administration might further improve reporting on sensitive behaviours. In interviewer administered surveys, the respondent might be biased toward giving the socially acceptable answer – “telling the interviewer what he / she thinks the interviewer wants to hear.” This bias is eliminated in paper and pencil self-administration, where the respondent fills out the questionnaire on his or her own. However, paper and pencil self administration assumes a minimum level of literacy and respondents often have lingering doubts about the confidentiality of the questionnaire, even where names are not written and where confidentiality is assured by the researcher (Bloom, 1998).

Analysis of data from Nyeri, Kenya suggests that different forms of questionnaire administration can effect reporting, particularly of sensitive issues. In 1996, the Population Council and the Kenya Ministry of Education collected household-level data from adolescents and their parents in Nyeri District (Ajayi, et. al, 1997). In this study, households were listed, one adolescent was selected at random per household, and that adolescent was interviewed using an interviewer-administered format. Among other issues, the survey addressed the sexual experience of the adolescents surveyed. In 1997, the Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya (FPAK) conducted a survey of adolescents and their parents in the same district (Erulkar, et al, 1998). In that study, as with the 1996 study, households were listed and one adolescent and the parent or adult that was responsible for them, was selected for interview. For this survey, non-sensitive questions were asked in an interviewer-administered format, while sensitive issues, including sexual experience, were asked in a self administered, paper and pencil format. The two surveys were undertaken at different times and in different parts of the district. On balance, the 1997 sample probably represented a more urban sample than the 1996 sample and sample sizes, particularly for the 1996 survey, are relatively small. Keeping in mind these differences, figures 2.4 and 2.5 display the reporting of sexual experience

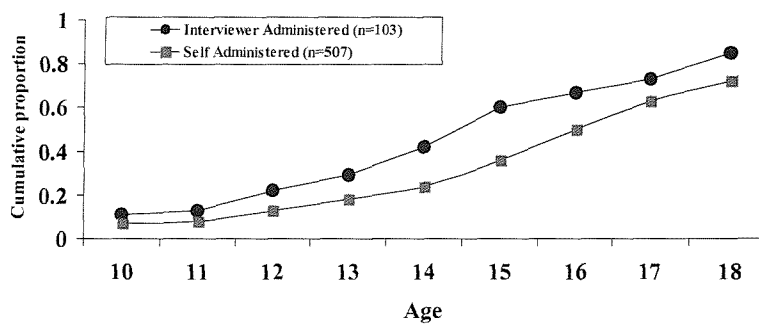
among girls and boys in the two surveys. The figure graphs the probability of reporting sexual experience among boys and girls separately, at specific ages.

Figure 2.4: Cumulative proportion of unmarried Nyeri girls reporting sexual activity, by method of questionnaire administration



Source: Tabulations of data from Population Council adolescent surveys, 1996, 1997

Figure 2.5: Cumulative proportion of unmarried Nyeri boys reporting sexual activity, by method of questionnaire administration



Source: Tabulations of data from Population Council adolescent surveys, 1996, 1997

At nearly all ages, girls are more likely to report sexual experience when responding to the question through a self-administered format, as opposed to a face-to-face interview. The gap between reported sexual experience for the two interview methods is particularly high for girls reporting sexual initiation at age seventeen or eighteen. Girls are three times more likely to report sexual initiation by age 18 through a self-administered format than through interviewer-administered format.

For boys, the pattern of reporting is the reverse. Boys who were questioned about sex in face-to-face interview were more likely, at all ages, to report having been sexually experienced compared to boys interviewed with paper-and-pencil self-administration. The gap between reported sex is widest at age fourteen and fifteen, where boys who have not experienced sex might feel pressured to report that they had. Boys facing an interviewer are nearly twice as likely to report that they are sexually experienced by age 15 than those filling out a questionnaire on their own.

While there are limitations to this analysis, due to slight differences in study areas and small sample sizes, the results are consistent with other studies – mostly US based - that indicate that self-administered questionnaires improve reporting on sensitive behaviour, over interviewer-administered questionnaires.

More recently, methods of self-administration have been adapted to computer technologies. Audio computer assisted self interviewing (Audio-CASI) is a technique where the respondent listens to survey questions through headphones and types in his/her response into a keypad hooked up to a computer. The added advantages of Audio-CASI are that the interviewer does not have to be present, there is no paper trail which often creates doubts about the confidentiality of the survey, data collection and data entry are done simultaneously, and respondents require minimal levels of literacy. On the other hand, for the developing country context, the technology is quite expensive, requires a considerable amount of computer programming knowledge, and has not yet been tested among rural populations who have had little



exposure to technology. Experiments in the US with Audio-CASI have shown that it improves reporting on sensitive behaviour such as abortions, adolescent sexual behaviour, drug use, and violence (Fu, et. al, 1998; Turner, et. al, 1998). Recent research among adolescents in Nyeri, Kenya, tested the feasibility of Audio-CASI as well as its effects on reported behaviour, compared to interviewer administered and self-administered techniques. The results were inconclusive, with researchers suggesting that community suspicion of the computers compromised reporting of sensitive behaviour by adolescents (Mensch, et al, 2001).

The reporting of coerced sex is perhaps more problematic. A study comparing reports of the context of sexual behaviour in focus groups compared to in-depth interviews revealed that, while in-depth interview respondents discussed coercive sexual experiences, such topics did not arise in focus groups (Helitzer-Allen, 1994). Authors suggest that focus group participants are more likely to report idealized behaviour, rather than actual experiences. Further, fear of retaliation, social stigma, and lack of social support mechanisms are often cited as barriers to reporting coercion in surveys (Heise, et al, 1995, Heise, et al, 1998). Other possible barriers are non-response bias where abused women could be less likely to participate in the study and lack of rapport with the interviewer (Ellsberg, et al, 2001).

A study comparing reported domestic violence in three Nicaraguan surveys suggested strategies to improve reporting of violence (Ellsberg, et al, 2001). This study found that surveys that gave the respondent several opportunities to disclose abuse improved reporting, as well as those focusing specifically on violence, rather than a broad range of topics. In addition, authors found that asking behaviourally-specific questions improved reporting as opposed to general questions such as “have you ever been abused?” While it is likely that asking behaviourally-specific questions improve the reporting of coercion, it poses an additional challenge to researchers. The context of sexual coercion is likely to be different in different cultural contexts. For example, qualitative data collected for this thesis highlighted the extent to which young women are locked in rooms and raped, a phenomenon that might not be common in other

regions. At the same time, none of the in-depth respondents mentioned use of drugs and alcohol, a tactic that is mentioned in a number of Western studies. Therefore, defining exactly what behaviours to probe for in the context of large-scale surveys of abuse poses additional challenges to the researcher, particularly those working in regions where only limited coercion research has been conducted. Table 2.2 outlines various studies of sexual coercion, aspects of research design, and how sexual coercion questions were asked.

**Table 2.2: Studies of sexual coercion**

Country	Study authors	Sample	Method of administration	Coercion measured	How question was asked	Prevalence of coerced sex
USA	Moore, et al, 1989	Nationally representative sample of 1121 boys and girls aged 17 to 23	Telephone interview	Non-voluntary sex (ever)	Was there ever a time you were forced to have sex against your will or were raped?	7 percent of SE* boys and girls; 13 percent of white SE girls
USA	Abma, et al, 1998	Nationally representative sample of 2042 girls aged 15-24	Interviewer administered questionnaire	Non-voluntary first sex	Would you say that this first sexual intercourse was voluntary or not voluntary?	9 percent of SE girls
USA	Boyer and Fine, 1992	School and social service agency based study recruiting 535 pregnant or parenting girls aged 13-21	Self administered questionnaire	Non-voluntary sex (ever)	Have you ever given in to sexual intercourse with a man because of his position of authority? Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man because he threatened you with physical violence? Have you ever had sexual intercourse because a man used physical force? Have you ever had sexual intercourse because a man threatened you with a weapon or tied you up? Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man when you did not want to because you were effected by drugs or alcohol he gave you?	44 percent
Kenya	Youri, 1993	Secondary school based sample of 9997 girls	Self administered questionnaire	Circumstances of first intercourse	What were the circumstances of your first sexual encounter? 1=I was forced into it; 2=To show love to my lover; 3=I was cheated into having sex; 4=I wanted to know how it feels to have sex; 5=I wanted to be like some of my friends; 6=Other (specify)	24 percent SE girls were forced
Kenya	Kiragu and Zabin, 1995; Kiragu, 1991	Secondary school based sample of 3353 boys and girls	Self administered questionnaire	Reason for ever non-use of contraceptives	Please circle any of the reasons that have ever prevented you from using birth control or family planning [FP]. Circle all that apply. 1=I have always used family planning; 2=I wanted to get pregnant; 3=I thought it was wrong to use family planning; 4=I thought it was dangerous to use family planning; 5=I forgot to use family planning; 6=I had not planned to have sex – it just happened; 7=I thought it was the safe time of the month for me; 8=I thought family planning would cost too much; 9=I did not know where to get family planning; 10=I did not know what kind of family planning to get; 11=I was force to have sex – I did not want to; 12=I was afraid my parents would find out; 13=I thought I was too young to get pregnant	9 percent of SE girls
Nicaragua	Ellsberg, et al, 2001	Random sample of 378 ever married women in Managua	Interview administered questionnaire	Experience of sexual violence with intimate partners	Has a partner or ex-partner ever insisted on having sex when you did not want to (but did not use physical force)? Has a partner or ex-partner ever used force (like hitting you, holding you down, or using a weapon) to make you have sex? Has a partner or ex-partner ever sued threats to make you have sex?	69 percent lifetime experience; 33 percent in the last year

\*SE = sexually experienced

Studies reflect a great variability in rates of coerced sex across countries as well as a wide array of ways of eliciting information on coerced sex. Differences in rates of sexual coercion are likely due to differences in sampling, age groups, and ways of asking the question. For example, studies of selective samples including only pregnant teens (Boyer and Fine, 1992) or ever married adult women (Ellsberg et al, 2001) reveal high rates of coercion, compared to representative samples of adolescents (Abma, et al, 1998). Other studies have used ambiguous wording when phrasing the question. The Kenya DHS asked “Have you given or received money, gifts or favours in return for sex in the last 12 months?” – a question that does not make the distinction whether money was given or received nor whether sex was unwanted at that time. The other two Kenyan studies use the word ‘force’ in an ambiguous way, not allowing specification of whether the force was literal, “physical” force, or whether the force was perceived force, or whether the term ‘force’ was being used as a figure of speech. Other researchers have highlighted ambiguity in use of the term ‘force’: “Quite a few of those who said they were forced described feelings as part of the circumstances of sexual initiation which is most closely reflected in willingness to have sex. This raises the possibility that amongst the forced group, there may have been women who were willing but represented the event as forced to the interviewer to save face in the interview.” (Jewkes, et al, forthcoming). Other than the studies conducted by Ellsberg et al (2001) and Boyer and Fine (1992), few studies have used behaviourally specific questions, dissecting sexual coercion into component parts.

## **2.5 Discussion**

This chapter reviewed the existing literature on cultural practices of the Kikuyu of Kenya, adolescent sexual behaviour in sub-Saharan Africa, and sexual coercion. Among the Kikuyu, there were traditional mechanisms to regulate sexual behaviour of adolescent boys and girls and to prevent out-of-wedlock pregnancies. Specifically, the practice of *ngweko* had in-built protection for girls against inappropriate advances of the older boys with whom they were romantically linked. Those systems have

since broken down, with peer groups and schools increasingly becoming the socializing environments for young people. Delays in age at marriage and loosening controls on sexual activity, especially of boys, have resulted in an increase in sexual activity and pregnancy that is taking place outside of marriage.

Recent research attention to adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa has focussed on the *timing* of sexual initiation and more limited attention has been paid to the *reasons* for sexual intercourse. The fact that most of the research on motivations for sex has been from focus groups, might have had the effect of biasing our understanding of reasons for sex toward socially acceptable answers. It is unlikely that sensitive issues, such as sexual coercion, would have emerged from such research. Moreover, few researchers have been attentive to gender considerations in adolescent research.

The first reports of sexual coercion from research among adolescents in Kenya emerged almost by accident. When asked about reasons for sex or non-use of family planning, a considerable number of girls in two large-scale surveys mentioned 'forced sex' as the cause. At the same time, these surveys were not drawn from representative samples of adolescents and the wording of the survey question and response category regarding non-consensual sex was ambiguous.

One of the significant gaps in the adolescent sexual behaviour research has been the extent to which research draws on selective samples. Many of the studies in Africa have been done among school-going adolescents. This is probably because such samples are much less expensive to collect than population based studies. However, given the low level of enrolment in schools, especially secondary schools, this is a group that is highly selective in the African context. Other studies have focused on special groups such as pregnant teens, who are unlikely to be representative of other young people their age. Notably, virtually all adolescent sexual behaviour studies have neglected married adolescents, a practice that essentially disregards a sizeable fraction of adolescent girls. Data for this research are drawn from a representative, population-based sample of young people aged 10 to 26, both married and unmarried.

As such, it permits an estimate of the prevalence of coercion in the population of adolescent girls that is generalisable to the population in Central Province, Kenya.

Most of the well-designed studies of sexual coercion and their correlates are drawn from Western based studies. None of the developing country studies focussed on refining how questions were asked or used behaviourally specific questions. This study gave respondents several opportunities to divulge information on coercion and asked behaviourally specific questions, rather than ambiguously worded questions, such as “Have you ever been forced?” While it is likely that many of the same factors operate to increase young women’s vulnerabilities to sexual coercion in the West as in sub-Saharan Africa, little developing country research has explored the relationships between specific factors and the likelihood of sexual coercion. This study fills that gap by investigating sexual coercion in greater depth than previous developing country studies.

The aim of the study is to expand our understanding of the nature of sex for adolescent girls in Kenya, especially the extent to which, and context within which coerced sex takes place, including factors that leave girls vulnerable to coercion. Factors to be considered will both draw on previous research as well as factors that might be context-specific. For example, whereas socio-economic status or work status might not be found to be a factor associated with the experience of coercion in Western studies, the acute poverty in Africa might make poor girls more vulnerable to coerced sex than those who are comparatively better off.

One key question in this research is, who constitutes the comparison group? Previous studies have compared only those who have had sex to those who have been coerced to have sex. The comparison group should include all those who are at risk of being coerced into sex. However, the literature review reveals that a large proportion of girls are coerced into their first sex, suggesting that many girls are sexually experienced precisely because they have been coerced. Because of this, all girls, whether sexually experienced or not, are included in the comparison group, in one

level of analysis. Another comparison will examine coercion among sexually experienced girls only, permitting the comparison of results from this study, to results from other studies using this comparison group. Finally, coercion within marriage will be examined, comparing those who have been coerced by their husbands with those who have not. One limitation, given the data available, is that it will be difficult to establish causality, but only possible to suggest relationships. For some of the correlates measured, the timing and sequencing of the experience of coercion was not fixed against the selected variable. For example, attitudinal variables are measured at the time of survey, not the time of coercion, making it difficult to surmise whether a specific attitude increased vulnerability to coercion or whether an attitude was the result of a coercive experience. Similarly, having many sexual partners could increase risk of coercion, by increasing exposure to men with different strategies to negotiate sex. Alternatively, many sexual partners could be an outcome of the experience of coerced sex, where young women show evidence of increased risk-taking behaviour as a result of the experience. Only longitudinal data would allow me to fix the sequencing of events. As more and more attention is paid to adolescent research and as more research investment is made, one will see increasing numbers of longitudinal studies of adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa.

## **CHAPTER THREE: SURVEY RESEARCH METHODS**

This chapter gives an overview of research methods used in the study. Starting with the context of the research project, a larger, ongoing intervention research project will be described, of which this research is just one component. The study area will be reviewed along with the population in the study area. Next, the sample size, sampling, and questionnaire development will be described as well as how sexual coercion was measured. An overview of data analysis will end this chapter.

### **3.1 Context of the research project**

This study is one component of an intervention research study being undertaken in Nyeri and Nyahururu Municipalities in Kenya. The study represents the endline survey of a project in which an innovative approach to reaching young people with reproductive health information and services was tested for three years. In the intervention being undertaken by Family Planning Association of Kenya (FPAK), respected and well-known parents in the community are trained on adolescent reproductive health issues and advocacy. These parent motivators, referred to as “Friends of Youth” (FOYs), work in their own communities to educate both adolescents and other parents on reproductive health, and to encourage dialogue between them. FOYs make an initial house-to-house listing of adolescents in their assigned areas and periodically update this list, with a view to reaching the maximum number of adolescents in their assigned areas. As much as possible, FOYs conduct outreach activities with existing youth groups, form their own youth groups, or work with young people on an individual basis. FOYs also work with local leaders to improve attitudes and the atmosphere surrounding how adolescent issues are addressed at the community level. The FOYs cover a curriculum developed for the project (Path, 1996). The topics covered in the curriculum included personal, family and community values, adolescent development, sexuality, gender roles and equality, relationships, preventing pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDs, harmful traditional practices, substance use and abuse, planning for the future, parenting, and advocacy. The curriculum included the topic of acquaintance rape.



In addition to the FOYs, FPAK trained a network of local doctors and medical officers from the private sector who provide youth-friendly reproductive health services to young people. Youth are referred to these providers by FOYs with a coupon, which entitles them to service at subsidized cost. This intervention was designed after an initial period of formative research (focus group discussions) among adolescents and parents in Nyeri, and is consistent with Kikuyu traditions where parents assigned young parents - *mutiri* and *atiri* - to give guidance on sexually related issues (Population Council and FPAK, 2000).

Nyeri Municipality serves as the experimental area where pilot activities were undertaken, while Nyahururu is the control site where no intervention took place. The same surveys (both baseline and endline) were administered in the experimental area, and the control site. At endline, additional questions were added to measure exposure to the program, as well as questions on work and livelihoods, mobility and connectedness, and marriage. Ultimately, comparison of surveys in the experimental and control site permits an assessment of changes between baseline and endline surveys that are not due to the intervention. Differences between baseline and endline measures in the experimental site, after controlling for exogenous changes in the control site, will be considered attributable to project activities. This thesis draws on data collected for the endline phase of the project.

The Rockefeller Foundation funded the project. FPAK is responsible for overseeing the intervention. The Population Council takes the lead on research activities and provides technical assistance to FPAK in project design and monitoring. At The Population Council, I am the Principal Investigator for this study, overseeing all aspects of research design, questionnaire design, data collection, data entry, analysis and report writing. For this thesis, I have conducted all the data analysis and written all sections of the dissertation.

### **3.2 Target population and study area**

The study targeted married and unmarried young people aged 10 to 26 years, as well as resident parents or guardians of eligible youth. The study included respondents aged 25 and 26, though, by well accepted definitions, these are not usually included in what is considered young people (WHO, 1999). This group was included in the research design so as to capture young people who might have been exposed to the intervention during previous years, but who had since aged out of the target group. The survey was conducted in Nyeri and Nyahururu Municipalities, both located in Central Province. Nyeri is approximately 200 km north of Nairobi, while Nyahururu is about 300 km north of Nairobi.

Nyeri Municipality was chosen as the intervention site for this project largely because of its high contraceptive prevalence, reflecting a likely commitment to reproductive health. Traditionally, in Kenya, there has been much resistance to adolescent reproductive health projects, in part, because they are believed to promote promiscuity. Central Province has traditionally had the highest contraceptive prevalence in the country, a prevalence that is, in fact, higher than many European countries. While contraceptive prevalence for Kenya as a whole was 39 percent for any family planning method and 32 percent for modern methods, the prevalence in Central Province was 61 percent for all methods and 55 percent for any modern method, the highest prevalence in the country (NCPD, 1999). Such a wide acceptance of family planning in Central Province was considered indicative of the population's concern for reproductive health matters, including those of young people. Similarly, tabulations of DHS data for young women aged 15 to 24 reflect high levels of family planning use, though somewhat lower than for all women. Young women in Central Province have the highest CPR compared to young women in all other provinces (23 percent for modern methods, 29 percent for any method). For adolescents in particular, those in Central province have the latest age at marriage and latest age at first birth, after Nairobi. Median age at first marriage in Central Province is 20.7 years, compared to overall median age in Kenya being 19.2; median age at first birth in Central is 20.4, compared to 19.6 in the country as a whole (NCPD, 1999).

In designing the project, FPAK and Population Council considered that, given the challenges in implementing reproductive health programmes for adolescents in Kenya, generally, testing an innovative reproductive health program for young people would have greatest chance of success in a community that was already accepting of family planning and reproductive health. However, the assumption that high acceptance of FP is reflective of supportive attitudes toward adolescent reproductive health might have been inappropriate. The latest DHS for Kenya outlines adults' attitudes toward the provision of RH information and services to young people. Despite having high acceptance of family planning, adults in Central Province seem to hold conservative attitudes toward providing RH information and services to young people. Among female respondents in Central Province, 78 percent felt that young people should have access to RH information, which was the second lowest in the country after Coast province (70 percent). Only 47 percent of female respondents in Central felt that young people should have access to RH services, which was the lowest level of acceptance in the country (NCPD, 1999).

Nyeri District is one of the six districts of the Central Province of Kenya. It lies at an altitude of about 6,100 ft above sea level and covers an area of 3,284 sq. km. Forests and national parks occupy more than 30 percent of the district area. Nyeri District is divided into seven divisions: Nyeri Municipality, Tetu, Mukurweni, Othaya, Mathira, Kieni East and Kieni West. The main physical features of the district are Mt. Kenya (5199 m / 17,058 ft) to the east and Aberdare Ranges (3999 m / 13,120 ft) to the west. The district experiences an equatorial climate throughout the year with two main rainy seasons: March to May and October to December. The main ethnic group in the district is overwhelmingly the Kikuyu and Christianity is the predominant religion, with a considerable number being Roman Catholics. Agriculture represents the main economic activity, with coffee and tea being the principal cash crops.

The population for the municipality where this study was conducted was estimated at 109,974 for 1997, with youth aged (10-24) comprising 36 percent (39,590) of the total population. Nyeri is one of the most prosperous and well-developed regions in Kenya. Compared to the rest of Kenya, it has a well-

developed health and educational infrastructure, with 8 district hospitals, 379 primary, and 126 secondary schools. Nyeri district has a low infant mortality rate (IMR) of 35 per thousand, which is about half the national average (Office of the President and Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nyeri District). The survey was carried out in four contiguous sub-locations within Nyeri Municipality - Majengo, Kamakwa, Karia, Chorongi Sub-Locations - that have been selected to pilot test the intervention. Table 3.1 displays population information on the project sub-locations.

**Table 3.1: Population characteristics of four experimental sub-locations, Nyeri District**

	No. of Males	No. of Females	Total Population	No. of Households	Sq. Kms	Population Density
Chorongi	2,427	2,709	5,136	1,052	8.1	634
Kamakwa	5,741	5,786	11,527	3,941	5.1	2,260
Karia	1,215	1,288	2,503	604	3.6	695
Majengo	10,822	9,905	20,727	6,604	7.6	2,727

*Source: Kenya Population Census, 1989*

Majengo sub-location includes Nyeri town centre. Much of the town is either occupied by commercial establishments or by densely populated slum areas, resulting in the significant population density in this sub-location. This is the only sub-location where there is an excess of men compared to women, which is probably due to the fact that men come to reside in the slum area for work. Kamakwa is also densely populated, though it is a smaller sub-location than Majengo. Kamakwa is considered peri-urban as it has far fewer commercial establishments than Majengo and is located just adjacent to the town centre. The two other sub-locations, Karia and Chorongi are rural sub-locations, with relatively small populations and low population densities.

Nyandarua District is also located in Central Province, covering about 3,528 square kilometres. The District ranges from an altitude of 4000 metres in the Aberdare Ranges in the southeastern part of the District, to 1800 meters in the Rift Valley region of the District. Most of the District is occupied by land that is under

cultivation (45 percent), or forested land (10 percent). The District is subdivided into five Divisions: Ndaragwa, Ol Joro Orok, Ol Kalou, Kipipiri, Kinangop. The population was estimated at 452,258 with youth aged 10 to 24 numbering about 164,000. The District has 294 primary schools, 74 secondary schools, two hospitals, eight health centres. The infant mortality rate for Nyandarua is close to that of Nyeri, 34 per thousand. Nyahururu, the control site, is located within Ol Joro Orok Division, with a population of 58,081 and an estimated youth population of 21,035 (36 percent of the population) (Office of the President and Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nyandarua District). The site is predominantly Kikuyu ethnic group and Christian.

Nyahururu Municipality was selected as the control site based on geographic proximity, comparable ethnic make-up, and socio-economic standing. Both communities are predominantly Kikuyu, largely Catholic or other Christian denominations, and are relatively well off by Kenyan standards, with cash crops and small-scale business being the main means of subsistence. At the same time, the Nyahururu control site is not as large as Nyeri, with a population of only 58,081, compared to Nyeri's 109,974. It is also likely that, not only does Nyeri differ from Nyahururu in population size, but the Nyeri population could be more cosmopolitan, living about one hour closer to Nairobi than Nyahururu residents and enjoying more infrastructure in terms of schools and health facilities. There appears to have been very limited contamination of project activities in the control site. Only 11 respondents (1 percent) from Nyahururu were aware of the Friends of Youth activities.

### **3.3 Sample size and sampling**

#### *3.3.1 Household listing*

The sampling strategy was designed to draw a representative sample of adolescents aged 10 to 26 from all households in the project area and control site. All households in the experimental area and the control site were listed in a house-to-house survey. In Kenya, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) oversees all large enumeration and survey activities including the population census and DHS surveys. The research team worked with CBS staff, and used their maps, as well

as the CBS household numbering schemes and the boundaries of mapped geographical areas - enumeration areas (E.A.s) – to guide the listing of households. During the listing, maps were updated if household structures had either been erected or demolished.

There are two definitions of households that are commonly used in surveys: *de facto* and *de jure* definitions. The *de facto* definition is commonly used in censuses and considers residence at the time of the survey (i.e. having slept there the night before) as the dominant feature that distinguishes household members from non-members. The *de jure* definition considers where the member *usually* lives, regardless of whether he/she slept in the household the night before. For this survey, the *de facto* definition of the household was considered preferable largely because of the considerable mobility of adolescents. The fact that young people are highly mobile and often change residences would make the definition of *usual* residence, highly ambiguous. The *de facto* definition of household residence that was used in the survey was the same as that used by CBS and included three factors to distinguish household members from non-members. In order to be considered a member of the household, individuals must have: 1) slept there the night before, 2) be answerable to the same household head, and 3) share common resources or the same “cooking pot.”

Interviewers paid a maximum of three visits to all households in the project area in order to list the *de facto* members of the household. All household members were listed from oldest to youngest and basic demographic details taken including their age, sex, relationship to the head of household, their marital status and whether they are in or out of school. All households with at least one resident young person aged 10 to 26 were considered eligible for selection.

One shortcoming of this and other household surveys, such as DHS surveys, is that they are biased toward individuals living in residential households. Such surveys do not take into account individuals who are institutionalised, those who live in institutional arrangements, and those who live on the street. As such, the survey would not have included young people who are hospitalised or in

psychiatric institutions, those who are incarcerated or in remand homes, those who are at boarding school and those who live in the street.

### *3.3.2 Sampling strategy*

The intervention tested in this project involved community-based educators or “Friends of Youth” (FOYs) assigned to specific areas of the project site. The boundaries for these areas were demarcated prior to data collection for the baseline survey. Because it had been anticipated that 25 FOYs would work in the project, the experimental area was dissected into 25 areas of approximately equal numbers of resident adolescents during the baseline survey. Each area was contiguous and contained about 300 adolescents. Each of the 25 areas was eventually assigned to a FOY. In order to control for differences between the effectiveness of community based workers (FOYs) after three years of intervention, an equal number of adolescents was sampled per FOY-area at both baseline and endline. The same boundaries were used to demarcate FOY areas during the two rounds of survey.

At baseline, the sample size was calculated at 1250 adolescents in the experimental area and 400 adolescents in the control area. The baseline sample size in the experimental area was increased from the calculated 1250 to 1750, to account for possible non-response. Seventy adolescents were sampled in each of the 25 FOY-areas at baseline.

Additional adolescents were sampled at endline to compensate for eventual refusals or those that become ineligible for interview through migration, a factor in non-response that was found to be quite significant at baseline. In addition, whereas the baseline survey collected information only from the unmarried, the endline survey included married adolescents, so as not to exclude potential beneficiaries of the intervention who had since married. As such, sample size was increased to compensate for sampling those that were married at the time of baseline, for whom the intervention was not targeted.

Following the household listing, 100 households with eligible adolescents were selected per FOY area (totalling 2500 households), using a random number

generator available in SPSS. In Nyahururu, the control area, there were no pre-defined FOY areas. The distribution of respondents selected in sub-locations in Nyahururu was proportion to the urban-rural distribution in Nyeri. Eight hundred adolescents were sampled in Nyahururu with one third from urban enumeration areas, one third from semi-rural enumeration areas, and one third from rural enumeration areas.

In order to control for potential intra-household correlation, only one adolescent per household was interviewed. Where there was more than one eligible adolescent in a household, the Kish grid was used to randomly select only one of the adolescents for interview. For each adolescent selected, interviewers paid a maximum of three visits to the household in order to locate the selected respondent. When a selected respondent could not be reached or refused interview, no substitution in that household was made, thereby not overly biasing the sample toward compliant adolescents or those who are more likely to be found at home.

### **3.4 Questionnaires**

The survey collected information on a wide variety of issues, both directly and indirectly related to reproductive health attitudes and sexual behaviour. For the adolescent survey, information was collected on: socio-demographic information, education, family background, socio-economic status, gender attitudes, future aspirations, time use including membership in clubs and institutions, patterns of communication and media exposure, drug and alcohol use, puberty and circumcision, coercion and rape, boyfriends and girlfriends, sexual activity, family planning use, births, abortion, patterns of health seeking behaviour, and reproductive health knowledge, work and livelihoods, connectedness and mobility, marriage, and exposure to the experimental intervention.

Three different questionnaires were developed, two for adolescents and one for a sub-sample of parents of the adolescents interviewed. For the two adolescent questionnaires, separate boys and girls' versions were developed with parallel questions, but with specific wordings or topics fitting for either boys or girls. For



example, while girls were asked if they had ever been pregnant, boys were asked if they had ever made a girl pregnant.

Of the two questionnaires for adolescents, one was longer, structured, and interviewer-administered while the other was shorter and self-administered. The longer interviewer-administered questionnaire was designed to collect data on knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, experiences and lifestyles. The self-administered questionnaire collected information on more sensitive issues that adolescents might find difficult to tell an interviewer, such as sexual intercourse, the use of family planning methods, whether they had had any sexually transmitted diseases or undergone an abortion. Interviewers administered the longer questionnaire first and then asked the respondent to fill out the self-administered questionnaire. The respondents were instructed not to put their names on the questionnaire and were given envelopes in which to seal it. Recent studies undertaken in Nyeri by The Population Council (Ajayi et. al., 1997) had revealed that the vast majority of adolescents had some exposure to schooling and could read and write. Therefore, use of a self-administered questionnaire that required respondents to read and write did not greatly compromise data quality. Only 19 respondents (1 percent) in the present sample had never been to school. Nonetheless, all but three were able to complete the self-administered questionnaire with the assistance of the interviewer. In these cases, the interviewer would read the questions to the respondents along with the responses. He/she would tell the respondent where to mark the response, depending on which answer the respondent wanted to give and then ask the respondent to mark the questionnaire without the interviewer seeing what had been marked.

All questionnaires were translated into the local language, Kikuyu, while the self-administered questionnaire was also translated in Kiswahili. All questionnaires were submitted to five rounds of pretesting at baseline and three rounds of pretesting for additional questions added at endline. Pretests were conducted among Nyeri residents outside of the project sites, and subsequent revisions were made, before data collection. Pretesting of instruments was quite rigorous with several aspects of the instrument being examined: length of the questionnaire, flow of the questions, the accuracy of skip patterns, comprehension of the

questions in all languages, and respondent response to questions including boredom, annoyance, and offence.

While the questionnaire was quite long and could take as long as two hours, respondents reportedly did not mind taking the time to answer the questions. Many adolescents said that they rarely got the opportunity to talk to someone about such issues and rarely were able to express their opinions to anyone. The main changes made during pretesting concerned rephrasing questions to improve comprehension. For example, some terms were too technical or not easily translatable into local languages. In these cases, clarifying language was added to the question or modifications were made to the question. For example, in the section on work and livelihoods, the question on seasonal work was originally phrased as: “Is your work seasonal?”, a phrasing that young people did not understand. Eventually the question was rephrased to be much more explicit: “Does the amount of work you do vary according to the season – that is, do you do more work in some seasons of the year and less in others?” Other major changes made during pretesting of the questionnaire were the addition of transitional phrases in order to ease the transition from one topic to another or to reduce discomfort in the case of sensitive questions. For example, to ease into questions on drugs and alcohol, a short introduction was added designed to put the respondent at ease when answering these sensitive questions: “Now, I would like to ask you some questions about cigarettes, alcohol and drugs. Remember that everything we talk about will be confidential – meaning that I will not tell anyone in this community what we have said.” Pretesting also provided the opportunity to review translations that were problematic. For example, many words related to sex, sexual intercourse, and genitalia are not easily translated into local languages and can cause offence. For example, the word for “ejaculation” in local languages is akin to urination inside a woman and is considered very rude. The pretest allowed the research team time to come up with alternate translations for such sensitive terms.

### 3.5 Measurement of sexual coercion

As described, one major shortcoming in sexual coercion research has been definition and measurement of sexual coercion. As with other researchers, I have experienced difficulties in measurement of sexual coercion. The baseline survey of this research project collected data on the circumstances surrounding intercourse through the self-administered instrument. It had been anticipated that situating sensitive information in the self-administered context would improve reporting of non-consensual sex. That appeared not to be the case as discomfort with filling ‘forms’ seemed to disrupt comprehension of this question. The baseline instrument for this study asked the following question in the self-administered format: “For all the times you have had sex, have you ever been forced to have sex, tricked or sweet talked, threatened, or convinced with money or gifts?” Following the question, all the response categories were listed: 1) I wanted to have sex, 2) I was forced to have sex, 3) I was tricked into having sex, 4) I was sweet talked into having sex, etc. Though it had been intended that this be a multiple response question, the vast majority of responses were only single response. This is contrary to other studies that have found that victims of coercion are often subject to a range of coercive experiences.

As a result, I decided to use a sexual coercion grid I had earlier designed when giving technical assistance on a sexual coercion project (Erulkar, 2000).

Questions used in this grid were selected to reflect the accepted definition of sexual coercion:

“... sexual coercion is the act of forcing (or attempting to force) another individual through violence, threats, verbal insistence, deception, cultural expectations or economic circumstance to engage in sexual behaviour against his/her will... The touchstone of coercion is an individual woman’s lack of choice to pursue other options without severe social or physical consequences.” (Heise, Moore, and Toubia, 1995, pp. 8)

Drawing on this definition, the question used to measure sexual coercion dissected the concept into behaviourally specific questions, including questions regarding violence, threats, and verbal insistence. One oversight in designing this question was in omitting sexual behaviour that is compelled by economics (*discussed below*). Survey research on sensitive topics requires special attention to question

wording and interviewer qualities (Lee, 1993). The question was worded specifically to make the respondent feel that he/she was not being singled out and that such occurrences are not uncommon: "I will read a list of experiences that adolescent boys and girls may have as they grow up..." The specific questions on coercion were: 1) Has anyone ever threatened you to make you have sex? 2) Has anyone ever insisted, or not taken 'no' for an answer, to have sex with you? 3) Has anyone ever locked you in a room to make you have sex? 4) Has anyone ever physically forced you to have sex? 5) Has anyone ever raped you? One departure from the definition of sexual coercion was that this study included only coercive acts that resulted in completed sexual intercourse; it did not measure attempts that were unsuccessful nor other forms of sexual behaviour other than penetrative sex.

Given the stigma and varying meanings attached to the 'rape', the experience of rape was assessed using two questions, using the alternative language 'physical force' and 'rape'. If a respondent reported experiencing sex under any of these conditions, she was further asked how many times it had happened to her, the age at which it first happened, the age at which it last happened, who was the person who did this to her, how old was the person who did this to her, and if she had confided in anyone regarding the incident. The question was pre-tested over three rounds and did not seem to cause discomfort to respondents. Additionally, the questions were asked of all respondents, whether or not they had implied sexual activity in their previous responses, which allowed them to make changes and adjust responses over time during the interview.

One oversight in the measurement of coerced sex in this grid was failure to measure sex that was compelled by the exchange of money or gifts. The most recent Kenya Demographic and Health Survey revealed that a considerable proportion of young people had exchanged money or gifts for sex (NCPD, 1998). However, the question did not distinguish between those that had given money and those that had received money, nor had it established that sex was unwanted in the first place, and compelled by virtue of the exchange.

The questionnaire for this study did ask a series of questions on exchange of money and gifts for sex. However, that question was not used in the calculation of coercion because measurement of money/gifts coercion was confined to the most recent proposition for sex, making it inconsistent with how other aspects of coercion were measured. In that series of questions, young people were asked if anyone had ever suggested sex to them; whether they had also wanted sex at that time, if they had been offered money, gifts or favours at that time; and if they had had sex on that occasion (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2: Wantedness and outcome of sexual proposition involving money or gifts (n=157)**

	<b>Sex was wanted</b>	<b>Undecided about sex</b>	<b>Sex was unwanted</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>Had sex</b>	80% (12)	63% (24)	11% (11)	<b>30% (47)</b>
<b>Did not have sex</b>	20% (3)	37% (14)	89% (93)	<b>70% (110)</b>
<b>All</b>	<b>10% (15)</b>	<b>24% (38)</b>	<b>66% (104)</b>	<b>100% (157)</b>

A total of one hundred and fifty-seven young women in the sample had been offered money or gifts during the most recent proposition. Of these, 10 percent had wanted to have sex at the outset and 24 percent were undecided about sex. The vast majority who had initially wanted sex ended up having sex (80 percent) while 63 percent for whom sex was initially undecided, had sex.

Those for whom sex was initially unwanted, were offered money or gifts, and ended up having sex could be interpreted as having been coerced, or compelled, to have sex. Among those for whom sex was unwanted, only 11 who had been offered money and gifts ended up having sex. Of these, four respondents reported having experienced other forms of coercion and are therefore included as having experienced coerced sex (*see Section 3.7. Data analysis*). The remaining seven respondents who accepted money or gifts in exchange for sex that was unwanted at the outset were classified as not having experienced coerced sex. While accepting money and gifts as a compelling factor for having sex is likely underestimated in this survey, the apparent frequency of such instances appears to be low or spread across other forms of coercion.

### **3.6 Training of interviewers, fieldwork, and data entry**

Interviewers recruited were residents of Nyeri and Nyahururu Districts and knew the local language, Kikuyu. The criteria used to select interviewers was that they were young enough so that adolescent respondents felt comfortable with them, and sufficiently open-minded so as not to be judgmental during the interviewing, especially on sensitive topics. Where possible, young people were recruited who had previously served as survey interviewers, such as on the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), on the population census, or the baseline survey for the project. Only female interviewers interviewed female respondents and only males interviewed male respondents. In all, forty interviewers were recruited.

Interviewers were grouped in teams of five and each team had a supervisor, all of whom had extensive experience in survey work. The role of the supervisor was to schedule data collection in assigned areas, collaborate with local leaders where necessary, assign households to interviewers, check all questionnaires for completeness and accuracy, and stand in for interviewers in the case of hesitant respondents or problems in the communities. Supervisors were, in turn, managed by a survey coordinator and a quality control manager. These staff coordinated community sensitisation activities, spot checked data collection, reviewed all completed questionnaires, monitored progress of fieldwork, and were the principal liaison between The Population Council, FPAK, and field staff.

Training of interviewers and supervisors took place over a two-week period in February, 2001. Interviewers and supervisors were trained on all data collection instruments and field procedures. At the end of the training, participants took part in two field practices where they interviewed adolescents who resided outside the project area. The training emphasized interviewing techniques and conceptual understanding of the questionnaires. In addition, special sessions were held to familiarize interviewers with aspects of adolescent sexuality and reproductive health and to clarify their values in order to minimize the possibility of judgementalism during the interview.

Data collection took place between February and June 2001. Teams worked six days per week and concentrated work during hours when adolescents were most likely to be available, especially during evening and weekend hours. Much time was devoted to locating sampled adolescents. Thirty percent of adolescent questionnaires that were completed received three visits from the interviewer.

Before any interview was conducted with adolescents, permission was obtained from parents or guardians, unless the adolescent was over 18 or living on their own. Informed consent was also obtained from the adolescents themselves. The information given to the adolescent included the organizations undertaking the survey, the reason for the survey, confidentiality of the information, the fact that the adolescent's name does not appear on the questionnaire or any report that will be produced from the questionnaire, and that he/she may refuse to answer any question that makes him/her feel uncomfortable or stop the interview at any time. Contact information of the principal investigator was also given in case the respondent had further questions after the interview.

All data were entered and cleaned using the statistical package, Epi-Info and subsequently converted to SPSS 9.0 and 10.0 for analysis. The first three hundred questionnaires were doubled entered, to ensure the accuracy of data entry staff. The item error rate was less than 0.01 percent, meaning that there was less than 1 error made per thousand items entered.

### **3.7 Data analysis**

Data were analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 9.0 and 10.0. The dependent variable was girls' experience of coerced sexual intercourse, with the predictor variables being district of residence, age, marital experience, school status, educational attainment, work for pay experience, socio economic status, living arrangements, mother's education, age at first sex, years since first sex, age difference with partner, number of sexual partners, condom use at last sex, ever experienced symptoms of an STI/RTI, and attitudes on sexual decision-making. These factors were selected because of their prominence in the existing sexual coercion literature as well as assumptions about

the Kenyan environment. The literature on sexual coercion highlights both background factors that may put girls at increased risk of being sexually coerced as well as factors that are negative outcomes of sexual coercion. Independent variables included in the models presented here can be broadly sub-divided into predisposing factors or consequences of sexual coercion.

Individual, predisposing factors included in the models include age, marital status, school status, educational attainment, and work for pay. In US-based studies, being out of school and having attained fewer years of schooling have been associated with increased experience of sexual coercion (Boyer and Fine, 1992). Girls with less education are probably not as skilled in identifying potentially abusive partners and risky situations as are girls with more years of education. Marital status and work for pay have not been included as independent variables in other studies of sexual coercion. At the same time, emerging evidence from South Africa is suggesting that work for pay may be more closely linked to sexual behaviour than previously thought (Kaufman, et al., 2002). Having worked for pay may make girls better able to resist sexual pressure. Conversely, girls who do not have an income may be more reliant on men for financial support and, therefore, more susceptible to pressure from partners.

Family factors that may increase girls' vulnerability have also been included in the models presented here. Low maternal education, low socio-economic status, and living without parents have both been associated with increased risk of sexual coercion in US based studies (Abma, et al., 1998, Moore et al, 1989). Girls from poorer backgrounds may be more vulnerable than those from wealthier backgrounds, and are likely more amenable to persuasion and insistence from partners. Similarly, those without parents resident in the household may have less guidance and regulation than those living with parents, effectively increasing the chances of coercion.

Finally, societal level factors, may influence the extent to which coercion takes place. Communities which have histories of violence or those that are more accepting of violence against women, may exhibit higher levels of sexual coercion. The only variable reflecting societal level factors used in the models is



the district of residence variable. Moreover, this study was part of an intervention research project, where a community-based intervention was pilot tested in Nyeri Municipality for three years. The subject of date rape was included in the curriculum used by the FOYs during the project implementation. As the educational activities of the FOYs might impact upon sexual violence in the project site Nyeri, the District variable – whether Nyeri or Nyahururu - was included in the models. At the same time, FOYs tended to cover some topics more than others. In this survey, only 12 Nyeri boys and 27 Nyeri girls spontaneously mentioned that they had heard about date rape from FOYs. This compares to over 400 respondents who reported that they had learned about HIV/AIDS from FOYs.

The model also includes negative outcomes that result from sexual coercion. Several studies have documented that girls who experience coercion may engage in risk taking behaviour subsequent to the coercive experience. Authors have speculated that increased risk taking behaviour is linked to girls' evolving self-image after the experience:

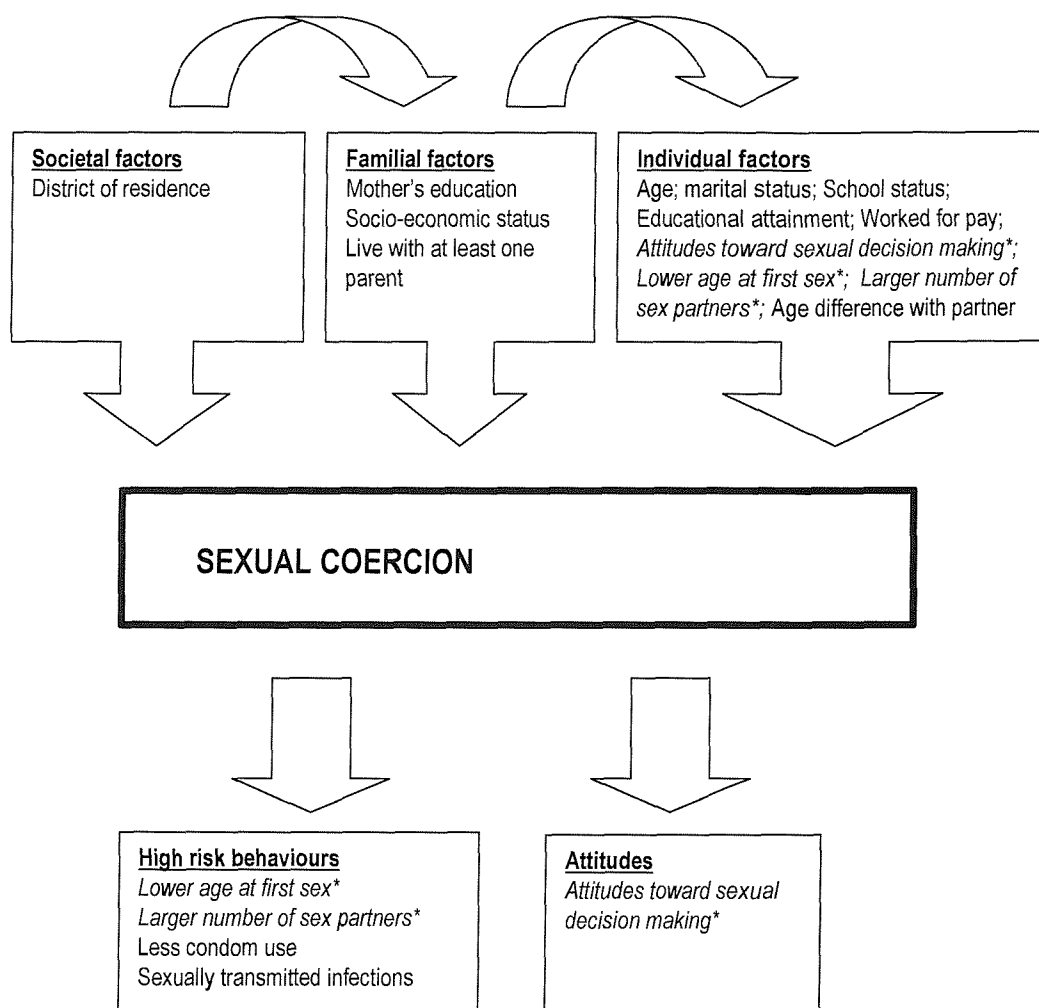
*“Early sexual victimization may also leave women less skilled in protecting themselves, less sure of their worth and their personal boundaries, and more apt to accept victimization as part of being female.”*  
(Heise, et al, 1994, pp. 20).

Previous studies have suggested that girls who experience coercion are less likely to use condoms and more likely to experience sexually transmitted diseases (Abma, et al, 1998). This is likely because the experience of coercion may result in girls relinquishing control over sexual intercourse, including condom use. Both condom use at last sex and experience of an STI have been included in the models as possible high risk behaviours that result from the experience of coercion.

For some factors in the model, it is not possible to fix the timing and sequencing of sexual coercion and the independent variable. For example, one may suspect that girls who think men should make the decision on matters related to sex, may be more susceptible to sexual coercion. On the other hand, the experience of sexual coercion may cause girls to feel that it is men who should hold primary

authority in sexual decisions. Girls who experience sexual initiation at earlier ages may have that experience precisely because they were coerced. Alternatively, girls who start having sex earlier may be less equipped to ward off sexual pressure and more likely of being coerced. A number of variables in the models have been included for which the pathways of influence are not clear, including attitude toward sexual decision making, age at first sex, and number of sex partners. Figure 3.1 is a schematic representation of the explanatory framework used in the sexual coercion models.

**Figure 3.1 Explanatory framework for sexual coercion**



\*Variables in italics may be either risk factors for sexual coercion or consequences of sexual coercion.

The figure depicts that there are several levels of predisposing factors that can increase girls' vulnerability to coercion. Factors are either societal, familial, or individual, but are also interrelated (*denoted by arrows between levels*). In other words, societal factors may influence familial factors and/or individual attributes. For example, one's district of residence and the availability of schools in that district, may influence one's school attendance and attainment.

Sexual coercion can also impact upon individual behaviours and attitudes. In US based research, risky sexual behaviour including reduced condom use and larger numbers of sex partners have been linked to the experience of coercion. This study models the factors associated with sexual coercion, both those that might increase a girl's risk of sexual coercion and those that may result from the coercive experience. The study uses a number of the same factors used in US-based studies. In doing so, I examine what are the particular factors that predispose Kenyan young women to sexual coercion and what are the negative outcomes they experience as a result of it. Addition of other variables such as paid work allow me to see the effect of economic self-sufficiency in the African context on sexual experience. Variables that are italicised are those for which the pathways of influence are unclear. These variables therefore appear at both the top and bottom of the diagram.

Table 3.3 reveals how each of these variables were measured.

**Table 3.3: Independent variables used in investigating sexual coercion**

Variables to be considered	Question(s) used in measurement
<b>Societal variables</b>	
1. District of residence	Identification information, District
<b>Familial/household-level variables</b>	
2. Mother's education	Recoded variable using: What is the highest level of education your mother completed?
3. Socio-economic status	Aggregate score using the following questions:  What is the main source of water your household uses for dishwashing and hand washing during most of the year? What kind of toilet facility does your household have? Does your household have (multiple response): 1=electricity; 2=radio; 3=television; 4=refrigerator? Does anyone in your household own (multiple response): 1=bicycle; 2=land; 3=cattle, goats, sheep; 4=market stall, kiosk, professional shop?
4. Lives without mother, father or spouse	Recoded variable using: Does your mother live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere? Does your father live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere? Are you currently married, or are you separated, divorced or widowed
<b>Individual-level variables</b>	
5. Age	In what month and year were you born? How old are you?
6. Marital experience	Have you ever been married?
7. School status	Have you ever attended school? Are you currently attending school?
8. Educational attainment	Have you ever attended school? (out of school) What is the highest class you have reached? (in school) In what standard/form are you currently enrolled?
9. Work-for-pay status	Have you ever done any work for which you were paid in cash or kind?
<b>Sexual experience variables</b>	
10. Age at first sex	How old were you when you first had sex?
11. Age difference with first partner	How old was the person with whom you had sex the first time? Computation of age at first sex – Age of first partner
12. Number of different sex partners	How many different people have you had sex with?
13. Condom use at last sex	The last time you had sex did you use condoms?
14. Ever experienced RTI/STI symptoms	Have you ever had pain or unusual discharge from the private parts?
<b>Attitudinal variables</b>	
15. Believe that men alone should decide when a couple has sex.	'Men alone should decide when a couple should play sex.' Do you agree or disagree?

The measurement of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) is always problematic from self-reports. Many respondents – especially females – do not experience symptoms or do not recognize symptoms of an STI. Moreover, symptoms of an STI are often the same as those for more general reproductive tract infections (RTI). The best proxy for experience of STI/RTIs is, in the context of this study, the experience of pain or unusual discharge.

In the calculation of whether or not a respondent lives without mother, father or spouse, this survey did not ask whether spouses were currently living together. The best proxy available is whether the couple is currently married, though it is possible that a currently married couple may be living apart. The questionnaire should have included a question on residence of husbands, parallel to the questions on parental residence: “Does your mother/father live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere?” For married adolescents, the question should have been asked: “Does your spouse live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere?”

Univariate analysis was conducted on all the variables to gain an understanding of the range, frequency of responses, and distribution of responses. Bivariate analysis between the dependent and independent variables was conducted to understand the relationships between the two types of variables. To assess the independence of variables, Pearson chi-square statistics were used for discrete data and for continuous data, a *t test* was used. For all the predictor variables considered, Spearman’s rho correlation coefficients were calculated to measure the strength of relationships between variables. Though this is an imperfect measure of association for dichotomous variables, they do provide an indication of the strength of association. Ultimate selection of independent variables was based largely on this measure, as well as theoretical interpretation of the findings and knowledge of existing literature.

For multivariate analysis, discrete-time Cox Proportional Hazards Regression Model was used. A Cox Proportional Hazards Regression Model examines the time-to-event occurrence of an outcome variable and is appropriate for data with a large number of censored cases (Afifi and Clark, 1990). In the case of girls' experience of coerced sex, it is likely that I have not observed girls in the sample long enough to see the ultimate number of girls who will be coerced during their young adult years. Given that this is a cross-sectional survey with many younger respondents, the data can be said to have a number of right-censored cases.

Bivariate and multivariate analyses were conducted comparing sexual coercion within three different comparison groups. Most studies of sexual coercion have compared those who have been coerced with sexually experienced counterparts who have not been coerced. Therefore, one set of analyses will compare girls who have experienced sexual coercion with sexually experienced girls who have not. This comparison, however, assumes that girls that are not sexually active are not at risk of being coerced into having sex. Many girls report that their sexual initiation was the result of coerced sex, implying that even girls who have never had sex, are at risk of being coerced. Therefore, another set of analyses will examine differences between girls who have been coerced into having sex and all girls, whether sexually experienced or not. A third analysis will examine sexual coercion within marriage, among married adolescents.

The next chapter examines the quality of the data, the characteristics of the sample, and presents descriptive statistics on transitions to adulthood among both girls and boys in the sample.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DATA QUALITY, SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, AND DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

In this section, data quality issues are examined, including response rates and examination of age reporting. The chapter also outlines the characteristics of the sample, comparing sampled males and females as well as comparing respondents from Nyeri with those from Nyahururu.

Most studies of adolescents have focused only on those that are never married, excluding married adolescents from the sample. Further, where studies have examined the adolescent environment, the focus tends to be whether they are in- or out-of-school, without regard to young people's living arrangements, work status, marital status, or parenthood. This study is a representative sample of young people aged 10 to 26, irrespective of marital status, enabling me to chart adolescent transitions as they move from school to work to marriage to parenthood.

The survey collected data on a wide range of issues, including educational and work status, family background and marriage, how adolescents spend their time, sexual activity, and related behaviour. A number of these variables are used in analysing young women's experiences of sexual coercion. In this chapter, I examine adolescents' experiences during transitions to adulthood, with emphasis on variables to be used in analysing sexual coercion. Because a comparison of boys' and girls' experiences is useful, both boys and girls will be included in this analysis, though girls will eventually be the focus of the analysis on coercion. First, transitions from school, to work, to marriage to parenthood will be described, primarily using life tables. Then, sexual initiation will be examined, along with patterns of sexual behaviour, the profile of partners, and experiences with negative reproductive health outcomes.

The analysis is based on data from the 2712 young people from Nyeri and Nyahururu Municipalities. Most studies of adolescents have aggregated data from boys and girls, with little attention to the differences between girls' and boys' contexts and experiences. This author's experience is that differences in young

women's and young men's experiences is often neglected by researchers and, as such, programming for adolescents in Africa is, more often than not, gender neutral and non-specific. With this in mind, all descriptive analysis will be disaggregated by sex of the respondent, underscoring the importance of taking the distinct experiences of boys and girls into account.

#### **4.1. Response rate of the survey**

Response rates reflect the quality and representativeness of the data used in analysis. A total of 3315 young people aged 10 to 26 were sampled in Nyeri and Nyahururu Municipalities from the household listing data. Overall, more girls than boys were sampled (1914 girls sampled compared to 1398 boys). During the survey, the greater number of girls being sampled was monitored by the investigator and the fieldwork coordinator. Table 4.1 displays sampling information for Nyeri Municipality only, on the number of eligible girls and number of eligible boys in the sampled households. Column A is the FOY area, or cluster of enumeration areas from which 100 households were sampled. Columns B and C list the total number of households in the areas that had eligible boys and girls. There were more households with eligible girls than boys; 889 households had eligible boys, compared to 1212 households with eligible girls. In other words, for every one household with an eligible boy, there were 1.4 households with eligible girls. Similarly, from the 100 households sampled in each of the FOY-areas, there appeared to be more girls living in the households than boys (1216 boys compared to 1572 girls). The ratio of girls to boys sampled, 1.5 to 1, is comparable to the ratio of households with eligible adolescents.



**Table 4.1: Eligible households and adolescents, Nyeri Municipality**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
FOY AREA	TOTAL NUMBER OF HH WITH BOYS	TOTAL NUMBER OF HH WITH GIRLS	TOTAL BOYS NUMBER OF BOYS LIVING IN 100 SAMPLED HH	TOTAL NUMBER OF GIRLS LIVING IN 100 SAMPLED HH	BOYS SAMPLED	GIRLS SAMPLED	Total sampled
1	44	76	57	101	33	67	100
2	51	69	70	88	42	58	100
4	51	72	64	105	40	60	100
5	53	63	71	87	42	58	100
6	52	61	70	75	51	49	100
7	57	67	65	81	48	52	100
8	50	71	67	84	41	59	100
16	53	78	74	95	38	62	100
17	55	67	68	84	44	56	100
18	45	76	58	88	33	67	100
19	56	76	85	104	38	62	100
20	64	68	95	92	48	52	100
21	42	81	50	108	28	72	100
22	45	80	61	101	30	70	100
23	55	70	87	82	45	55	100
24	65	70	110	105	49	51	100
25	51	67	64	92	40	60	100
	889	1212	1216	1572	690	1010	1700

Tabulations of DHS data for Kenya revealed a similar excess of households with girls compared to boys, especially for older adolescents. Analysis of the percentage of households with adolescents aged 10 to 14, 15 to 19, and 20 to 26 revealed that there was an excess of households with girls aged 20 to 26. The ratio of households with girls aged 10 to 14 compared to boys aged 10 to 14 was 1.1 to 1. For girls to boys aged 15 to 19, the ratio was 1:1. For households with residents aged 20 to 26, the ratio was 1.4 households with girls for every 1 household with boys.

Reasons for the excess girls are not immediately clear. One possibility is that boys in this age group migrate to Nairobi, which is only 2 to 3 hours away, in search of work. Another possibility is that boys in this age group are less likely to

live in households and to be listed, perhaps living in institutional settings or on the street.

Of the young people sampled, 9 percent were ineligible for survey (Table 4.2). The main reason for ineligibility was change of residence between the time of listing and the interview. Many young people had gone away for an extended period, migrated, or gone to boarding school, meaning that they were no longer residents of the project area and no longer eligible for interview. The fact that 272 sampled respondents (8 percent) had moved from the area during the time between the initial household listing and the survey, - which in most cases was a matter of weeks - underscores the great mobility of young people in this age group. Also, it indicates that the adolescents that were interviewed (those that did not move away) probably represent the less mobile among the target group. In a small number of cases (<1 percent), a household that was selected could not be located or an individual that was selected from the listing, did not appear to be a member of that household. This could be due to errors in household listing, such as mis-recording location information, or could be due to errors in listing household members.

**Table 4.2: Response rate of the survey, by sex of the respondent**

	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Individuals Sampled</b>	<b>1398</b>	<b>1914</b>	<b>3312</b>
<b>Ineligible for Interview</b>			
Away for Extended Period/Moved Away	115 (8%)	157 (8%)	272 (8%)
No Such Person / Structure Not Found	15 (1%)	8 (< 1%)	23 (<1%)
<b>Total Ineligible for Interview</b>	<b>130 (9%)</b>	<b>165 (9%)</b>	<b>295 (9%)</b>
<b>Number of Eligible Individuals Sampled</b>	<b>1268</b>	<b>1749</b>	<b>3017</b>
Refused	59 (5%)	79 (5%)	138 (5%)
Not at home after 3 visits	110 (9%)	41 (3%)	151 (5%)
Incapacitated	6 (<1%)	10 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
<b>Total Eligible Individuals not Interviewed</b>	<b>175 (14%)</b>	<b>130 (7%)</b>	<b>305 (10%)</b>
<b>Total Eligible Individuals Interviewed</b>	<b>1093 (86%)</b>	<b>1619 (92%)</b>	<b>2712 (90%)</b>

Of the 3017 adolescents sampled, 90 percent were interviewed, which is a response rate consistent or slightly better than other surveys of young people conducted in Kenya, as well as the baseline for the project, conducted in 1996 (Ajayi, et. al., 1997, Erulkar et. al, 1997). Overall, 5 percent of eligible respondents refused to participate and 5 percent were not located after three visits to the household and appointments made. Boys were more than twice as likely not to be located after three visits than girls, resulting in a response rate that was lower for boys (86 percent), than for girls (92 percent).

The response rate for girls is similar to the Kenya DHS response rate of 96 percent. The fact that the response rate for this survey is slightly lower than the DHS rate is likely attributable to a number of factors. My experience in conducting adolescent surveys is that they attract more suspicion and resistance from the community compared to surveys for the entire population. Like parents all over the world, Kenyan parents are understandably concerned about who their adolescent children – particularly girls - are talking to and about what. Many prefer to shield children from conversations they consider inappropriate for their age. Another reason for the slightly lower response rate compared to the DHS survey is the comparative visibility that the DHS surveys enjoy compared to surveys conducted by non-governmental organizations. While this survey team worked with governmental bodies - Central Bureau of Statistics and the National Council for Population and Development - these bodies were not as visible in the research as they are in the DHS survey. Communities are less likely to resist interview when those interviews are directly tied to the government and to local leaders such as village chiefs. On the other hand, surveys with looser ties to the government are likely to experience somewhat diminished support and compliance at the local level.

The response rate for boys in this survey (86 percent) is higher than the response rate for all men in Central Province (78 percent) from the most recent DHS survey (NCPD, 1998). While boys' refusal rate for this survey (5 percent) was higher than for Central Province men in the DHS (3 percent), a far greater proportion of men sampled in the DHS survey were not at home after three visits (17 percent) compared to boys in this survey (9 percent).

The survey was conducted in two Municipalities in Central Province, Kenya - Nyeri Municipality and Nyahururu Municipality. The response rates were higher in Nyahururu Municipality than in Nyeri, with 96 percent of eligible respondents completing the survey in Nyahururu, compared to 88 percent in Nyeri (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.3: Response rate of the survey, by district**

	Nyeri			Nyahururu		
	Boys (n=993)	Girls (n=1290)	All (n=2283)	Boys (n=275)	Girls (n=459)	All (n=734)
Completed	832 (84%)	1175 (91%)	2007 (88%)	261 (95%)	444 (97%)	705 (96%)
Not home after 3 visits	102 (10%)	38 (3%)	140 (6%)	8 (3%)	3 (<1%)	11 (2%)
Refused	54 (5%)	70 (5%)	124 (5%)	5 (2%)	9 (2%)	14 (2%)
Incapacitated	5 (<1%)	7 (<1%)	12 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	4 (<1%)

Both boys and girls in Nyahururu had higher completion rates compared to counterparts in Nyeri. Young people in Nyahururu were easier to locate during visits to the households than were Nyeri young people. Overall, interviewers could not locate 6 percent of sampled Nyeri adolescents after three visits, compared to only 2 percent of Nyahururu adolescents. Nyeri boys are particularly difficult to locate, with 10 percent not contacted after three visits to the household. Refusal rates were also higher in Nyeri than in Nyahururu, with 5 percent of Nyeri respondents refusing compared to 2 percent of Nyahururu respondents refusing.

Unfortunately, data on respondent age and marital status are not available for questionnaires that were not completed, making it difficult to know whether non-response varied by age or marital status of the respondent.

## 4.2 Quality of age reporting

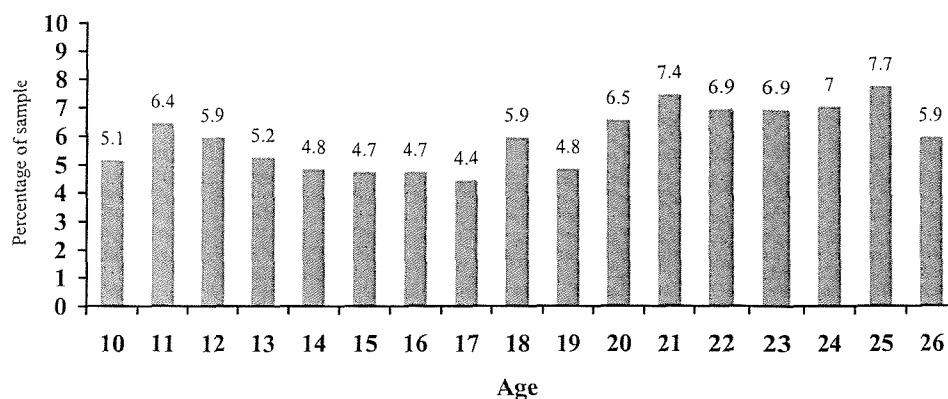
Many of the age variables in this study are of central importance in the analysis, which is often the case in studies of young people. Transitions during adolescence such as sex, pregnancy and marriage are highly age dependent, making the accurate reporting of age a central concern to researchers of adolescence. Such information may often be misreported by the respondent either because of difficulty in recalling information, unwillingness to admit to early sexual intercourse, or because they perceive the interviewer to be embarrassed (Blanc and Rutenberg, 1991). This section will explore the accuracy and consistency of age data in the study, including data on respondents age, age at first sex, and age at first pregnancy.

### 4.2.1 *Age of respondent*

The age of the respondent was assessed through two questions: “In what month and year were you born?” and “How old are you?”. Interviewers were instructed to compare the answers to these two consecutive questions and discuss inconsistencies with the respondent. Among 4 percent of respondents, month of birth was not known and among 0.2 percent of respondents, year of birth was not known. There were no missing responses for age of the respondent. The fact that so many respondents were aware of their month and year of birth is probably indicative of increasing levels of literacy among young people and their parents compared to generations before them. Adolescents in this sample were more knowledgeable about their birth dates compared to those aged 15 to 26 in the Kenya DHS survey. While 96 percent of the respondents in this survey knew both their month and year of birth, only 88 percent of Central Province young people aged 15 to 26 in the DHS survey knew the same information.

Age heaping occurs when respondents round their age to convenient or appealing numbers, such as multiples of five, minimum legal ages, or ages above or below age cut-offs in surveys. Figure 4.1 reveals the distribution of ages within the sample. The distribution does not reveal any obvious heaping around age 10, 15, or 20, as is common in many surveys.

Figure 4.1: Age distribution of respondents (n=2712)

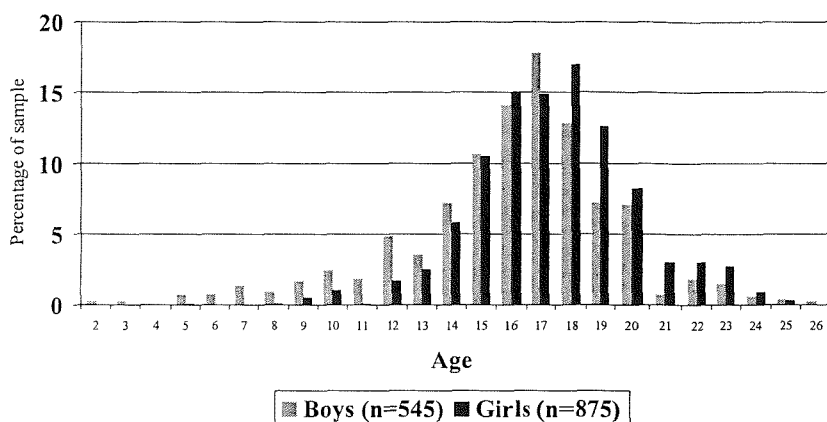


However, there does appear to be a disproportionate number of 18-year-olds (5.9 percent), compared to 17-year-olds and 19-year-olds (4.4 percent and 4.8 percent, respectively). Age 18 is the legal age of majority in Kenya, which might carry an appeal for some respondents. The graph suggests a slight excess of 21-year-olds and 25-year-olds, compared to the ages immediately preceding or following them. This could suggest a tendency to report ones age as 21, which is commonly considered the entry age for adulthood, or to round the age to the multiple of five, age 25.

#### 4.2.2 *Age at first sex, marriage, and birth*

Misreporting of age, including age heaping, becomes more of a concern in age related questions regarding first sex, first marriage, and first pregnancy or birth. In particular, age at first sex does not have supporting or official documents, as marriage and birth increasingly do. Boys and girls might misreport age at first sex, biasing it toward the “socially acceptable” ages. For example, girls might report a higher age at first sex if sex was initiated early so as not to appear “loose”; boys might artificially depress the age at first sex in order to appear more experienced than they really are. Figure 4.2 is a frequency distribution of reported age at first sex, by sex of the respondent (Figure 4.2). There is no obvious age heaping, by either sex, for reporting age at first sex.

Figure 4.2: Distribution of reported age at first sex, by sex (n=2712)



Comparing the percentage of never-married women who are sexually experienced with DHS data reveals that both surveys have similar rates of premarital sex. Data from the 1989 DHS survey show that 21 percent of those aged 15 to 17 years have had sex; 53 percent of 18 to 19 year-olds have had sex; and 73 percent of 20 to 21 year-olds have had sex (Blanc and Rutenberg, 1991). The respective figures for this survey were 28 percent of 15 to 17 year olds, 53 percent of 18 to 19 year olds and 67 percent of 20 to 21 year olds.

Blanc and Rutenberg describe inconsistencies in reporting of age at first sex with age at first birth and age at first union (Blanc and Rutenberg, 1991). In this analysis, 10 percent of the data were affected when respondents reported an age at first sex that was later than an age at first birth or marriage. In this survey, only 1 percent of respondents (n=9) reported an age of first birth that preceded age at first sex.

### 4.3 Sample characteristics

In total, 2712 adolescents aged 10 to 26 were interviewed in Nyeri and Nyahururu. More females were interviewed than males, which is partly a reflection of population distributions and partly a reflection of differential response rate between boys and girls (86 percent for boys and 92 percent for girls). Table 4.4 displays the demographic characteristics of adolescents in the sample, by sex of the respondent.

Fifty-two percent of the sample is below the age of 20, while 48 percent are aged 20 to 26. While boys were roughly evenly distributed between age groups, over half of the female respondents were aged 20 to 26, compared to one third of boys. Though it is not possible to analyse response rates by age or marital status (as this information was not recorded on incomplete questionnaires), it is likely that girls aged 20 to 26 were more likely to be married and at home, making them easier to contact for interview than unmarried adolescents who are schooling or working. While not conclusive, there is some evidence that there could have been a higher response rate for girls aged 20 to 26, especially those that were married.

Sixty-four percent of girls in the age group 20 to 26 were married, compared to only 15 percent in the age group 15 to 19. The ease with which respondents are reached is partly reflected in the number of visits an interviewer must make to the household to make contact with the respondent. Interviewers took a significantly fewer number of visits to obtain an interview from a married respondent compared to an unmarried respondent (average 1.83 visits to an unmarried respondent, 1.72 visits to a married respondent,  $p < 0.05$ ), suggesting some of the excess numbers of girls aged 20 to 24 in the sample could be a result of higher response rates in this group.



**Table 4.4: Sample characteristics by sex**

	<b>Male (N=1093)</b>	<b>Female (N=1619)</b>	<b>Total (N=2712)</b>
<b>Age</b>			
10-14	32% (353)	24% (387)	27% (740)
15-19	28% (306)	22% (361)	25% (667)
20-24	29% (319)	38% (619)	34% (938)
25-26	11% (115)	16% (252)	14% (367)
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic	41% (449)	35% (562)	37% (1011)
Other Christian	56% (609)	62% (1007)	60% (1616)
Other non-Christian	3% (33)	3% (46)	3% (79)
<b>Ethnic group</b>			
Kikuyu	91% (992)	89% (1447)	90% (2439)
Non-Kikuyu	9% (101)	11% (172)	10% (273)
<b>Ever attended school</b>	99% (1079)	99% (1603)	99% (2682)
<b>Currently attending school</b>	46% (491)	29% (470)	36% (961)
<b>Highest level of education attained (among out-of school)</b>			
Less than 9 years education	57% (332)	56% (635)	56% (967)
9 or more years of education	43% (255)	44% (498)	44% (753)
<b>Ever worked for pay</b>	50% (543)	52% (827)	51% (1370)
<b>Living arrangements</b>			
Lives with both parents	35% (363)	22% (339)	27% (702)
Lives with mother only	25% (270)	16% (259)	20% (529)
Lives with father only	4% (38)	2% (25)	3% (63)
Lives with spouse	8% (83)	35% (559)	24% (642)
Lives alone	28% (301)	25% (405)	26% (706)
<b>Parental education</b>			
Mother completed primary	79% (727)	68% (987)	72% (1714)
Father completed primary	88% (725)	78% (999)	82% (1724)
<b>Mean socio-economic score (1-10)</b>	4.0	4.3	4.2
<b>Marital status</b>			
Never married	92% (1002)	62% (1002)	74% (2004)
Ever married	8% (91)	38% (617)	26% (708)

The vast majority of respondents are from the Kikuyu ethnic group and are of Catholic or other Christian denomination. Ninety percent of respondents were Kikuyu and 97 percent are Catholic or other Christian. More boys (41 percent) than girls (35 percent) reported being Catholic. Only about one quarter of respondents lived with both parents; about one quarter live with a spouse and one quarter live alone. Among young people living in single parent households, the most are living with a mother, not father.

There are large differentials in marital status between boys and girls in the sample. While 38 percent of girls in the sample are married, only 8 percent of boys are married. Just over half of the sample, 51 percent, had worked for pay.

All but 29 respondents had attended school. Thirty-six percent of the sample were attending school at the time of survey. A greater proportion of boys than girls were currently attending school (46 percent of boys and 29 percent of girls) which is probably a reflection of the greater number of older girls in the sample.

Ultimate school attainment for boys compared to girls appeared to be similar. Among the out of school, 43 percent of boys had 9 or more years of education compared to 44 percent of girls.

Socio-economic status was calculated using a composite score combining household facilities and ownership of items. Respondents received 1 point for each of the following items that their household possessed, meaning that scores could range from 0 - if respondents owned none of the items – to 10, if respondents or members of their household owned all ten items listed.

1. Water source: water tapped into the house, compound or plot
2. Toilet facility: flush toilet, own or shared
3. Electricity: household has electricity
4. Radio
5. Television
6. Refrigerator
7. Bicycle
8. Cattle, goats, or sheep
9. Land
10. Market stall, kiosk or professional shop

Scores ranged from 0 to 10, with a mean of 4.1, a median of 4.0, and a standard deviation of 2.18. Girls had significantly higher SES scores than boys (4.3 for girls, compared to 4.0 for boys). Unmarried girls, in particular, had high SES values, averaging 4.7 for unmarried girls and 4.5 for unmarried boys. There was no difference in SES score between married girls and married boys, with each group averaging 4.0.

The survey was conducted in two Municipalities in Central Province, Nyeri and Nyahururu. Nyeri Municipality had been serving as the experimental site for an intervention research project over the three years prior to survey, while Nyahururu was the control site. Table 4.5 give the sample characteristics for Nyeri compared to Nyahururu.

Table 4.5: Sample characteristics, by municipality

	Nyeri (n=2007)	Nyahururu (n=705)	Total (N=2712)
<b>Age</b>			
10-14	27% (553)	27% (187)	27% (740)
15-19	25% (493)	25% (174)	25% (667)
20-24	35% (707)	33% (231)	34% (938)
25-26	13% (254)	16% (113)	14% (367)
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic	40% (791)	31% (220)	37% (1011)
Other Christian	57% (1143)	67% (473)	60% (1616)
Other Non-Christian	3% (67)	2% (12)	3% (79)
<b>Ethnic group</b>			
Kikuyu	91% (1819)	88% (620)	90% (2439)
Non-Kikuyu	9% (188)	12% (85)	10% (273)
<b>Ever attended school</b>			
	99% (1986)	99% (696)	99% (2682)
<b>Currently attending school</b>			
	37% (741)	32% (220)	36% (961)
<b>Highest level of education attained (among out-of-school)</b>			
Less than 9 years education	54% (668)	63% (299)	56% (967)
9 or more years of education	46% (576)	37% (177)	44% (753)
<b>Ever worked for pay</b>			
	50% (983)	55% (387)	51% (1370)
<b>Living arrangements</b>			
Lives with both parents	28% (546)	23% (156)	27% (702)
Lives with mother only	20% (407)	17% (122)	20% (529)
Lives with father only	4% (47)	3% (16)	4% (63)
Lives with spouse	23% (453)	27% (189)	24% (642)
Lives alone	25% (494)	30% (212)	26% (706)
<b>Parental education</b>			
Mother completed primary	75% (1317)	65% (397)	72% (1714)
Father completed primary	83% (725)	80% (432)	82% (1724)
<b>Mean socio-economic score (1-10)</b>			
	4.3	4.0	4.2
<b>Marital status</b>			
Ever married	25% (501)	29% (207)	708 (26%)
Never married	75% (1506)	71% (498)	2004 (74%)

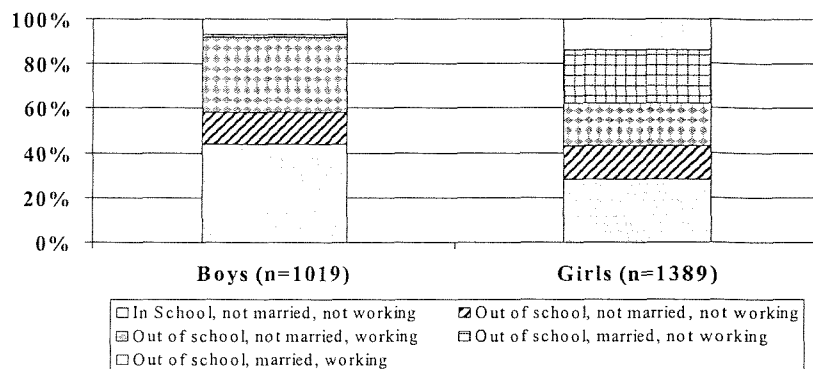
Age distributions of the respondents were similar in each of the municipalities, with 53 percent aged below 20 in Nyeri and 52 percent below 20 in Nyahururu. There was a greater proportion of Catholics in the Nyeri sample (40 percent), compared to Nyahururu (31 percent). In both municipalities, 99 percent of young people had attended school, with 37 percent of the Nyeri sample currently attending compared to 32 percent of the Nyahururu sample. At the same time, Nyeri young people were slightly better educated, with 47 percent having attended 9 or more years of schooling compared to 37 percent in Nyahururu. A greater proportion of Nyeri young people lived with at least one parent (52 percent in Nyeri, 43 percent in Nyahururu).

Levels of parental education are often positively associated with improved economic, educational and health status of children. Adolescent respondents reported a high level of education of their parents, although there was some difference between the level of fathers' education and that of mothers'. According to adolescents interviewed, 82 percent of their fathers had completed primary education compared to 72 percent of their mothers. Parents in Nyeri were more educated than parents in Nyahururu. While 75 percent of mothers and 83 percent of fathers in Nyeri had completed primary education, the comparable figures were 65 percent and 80 percent for Nyahururu mothers and fathers, respectively.

#### **4.4. Adolescent transitions: Education, work, marriage and parenthood**

This sections explores the timing and nature of young people's transitions during adolescence, as they move through various stages such as school, the work world, marriage, and parenthood. Figure 4.3 shows the school, work and marital status of young people in the sample. Girls and boys appear to have different experiences as they move through the young adult years.

Figure 4.3: School, marital and working status of young people, aged 10 to 26



Keeping in mind that the sample has a large number of older females, a greater proportion of young women than men are married in the sample. Once boys leave school, it appears that many remain unmarried but working (34 percent). In comparison, far fewer out-of-school girls are not married and working (19 percent). Many girls are married but not working (24 percent) and some are married and working (14 percent). Fourteen percent of young people are not in school, not working, and not married.

Many studies examining adolescent transitions such as first sex, first marriage or first birth, calculate mean age of experiencing the event – such as first sex – among those who have experienced the event. The problem with this type of analysis is that many of the respondents in an adolescent sample will not have had sex yet. Mean age at first sex is therefore only calculated among those who have had sex in the sample, leaving those who delayed sexual initiation out of the calculation. Therefore, mean age at first sex artificially biases the estimate of first sex toward younger ages as it does not take into account those who delayed sexual activity until later ages.

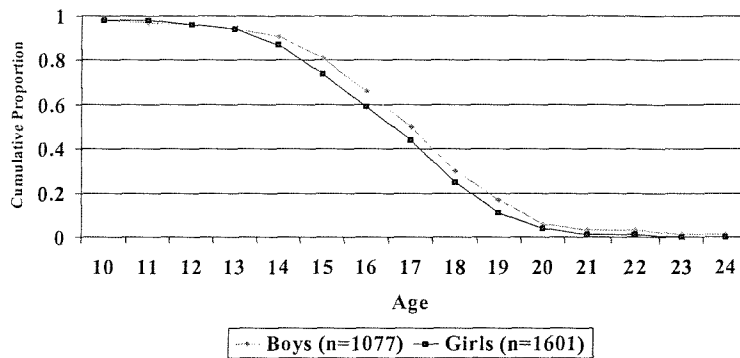
In this analysis, educational status, work status, marital status and parenthood were analysed using survival analysis which is often used when a considerable number of cases are censored, or, in other words, the event of interest has not happened yet. In a sample of young people aged 10 to 26, many of the respondents – especially the younger respondents - will not have experienced the event of interest, such as sexual intercourse, marriage, or parenthood. Survival analysis permits inclusion of censored cases in the calculation of median survival times.

Life table analysis is one method of estimating survival times from a sample. Using life table analysis, the data are divided into time intervals, in this case, age in years. At each interval, life table analysis computes the number or proportion of respondents who enter the interval, having not experienced the event, the number or proportion of respondents that experienced the event (“failing”) during the time interval, and the number or proportion who were censored during that interval. In this case, examples of “failing” would be dropping out of school, having sex for the first time, or getting married. Based on these calculations, the life table calculates: 1) the number of cases entering the interval, 2) the proportion “failing” during that interval, 3) the proportion surviving during the interval, 4) the cumulative proportion surviving during the interval (the survival function), 5) the probability density of “failing” during the time interval, 6) the hazard rate, and 7) the median survival time. In the analysis that follows, the survival function (the cumulative proportion surviving up to time  $t$ ) and the hazard function ( $1 -$  the survival function) will be used to represent the cumulative proportion of adolescents “surviving” or not having experienced the event (e.g. school drop out, starting to work for pay, marriage, parenthood) at age  $X$ , among those that have not yet had experienced the event at age  $X-1$ . Survival analysis will also be used to compute the median age for experiencing adolescent transitions such as age at first sex, first marriage and first birth. While this thesis uses retrospective data, one could also have used current status data, as proposed by Diamond et al (1986).

#### 4.4.1 *Schooling*

Schooling appears to be nearly universal for adolescents in Nyeri and Nyahururu. All but 29 adolescents in the sample had attended school. Using life table estimates, Figure 4.4 shows the cumulative proportion of adolescents enrolled in school by age and sex.

Figure 4.4: Cumulative proportion of adolescents enrolled in school, by age and sex



The figure shows the cumulative proportion of those “surviving” in school, or, in other words, not dropping out. There is little difference in the enrolment rates of boys and girls, with girls at a slight disadvantage at nearly all ages. Up to age 13 or 14, most adolescents remain enrolled in school, after which there is rapid drop-out from school. School dropout for boys and girls is almost identical at every age. The median survival time in school is 17.9 years for boys and 17.6 years for girls. By the age of 21, virtually no young people in the sample remained in school.



Table 4.6 reveals the main reasons given for no longer being in school, among school leavers.

**Table 4.6: Main reason for school leaving, by sex**

	Boys (n=587)	Girls (n=1133)	All (n=1720)
Completed a schooling cycle (primary or secondary)	45% (263)	41% (473)	43% (736)
Family could not pay school fees	34% (201)	36% (402)	35% (603)
Not interested in school	12% (73)	9% (102)	10% (175)
Poor performance	4% (26)	4% (42)	4% (68)
Pregnancy/had a child	0 (0)	6% (66)	4% (66)
Other	5% (24)	4% (48)	4% (72)

The main reason among both boys and girls for school leaving was that they had completed a schooling cycle – either primary or secondary education. However, a sizable minority mentioned that they were no longer in school because their families could not afford to pay the school fees (35 percent), while 10 percent cited a lack of interest. While schoolgirl pregnancy is frequently cited as a major problem in Kenya, pregnancy accounted for only 6 percent of female school dropout. Other reasons cited for school leaving included having too many domestic duties, families seeing no benefit to education, expulsion from school, and tribal clashes.

Analysis of ultimate school attainment among the out-of-school revealed little difference between educational attainments of boys compared to girls. Thirty-eight percent of boys and 38 percent of girls had completed primary school, but not gone on to secondary. Thirty-four percent of boys and 32 percent of girls had completed secondary school, but not gone on to university. Less than 1 percent of the sample (5 boys and 3 girls) had attended university.

Recent studies of the school environment in sub-Saharan Africa have highlighted that, at times, the school is not as safe and supportive as it is thought to be (Ajayi, et al, 1997, Leach et. al, 2000, Mensch and Lloyd, 1998, Human Rights Watch, 2001, Hyde, 1993). In fact, a hostile school environment could contribute to lack

of interest in school and early dropout. The survey asked the in-school adolescents to assess their school environment. Young people were read a series of statements and asked if they agree or disagree with the statement, or, in other words, whether that statement pertained to their current school (Table 4.7).

**Table 4.7: Students' views on their school (percentage agreeing with statement)**

	Boys (n=483)	Girls (n=469)
Teachers at your school care about students	97%	96%
Teachers at your school prefer boys to girls	5%	4%
Teachers at your school prefer girls to boys	11%	9%
There is a teacher at your school who you can talk to if you have a problem	88%	91%
You sometimes feel scared walking to and from your school	20%	22%
Girls: Boys at your school sometimes tease you in a way you don't like	21%	38%
Boys: Girls at your school sometimes tease you in a way you don't like		
Most of your friends attend your school	82%	81%
You participate in many school activities outside of class	39%	41%
You would be happier if you went to another school	27%	27%
There is a lot of fighting and violence among students at your school	16%	16%

Students held quite high views of their school and views of boys did not differ greatly from those of girls. The majority felt that teachers at their school cared about them (97 percent) and had a teacher to whom they could go with a problem (90 percent). In general, students did not perceive teacher preference for boys or girls, though, if they did, more students felt that teachers preferred girls (10 percent) to boys (4 percent). This is surprising given that studies of schooling conducted in three Districts in Kenya in 1996 (including Nyeri district) revealed that, when teachers do report a preference for girls or boys, they almost always prefer teaching boys (Ajayi, et al, 1997, Mensch and Lloyd, 1998). About one fifth (21 percent) of young people perceived safety issues when walking to and from school and 16 percent felt that there was a lot of violence at their school. The greatest difference in schooling experience for boys compared to girls seemed to be in the extent of teasing received by the opposite sex. While 21 percent of

boys reported that girls tease them in a way they do not like, 38 percent of girls said that boys tease them in a way they do not like.

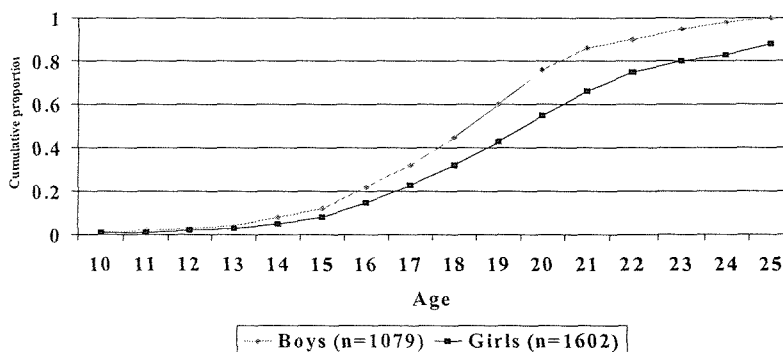
#### 4.4.2 *Paid and unpaid work*

Relatively little research attention has been paid to adolescent livelihoods and the extent to which young people enter the work world after school leaving. Further, the data on work – whether paid or unpaid – are often ambiguous and poorly defined (Population Council, ICRW, 2000). Building on Population Council surveys conducted in Pakistan and Vietnam, this survey asked a series of questions, separately, on paid work and unpaid work.

Fifty percent of boys and 52 percent of girls had ever engaged in work for which they were paid in cash or kind. Figure 4.5 is based on life table analysis and shows the cumulative proportion of young people working for pay. Before the age of 15, few young people have engaged in any type of paid work. From age 15, there is a steadily increasing proportion of adolescents that have engaged in paid work, though the probability for girls is lower than for boys at all ages. The median age for entry into paid work is quite late, 19.3 for boys and 20.6 for girls.

Having worked for pay does not necessary mean that work is continuous. Of those that had ever worked for pay, 81 percent of boys had worked for pay in the month prior to survey compared to only 60 percent of girls. This suggests that not only do girls enter paid work later than boys, but their paid work tends to be less

Figure 4.5: Cumulative proportion of young people working for pay, by age and sex



regular. Further, girls earned significantly less than boys at their current or most recent job. Girls earned, on average, KSH 698 per week (about \$9.30), compared to boys' KSH 1005 per week (about \$13.40), a statistically significant difference.

Most young people had done unpaid work – especially domestic work – with 80 percent of boys and 91 percent of girls having engaged in unpaid work in the past week. Young people were asked how many hours they had spent engaged in unpaid work during the previous weekday (Monday through Friday). This was an alternative to asking about work during the previous day as the burden of unpaid domestic work may vary by days of the week, particularly on weekends. For example, in Kenya, Sundays are usually set aside for religious activities and socializing.

Girls, in particular, spend a good deal of time doing domestic work. Among those that had engaged in unpaid work, girls had devoted significantly more time during the previous day, averaging 5.3 hours in unpaid work the previous day, compared to boys' 2.7 hours. Young people who are out-of-school – especially girls - devote considerably more time to unpaid domestic work. Out-of-school boys devoted an average of 3.1 hours compared to 2.2 hours for in-school boys; out-of-school girls spend 6.3 hours compared to 2.9 hours for in-school girls. Further, being married is associated with additional domestic work for girls. Among the out-of-school, girls that were married performed about 2 hours more domestic work than their out-of-school counterparts who are unmarried (5.0 hours for unmarried out-of-school girls and 7.0 hours for married out-of-school girls). There were too few married boys in the sample (85) to make a meaningful estimate of their domestic work.

#### *4.4.3 Marriage*

Young people were asked their opinions on the timing of marriage, choice of partner, and characteristics that they would look for in a partner. The ideal age at which respondents thought girls and boys should marry was quite late. Young people felt that the ideal age for girls to marry is 23 years and for boys, 26 years, with no significant differences between the opinions of girls compared to boys. The vast majority of respondents (98 percent) felt that young people should be

able to choose their own partner, and not have others choose for them. When asked about the relative education level of husband and wife, the majority of young people felt that the husband should have more education than the wife (43 percent). Thirty-four percent felt that husbands and wives should have the same level of education, while 22 percent felt that it did not matter. Only 1 percent of respondents felt it was more important for the wife to be better educated than the husband. In terms of spousal education, there was virtually no difference in the opinions of male respondents compared to females.

Table 4.8 displays the characteristics that young people are looking for in a husband or wife.

**Table 4.8: Characteristics that young people look for in a husband or wife\***

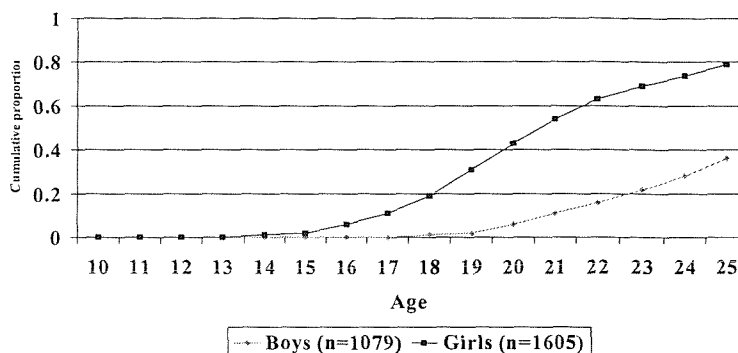
Characteristic	Boys (n=1079)	Girls (n=1606)
Has good morals and behaviour	74%	83%
Loves and understands him / her	40%	53%
Is faithful	30%	40%
Has a good job	11%	34%
Is attractive	31%	13%
Treats him / her well	18%	19%
Is educated	17%	17%
Comes from a good family	14%	18%
Is religious	9%	15%
Is HIV negative	8%	9%
Has a good personality	7%	8%
Is wealthy	3%	6%

\* Percentages may sum to over 100% as more than one response was allowed

For both boys and girls, good morals and behaviour was the most important characteristic in a potential spouse. A spouse that was loving, understanding and faithful, was also very important, though somewhat more important for girls compared to boys. The husband having a good job was considerably more important to girls (34 percent) than was the wife having a good job (11 percent). Conversely, wives that were attractive were important to boys (31 percent) to a far greater extent than girls having an attractive husband (13 percent).

Figure 4.6 is based on life table analysis and shows the cumulative proportion of young people who are married by age and sex.

Figure 4.6: Cumulative proportion of young people who are married, by age and sex



Girls are significantly more likely to enter into marriage during adolescence than boys, with boys median age at marriage over 24 years (the upper age for this analysis) and girls median age at marriage being 21.6 years. Before age 18, virtually no boys in the sample were married and by the age of 25, less than 40 percent of boys are married. Girls, on the other hand, appear to marry much earlier, with about 1 out of 5 married by the age of 18, over 40 percent married by the age of 20, and nearly 80 percent married by age 25. Married girls are significantly younger than their spouses, with an average of 6.3 years difference between a girl and her husband (ranging from 23 years younger than spouse, to 3 years older). Boys, on the other hand, are closer in age to their spouses. Married boys are an average of 2.1 years older than their wives, ranging from 11 years younger to 8 years older than their spouse.

Table 4.9 displays other characteristics of marriage among young people in the sample, including their opinions on the timing of marriage, choice of partner, and pressure for children.

**Table 4.9. Characteristics of young people's marriages, by sex**

	Boys (n=85)	Girls (n=601)
% who chose their own spouse	99%	99%
% attending school at the time of marriage	1%	4%
% of marriages that included dowry	47%	51%
% feeling that marriage occurred too early	21%	40%
% who have felt pressured to have a baby with spouse	25%	21%
% who have been hit by their partner in the last month	2%	7%
% who think their partner has been unfaithful	3%	12%

Virtually all adolescents chose their spouses themselves, with only 5 of the married girls and 1 married boy having had their spouses chosen for them by parents. For the most part, married boys were more satisfied with the timing of their marriage than married girls. Forty percent of girls felt that they married too early, compared to 21 percent of boys. Feelings that marriage was premature were higher among girls that married earlier. Among girls that married before age 20, 54 percent felt that the timing was too early, compared to 26 percent who were married at age 20 or later.

Twenty-eight percent of boys and 21 percent of girls have felt pressure to have a baby with their spouse. Most of that pressure appears to be from spouses, with nearly 80 percent of both boys and girls who felt pressured, being pressured by a spouse. The husband's parents also seem to be a source of pressure, with 11 percent of boys and 16 percent of girls feeling pressure from this source.

Among the currently married, 4 percent of boys and 10 percent of girls report that their spouse has partners other than themselves, though they were not asked whether the other partner is part of a polygamous relationship or an extra-marital partner. A similar number (3 percent of boys and 12 percent of girls) report that they believe their spouse has been unfaithful. Regarding violence in the home, 2 percent of married boys and 7 percent of married girls report that their spouse has hit them in the last month.

Questions were asked regarding respondents' views on the timing and circumstances of sex within marriage. Respondents were asked whether they felt husbands and wives should be able to refuse sex within marriage, whether respondents themselves are able to refuse sex, and whether they are able to insist on condom use (Table 4.10).

**Table 4.10: Control over sex within marriage, by sex**

	<b>Males (n=85)</b>	<b>Females (n=602)</b>
% who think a wife should be able to refuse sex	71%	71%
% who think a husband should be able to refuse sex	80%	79%
% who are able to refuse sex in their own marriage	79%	65%
% who are able to insist on condom use (among those that have tried)	56%	43%

Most respondents felt that husbands and wives should be entitled to refuse sex within marriage, though a greater proportion of respondents felt that husbands should be able to refuse, compared to wives. When speaking of their own marriages, more men were able to refuse their wives sex, compared to wives refusing husbands. Seventy-nine percent of husbands said that they were able to refuse sex to their wives compared to 65 percent of wives. When asked if they were able to insist on condom use within marriage, a great number (70 percent) said that they had never tried or considered it. However, among those that had, only about half were able to use condoms when they wanted to, with a greater proportion of males successfully using condoms (56 percent), than females (43 percent).

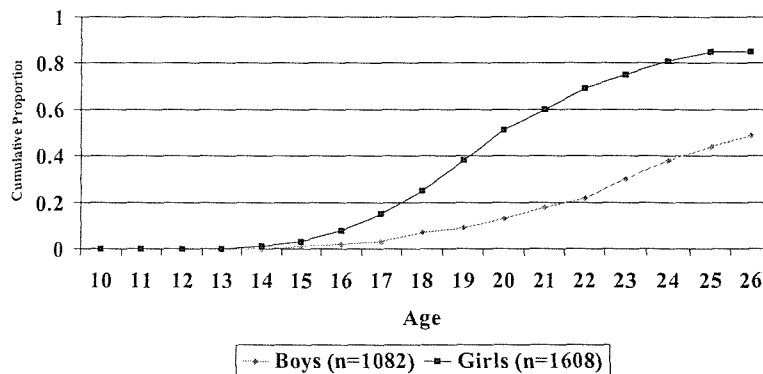
#### 4.4.4 *Parenthood*

Figure 4.7 displays the cumulative proportion of girls becoming pregnant or boys causing a pregnancy. Like marriage, girls' entry into parenthood is much greater and more rapid during the young adult years, than boys'. The median age of first pregnancy for girls was 20.9, whereas for boys, it occurred after the age of 26, outside of the age range for this study. By age 24, 80 percent of girls in the sample had had a child, compared to less than 40 percent of boys. It should be



noted that boys likely under-report their responsibility for a pregnancy, either because they are unaware of it or because of unwillingness to admit to it.

Figure 4.7: Cumulative proportion of getting pregnant or causing a pregnancy, by age and sex



Only 14 percent of adolescent parents (15 percent of boys and 14 percent of girls) were enrolled in school at the time of pregnancy. While none of the enrolled boys were made to leave school because of the pregnancy they caused, 65 percent of the girls were made to leave school. Just under half of the pregnancies (20 percent of boys and 48 percent of girls) occurred within marriage, with an additional 10 percent of boys and 13 percent of girls having a pregnancy with a fiancé(e). Eighty percent of adolescent mothers are currently married compared to 57 percent of adolescent fathers.

#### 4.4.5 *Connectedness, safety, and mobility*

This section examines how safe adolescents feel in their environment and how mobile they are. Such measures may reflect adolescents' comfort and connection within their communities and the extent to which they are integrated into institutions or isolated from them. Young people were read a series of statements regarding how they feel about their personal safety in their village as well as how supportive community members are toward one another (Table 4.11)

**Table 4.11: Adolescents' views on their village (percentage agreeing with statement)**

	<b>Boys (n=1079)</b>	<b>Girls (n=1606)</b>	<b>All (n=2685)</b>
You have many friends in your village	79	68	72
You feel safe walking around your village during the early morning	72	49	58
You feel comfortable walking by yourself after dark in your village	50	26	36
Most of your friends live in your village	74	62	67
The adults in your village help one another when they are in trouble	91	90	91
There is a lot of crime in your village	31	33	32
You know of girls in your village who have been raped	13	16	15
<u>Girls:</u> In your village, boys or men tease you, whistle at you or otherwise call attention to you as you go about your things			
<u>Boys:</u> In your village, girls or women tease you, whistle at you or otherwise call attention to you as you go about your things	21	35	29
You would be happier if you lived in another village	35	40	38
People in your village trust one another	70	68	69
There is a place other than your house, your friend's house or school, where you meet your [same sex] friends	74	63	67

Most adolescents perceived that adults in their communities were supportive of each other (91 percent) and trusting of one another (69 percent). In general, boys tend to feel safer in their environment, with 72 percent feeling safe to walk in the early morning and 50 percent feeling safe walking at night. In contrast, only 49 percent of girls felt safe in the early morning and 26 percent felt safe after dark. Overall, boys' level of support, comfort, and contentment regarding their community seemed to be greater than girls. Girls reported being teased to a greater extent than boys (35 percent of girls; 21 percent of boys); fewer girls had a neutral space they could go to make same sex friends compared to boys (63 percent of girls and 74 percent of boys); and more girls said they would be happier if they lived elsewhere (40 percent of girls, 35 percent of boys).

Young people were asked questions to assess the extent to which they had travelled to other parts of the country, lived in other places and visited community institutions in the past week (Table 4.12). These questions partly reflect the extent to which adolescents are integrated and involved in community life.

**Table 4.12: Adolescents mobility, by sex**

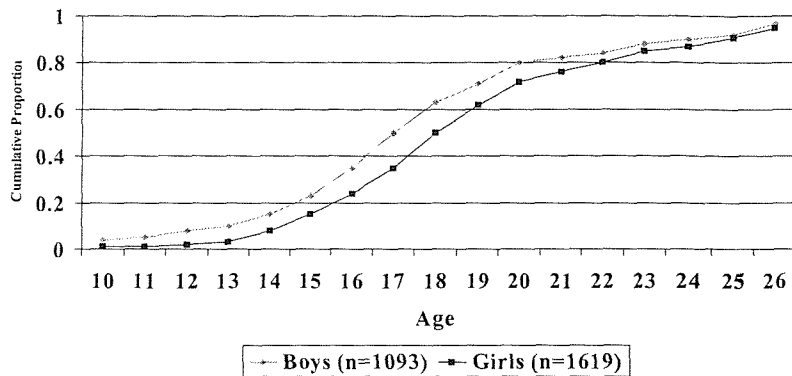
	<b>Boys (n=1079)</b>	<b>Girls (n=1607)</b>
Has ever visited another town	85%	89%
Has ever visited another district	90%	93%
Has ever visited another province	81%	83%
Has ever visited another country	6%	5%
Has gone to a restaurant in the past week	65%	42%
Has gone to a shopping centre/market in the past week	45%	53%
Has gone to socialize with friends in the last week	80%	77%
Has played a sport in the last week	50%	13%
Has gone to a bank in the last week	8%	7%
Has gone to a post office in the last week	12%	7%

The majority of adolescents (over 80 percent) had visited another town, district, or province in their lifetime. Boys were somewhat more likely to have visited a restaurant, the post office or played a sport in the past week compared to girls. On the other hand, girls were more like to have visited a market than boys.

#### **4.5 Adolescent transitions: Sexual activity**

Figure 4.8 reveals the cumulative proportion of young people having sex by age. Boys appear to initiate sex earlier than girls, with the median age at first sex for boys being 18.0 years and, for girls, 19.0. Before age 15, few respondents have had sex; between age 15 and 20, the probability of having sex rises quite rapidly.

Figure 4.8: Cumulative proportion of young people having sex, by age and sex



#### 4.5.1 *Sexual partners and context of sex*

Most respondents mentioned that their first sex partner was a girlfriend/boyfriend or spouse. Seventy-seven percent of boys and 91 percent of girls reported the first sex partner was a romantic friend (boyfriend or girlfriend) or spouse. After romantic friend, 12 percent of boys and 3 percent of girls reported that their first sex partner was another friend; and 5 percent (6 percent of boys and 4 percent of girls) reported that it was another person known to them. Few young people mentioned relatives (1 percent) and 2 percent said that their first sexual partner was a stranger.

Most girls were younger than their first partner and boys were about the same age as their first partner or slightly older. On average, girls were 4.6 years younger than their first sexual partner, with age differences ranging from 25 years younger to 8 years older. Boys were, on average, 0.9 years older than their first partner, with boys being as much as 17 years younger than the first partner, to 14 years older.

Table 4.13 shows the age difference with the first sexual partner, for girls compared to boys, by category.

**Table 4.13: Age differences with first sexual partner, by sex**

	<b>Males (n=529)</b>	<b>Females (n=842)</b>
10 or more years younger	1% (7)	11% (90)
5-9 years younger	3% (14)	33% (279)
1-4 years younger	11% (56)	48% (400)
Same age	21% (110)	6% (46)
1-4 years older	61% (325)	3% (22)
5-9 years older	3% (14)	<1% (5)
10+ years older	<1% (3)	0% (0)

The majority of boys are 1 to 4 years older than their first partner (61 percent) or the same age (21 percent). However, relatively few girls (9 percent) are the same age or older than their first partner; 81 percent of girls are 1 to 9 years younger than the first partner and 11 percent were 10 or more years younger.

Among the sexually experienced, young people reported between 1 and 40 sexual partners. Keeping in mind that boys are likely to exaggerate the number of partners and girls are likely to under estimate the number, sexually experienced boys had had an average 3.6 partners, ranging from 1 to 40 partners. Girls had had an average of 2.2 partners ranging from 1 to 33 partners. Since estimates are likely to be skewed because of extreme numbers of partners, the median number of partners was calculated. For both boys and girls, the median number of partners is 2. Table 4.14 shows the number of reported partners of young people within the sample.

**Table 4.14 Number of lifetime sex partners, by sex**

	<b>Boys (n=477)</b>	<b>Girls (n=776)</b>
One	31%	48%
Two	22%	26%
Three to five	31%	22%
Six to ten	12%	3%
Eleven or more	4%	1%

About three quarters of girls (74 percent) had had only one or two lifetime partners, compared to about half of the boys (53 percent). Sixteen percent of boys reported more than five lifetime partners compared to 4 percent of girls.

Table 4.15 displays the timing of last intercourse among sexually experienced adolescents. As the timing is likely to be influenced by marital status, analysis further divided young people by marital status.

**Table 4.15. Timing of last sexual intercourse, by sex and marital status**

	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>	
	<b>Unmarried (n=468)</b>	<b>Married (n=84)</b>	<b>Unmarried (n=318)</b>	<b>Married (n=557)</b>
Within the last week	14% (65)	45% (38)	17% (53)	64% (358)
Within the last 1 to 4 weeks	21% (99)	30% (25)	21% (67)	21% (115)
Within the last 2 to 6 months	29% (137)	11% (9)	19% (61)	6% (32)
Within the last 7 to 12 months	11% (50)	10% (8)	17% (54)	3% (19)
More than 1 year ago	25% (117)	5% (4)	26% (83)	6% (33)

Married young people seem to have more frequent, or at least more recent sex, compared to their unmarried counterparts. Seventy-five percent of married boys and 85 percent of married girls had had sex in the month prior to survey. In comparison, 35 percent of sexually experienced unmarried boys and 38 percent of unmarried girls had sex in the previous month. Among unmarried sexually experienced young people about one quarter had not had sex in the previous year.

A series of questions were posed regarding the ‘wantedness’ of sex the last time that a young person was propositioned for sex, as well as the outcome.

Specifically, respondents were asked: 1) Has anyone ever suggested, whether physically or verbally, that they wanted to have sex with you? 2) At the time, did you also want to have sex, did you not want to have sex, or were you undecided? 3) What happened the last time this happened to you – did you have sex or not have sex? Table 4.16 shows, among the young people that did or did not have sex, what percentage initially wanted to have sex.

**Table 4.16: ‘Wantedness’ of sex among those that had and did not have sex**

	<i>Boys (n=316)</i>			<i>Girls (n=490)</i>		
	Had sex	Did not have sex	<i>All Boys</i>	Had sex	Did not have sex	<i>All Girls</i>
Wanted sex	56%	4%	21%	29%	2%	8%
Was undecided	31%	26%	51%	52%	10%	71%
Did not want sex	13%	70%	28%	19%	88%	20%
<i>All</i>	33%	67%	100%	24%	76%	100%

During the most recent proposition, only 21 percent of boys and 8 percent of girls reported that they wanted to have sex. A majority of young people were undecided about sex (51 percent of boys and 71 percent of girls). Many young people – especially boys - who initially wanted sex, had it; 56 percent of boys who wanted sex had it during the most recent proposition compared to 29 percent of girls. Among those that had sex, a considerable number were initially undecided about it, especially girls. More than half of the young women that had sex during the last proposition reported that they were initially undecided about it, compared to 31 percent of boys. Among those that had sex, fully 13 percent of boys and 19 percent of girls reported that sex was initially unwanted. This suggests that many young people have sex when they initially do not want to, either being persuaded into it, pressured, or coerced. Many studies and programmes for young people assume that the sex that young people have is always wanted. This finding suggests that the ‘wantedness’ of sex and the subsequent negotiations surrounding sex are far more complex than many studies would suggest.

#### 4.5.2 *Condom use*

Rates of HIV/AIDS are alarming in East and Southern Africa, and, in particular, among young people (Buve, et al, 2001). Many studies of young people examine family planning use, without explicit attention to condom use. In this study, I focus on rates of condom use among sexually experienced young people. This is done, in part, to underscore the importance of re-focusing attention on condom use in Africa, rather than family planning use, in general.

The study measured ever use of condoms, use of condoms during the most recent intercourse, and where respondents last obtained condoms (Table 4.17).

**Table 4.17: Condom use among sexually experienced adolescents, by sex**

	<b>Boys (n=542)</b>	<b>Girls (n=826)</b>
Ever used condom	57% (307)	27% (230)
Used a condom at last sex (All)	32% (167)	9% (79)
Unmarried	36% (161)	21% (58)
Married	7% (6)	4% (21)
Where condoms were last obtained		
Kiosk	54% (167)	24% (54)
Friend	14% (45)	6% (14)
Partner	<1% (2)	30% (69)
Chemist	7% (24)	12% (26)
Hospital/Clinic/Health Centre	11% (33)	15% (33)
Shop	4% (13)	11% (24)
Bar/Pub	7% (20)	1% (3)
CBD agent / FOY	2% (6)	<1% (2)
AIDS campaign/ Trust campaign	1% (5)	<1% (1)
Don't Know	0% (0)	<1% (1)

More boys than girls had ever used a condom, 57 percent of boys and 27 percent of girls. Similarly, use during last sex was higher for boys than for girls (32 percent of boys and 9 percent of girls). Married young people have a far lower rate of condom use than the unmarried. While 21 percent of unmarried girls had used a condom during the last intercourse, only 4 percent of married girls had



done the same. Among the unmarried, one third of boys (36 percent) had used a condom at last sex, compared to only one fifth of girls (21 percent).

The most recent source of condoms seems to differ considerably between boys and girls. The majority of boys obtained condoms from kiosks (54 percent) or friends (14 percent). On the other hand, 30 percent of girls reported that their partner obtained the condoms and 24 percent obtained them from a kiosk.

Commercial outlets seem to be more popular sources of condoms than do health facilities. Only 11 percent of boys and 15 percent of girls last obtained condoms from a hospital, clinic or health centre.

In addition to ever use of condoms, and use during last intercourse, two questions were asked to assess how consistently young people use condoms. Young people were asked: “How often do you use condoms when having sex?”, with pre-coded responses 1=always, 2=usually, 3=sometimes/occasionally, 4=rarely, and 5=never. Respondents were also asked, “Thinking about the last five times you’ve had sex, how many times did you use a condom?” Table 4.18 compares responses on these two questions:

**Table 4.18: Comparison of responses on consistent condom use**

	“How often do you use condoms?”					Total
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
“Thinking about the last five times you’ve had sex, how many times did you use a condom?”						
0	5	2	39	118	780	70% (944)
1	6	2	23	40	2	5% (73)
2	2	16	74	21	-	8% (113)
3	1	29	50	1	1	6% (82)
4	1	28	6	-	-	3% (35)
5	99	13	2	-	-	8% (114)
Total	8%	7%	14%	13%	58%	100%
	(114)	(90)	(194)	(180)	(783)	(1361)

Seventy percent of young people surveyed had not used a condom on any occasion during the last five acts of intercourse; only 8 percent had used them consistently during each of the last five acts of intercourse. There was fairly high consistency in responses for those saying that they ‘never’ used condoms and the number of times a condom had been used during the last five encounters. Virtually all (780 out of 783) of the young people who said that they ‘never’ use condoms, had not used them during the last five acts of intercourse. However, among those reporting to ‘always’ use condoms, there is less agreement. Thirteen percent of those who reported that they ‘always’ used condoms, had used it less than five times, during the previous five acts of intercourse. Five respondents who reported they ‘always’ use condoms, had not used them during the last five encounters. This suggests that responses such as ‘always’, ‘usually’ and ‘rarely’, might be too subjective to give an accurate reflection of consistent use of condoms.

#### 4.5.3 Reproductive tract infections (RTIs)

Self-reports of sexually transmitted infections are notoriously difficult to measure. This is not only because of the stigma attached to reporting STIs, but also because many people do not experience symptoms, and are not aware that they have an STI. Further, the symptoms of STIs are often non-specific and overlap with those of general reproductive tract infections (RTIs). Therefore, young people were asked about the experience of symptoms, rather than if they had ever had an STI: “Have you ever had pain or unusual discharge from the private parts?” Among sexually experienced young people, 11 percent of boys and 9 percent of girls had experienced a symptom of an STI or RTI. Seventy-one percent of those with symptoms, sought medical attention because of the experience.

#### 4.5.4 Preferences for clinical reproductive health services

A number of studies have explored young people’s preferences for reproductive health services, though most of the studies conducted in Africa have been qualitative. Though studies have been useful in highlighting qualities of a service that young people would find appealing, they have been less successful in gauging the relative importance of one aspect of service provision over another. This survey asked respondents to imagine that they need services related to family

planning or sexually transmitted diseases. They were read a series of qualities and asked to consider how important that quality would be in their decision to select one clinic over another. Responses were scored, with 10 points given for “very important”, 5 points given for “important” and 0 points given for “not so important.” Table 4.19 lists the mean scores received by each service aspect, by sex of the respondent.

**Table 4.19: Young people’s rating of aspects of RH services, by sex**

	Boys (n=1080)	Girls (n=1607)	All (n=2687)
You get services quickly (short waiting time)	8.0	8.5	8.3
The services are low cost or free	7.8	8.4	8.2
All services are available on site and you do not have to go to another clinic for drugs or tests	8.0	8.2	8.1
The staff is friendly	7.5	8.1	7.8
The hours are convenient	7.3	8.0	7.7
The clinic is close to home, work or school	7.2	7.6	7.5
The nurse takes time with you and is not rushed	7.1	7.6	7.4
The staff is not judgmental	6.3	7.3	6.9
There are peer educators at the clinic	6.0	6.3	6.1
Young people are working at the clinic	4.0	3.5	3.7
The clinic is specifically for young people	3.2	3.4	3.3
Few people at the clinic recognize you	2.9	3.4	3.2
<u>Girls:</u> The nurse is female, not male	3.1	2.8	2.9
<u>Boys:</u> The nurse is male, not female			
The nurse is young	3.1	2.6	2.8
Your parents or other adults will not see you there	2.0	2.6	2.4
<u>Girls:</u> The clinic is for girls only	1.8	2.5	2.2
<u>Boys:</u> The clinic is for boys only			

Girls tend to rate characteristics on a higher scale of importance than boys. For all characteristics mentioned, but three (young people working at the clinic, sex of the provider, and age of the provider) girls rated qualities of RH services as being more important than boys. This could either be due to girls’ tendency to rate characteristics as more importance or because of increased sensitivity to the RH service environment compared to boys. In general, views of boys and girls on the qualities they value in a service did not differ greatly.

The most important qualities to young people seemed related to provider qualities and to cost and convenience. The most important aspects mentioned short waiting times, low cost or free services, and comprehensive services available on site, meaning that a young person would not have to be referred elsewhere. After that, friendly staff, convenient hours, convenient location and a nurse that is not rushed were considered important to young people in choosing a service. Aspects such as the clinic is for young people only, the provider is the same sex as the young person, or that the clinic is single sex were considered less important by young people in the survey. Interestingly, many of these aspects, which are considered critical to programming for young people (such as youth-only centres or the involvement of peer educators), do not figure highly among young people themselves.

## CHAPTER FIVE: COERCED SEX: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the experience of coercion among young women, aged 10 to 26 in the sample. First, the extent of sexual coercion will be explored, along with the nature of coercion experienced and the profiles of the perpetrators. Bivariate analysis will be conducted comparing girls who have been coerced with those who have not. Finally, multivariate analysis will be conducted using Cox Proportional Hazards model to gain further understanding of correlates of coerced sex. Multivariate analysis will be conducted using three comparisons: 1) comparison of those who have experienced coercion with all young women aged 10 to 26; 2) comparison of those who have experienced coercion with sexually experienced young women, aged 10 to 26; 3) comparison of young married women who have been coerced by their husbands with young married women who have not.

### 5.1 Extent and circumstances of coerced sex

As mentioned, respondents were asked whether they had ever been threatened to have sex; if anyone had ever insisted, or not taken 'no' for an answer; if anyone had ever locked them in a room to make them have sex; if anyone had ever physically forced them; and if anyone ever raped them. If a respondent reported one or more of these experiences, she was coded as having experienced coerced sex. Table 5.1 reveals the percentage of girls, by current age, who reported coerced sex and the cumulative percentage of girls coerced by age at first coercion.

**Table 5.1: Percentage of all young women reporting coerced sex, by current age, and cumulative age at first coercion among coerced girls\***

(a)	(b)	(c)
Age	Percentage of age group reporting experience of coercion (n=1619)	Cumulative percent of girls coerced by age (n=100)
10	0	2% (2)
11	0	2% (0)
12	0	5% (3)
13	0	7% (2)
14	0	10% (3)
15	3% (2)	19% (9)
16	4% (3)	38% (19)
17	7% (5)	50% (12)
18	8% (7)	67% (17)
19	12% (9)	75% (8)
20	8% (9)	82% (7)
21	6% (8)	87% (5)
22	4% (5)	94% (7)
23	5% (6)	95% (1)
24	12% (16)	98% (3)
25	13% (18)	100% (2)
26	10% (12)	100% (0)

*\*Column (b) shows the percentage of female respondents in the sample that reported having been coerced; column (c) displays cumulative percentage of age at first coercion among coerced girls.*

The experience of coerced sex seems to increase by age. No one under the age of 15 in this sample reported having experienced coerced sex. This could either be due to the fact that few girls experienced coerced sex before this age or because younger girls are less likely to report sex as coerced. The mean age of girls reporting coerced sex is 22.0, higher than the sample mean age of 19.1.

However, among young women in the sample who reported coerced sex, the age at which they were coerced ranged from the age of 10 to 25. A considerable proportion of girls report their first coercion in the late teen years, age 16 to 18. Seventy-five percent of the girls who reported a coercive sex experience had their first experience by age 19. The mean age at first coerced sex was 17.7 years. Ten percent of coerced girls first experienced coercion before the age of 15. The fact that none of the 10 to 14 year olds in the sample reported experiences of coercion, yet 10 percent of coerced girls reported their first experience was before the age of 15, suggests that younger girls might under-report coerced experiences.

Table 5.2 displays the percentage of girls aged 10 to 26 who have experienced coerced sex under conditions surveyed. The context of coerced sex was further collapsed into two broad categories, those who were coerced through verbal pressure and those who were coerced through physical force. If a respondent reported having been threatened or experiencing insistence from a partner, she was recoded to as having experienced verbal pressure. If she had been locked in a room and/or experienced physical force and/or had been raped, she was coded as having experienced physical coercion.

**Table 5.2: Percentage of girls aged 10 to 26 experiencing coerced sex, by condition under which sex took place**

<i>Context of coerced sex</i>	<i>Percentage (n=1619)</i>
Threatened	2% (30)
Insisted or not taken 'no' for an answer	4% (59)
<b><i>Verbal coercion</i></b>	<b>5% (77)</b>
Locked in a room	1% (22)
Physically forced	2% (34)
Raped	1% (18)
<b><i>Physical coercion</i></b>	<b>3% (50)</b>
<b>Ever experienced coerced sex</b>	<b>6% (100)</b>

In all, 6 percent of the sample of girls aged 10 to 26 had experienced sex under coercive circumstances. Coercion that was of a verbal nature – either threats or insistence – was slightly more common (5 percent) than coercion that entailed physical force (3 percent).

Given that 2 percent of girls report having been physically forced and 1 percent report a rape experience, there does appear to be a slight under reporting of rape. Among the eighteen girls who reported having been raped, 14 (78 percent) also report an experience of physical force, which is possibly reference to the same event. However, among those that report sex that was physically forced, only 14 of 34 girls (41 percent) also report the experience of rape. Such a discrepancy is consistent with other African studies - previously described - that highlight the differential understanding of what “rape” and what “force” is. The circumstances surrounding reported forced sex and rape were reviewed to ascertain whether respondents were reporting on the same event. In 10 of the 18 cases of rape, details on the number of occurrences, age at first occurrence, age at last occurrence, and who the perpetrator was, were identical with the details given for physically forced sex. This implies that for just over half (55 percent) of reported rapes were also reported as forced sex.



**Table 5.3: Girls aged 10 to 26 who have experienced coerced sex, by selected characteristics of the experience (n=100)**

	<b>Percentage (n=100)</b>
<b>Years from initiation of sex to first coerced sex experience</b>	
0 years	55% (55)
1 year	14% (14)
2 years	9% (9)
3 years	7% (7)
4 years	7% (7)
5+ years	7% (7)
<b>Perpetrator of coerced sex*</b>	
Boyfriend	55% (55)
Husband	21% (21)
Other person known to respondent	18% (18)
Stranger	11% (11)
Teacher/Employer	5% (5)
Relative	2% (2)
<b>Number of different forms of coercion experienced</b>	
One	66% (66)
Two	18% (18)
Three	14% (14)
Four	2% (2)
<b>Ever reported experience to anyone</b>	<b>25% (25)</b>

*\* Percentages may sum to over 100 as more than one instance of coerced sex may be reported*

The rates of sexual coercion are highest in the first years of sexual activity and successively diminish over time. More than half of the young women who were coerced, 55 percent, experienced coercion during the first year that they were sexually active. Questions asked in this survey do not allow me to calculate the percentage whose first sexual experience was coerced, compared to coerced sex experienced during the first year of intercourse but subsequent to the first experience. Fourteen

percent were coerced in their second year of sexual activity and 9 percent were coerced in their third year after sexual initiation.

The most common people who coerced sex from respondents were intimate partners, boyfriends or husbands. Fifty-five percent of respondents who had experienced coerced sex had been coerced by boyfriends and 21 percent had been coerced by husbands. After that, 18 percent had been coerced by other people known to them such as neighbours, classmates or friends; 11 percent had been coerced by strangers; 5 percent by teachers or employers; and 2 percent by relatives. However, given the sensitive nature of incest, it is likely that coercion by relatives was under reported.

Respondents may have experienced more than one form of coercive behaviour, either in the same incident or in separate incidents. Data were adjusted to take into account the ten cases of rape that were likely double-reported as forced sex. Among those who experienced any form of coercion, 66 percent had experienced only one form of coercion, 18 percent had experienced 2 forms of coercion, 14 percent had experienced three different forms and 2 percent had experienced 4 forms of coercion. Those who have experienced sex that is physically forced appear to have a greater likelihood of experiencing verbal coercion. Among those that have been physically coerced to have sex, 54 percent have also experienced some form of verbal coercion. Among those that have been verbally coerced, 35 percent have also experienced physical force. Only 25 percent of victims told someone about their experience.

Table 5.4 displays specific forms of coercion broken down by the median age at first coercive experience, the number of times they have experienced coercion, the person who coerced them, their mean age difference with that partner, and whether or not they told anyone about the occurrence. Given that the numbers are small within any of the categories, caution should be exercised when interpreting this data.

Additionally, the ten cases of rape that are double reported as forced sex are included in each of the calculations for that category. When considering the number of times the incident was experienced, medians are presented rather than means because some

respondents reported abnormally large numbers of occurrences that would tend to distort the central tendency value.

**Table 5.4: Context of experience, by type of coercion experienced**

Context of coerced sex	Threatened (n=30)	Insisted or not taken 'no' for an answer (n=59)	Locked in a room (n=22)	Physically forced (n=34)	Raped (n=18)
Mean age of first experience (min – max)	17.3 (10-23)	18.5 (12-25)	17.2 (15-23)	17.9 (10-22)	15.4 (10-19)
Median number of times experienced (min – max)	1 (1-30)	3 (1-70)	1 (1-7)	1 (1-50)	1 (1-5)
Person who coerced					
Boyfriend	43%	53%	73%	44%	39%
Husband	7%	31%	5%	12%	0%
Relative	0%	2%	0%	0%	6%
Teacher/Employer	10%	3%	9%	9%	11%
Other person known to respondent	23%	8%	9%	23%	27%
Stranger	17%	3%	4%	12%	17%
Mean age difference with person who coerced (min – max)	-6.5 (-28 – 0)	-5.5 (-30 – 1)	-5.9 (-16 – 0)	-7.2 (-40 – -1)	-10.0 (-40 – -3)
Percentage who told someone about the incident	27%	15%	23%	38%	61%

For all forms of coercion except rape, respondents experienced coerced sex, on average, between the ages of 17 and 18.5. Those reporting rape were somewhat younger, with mean age of rape victims being 15.4 years. In all cases but one, the respondent was younger or the same age as the person who coerced them. There were quite large mean age differences between the victim of coercion and the person who forced sex, ranging from 5.5 years in cases of insistence to 10 years in rape cases. For all categories of coercion except insistence – or not taking 'no' for an answer – the median number of times a respondent had experienced that form of

coercion was only once. Respondents experienced a median of 3 occasions where sex resulted from insistence. The fact that in 84 percent of the cases, husbands and boyfriends had insisted on sex suggests that coercion within a marital or romantic relationship could be a regular event for some respondents.

The perpetrator of sexual coercion is most commonly people known to the respondent and, very often, people with whom the respondent is intimately involved. In all categories, boyfriends were the most frequent perpetrators of coerced sex. Husbands and other persons known to the respondent are also often cited as those who forced sex. The fact that no rape victim reported that their husband was the perpetrator, yet 12 percent of physical force victims report the husband, probably reflects a tendency to under-report force by husbands as rape. Girls who are coerced by intimate partners are less likely to report the incident to anyone. Only 18 percent of girls who were coerced by boyfriends and 10 percent who were coerced by husbands, told anyone about it. On the other hand, 60 percent of girls coerced by a stranger and 50 percent coerced by an acquaintance told someone about it.

Incidences that are reported as 'rape' appear to occur under quite different circumstances than other forms of coercion. Victims of rape are, on average, much younger (15.4 years) compared to victims of other forms of coercion (ranging from 17.2 to 18.5 years). The perpetrators of rape are less often intimate partners compared to other forms of coercion. While only 39 percent of reported rapists are intimate partners (boyfriends), intimate partners are the perpetrators of other forms of coercion in 50 to 84 percent of cases. The mean age difference with the perpetrator of the rape is 10 years, compared to 5 to 7 years with other forms of coercion. Finally, the majority of rape victims (61 percent) reported the incident to someone, compared to only a minority of victims of other forms of coercion (15 to 38 percent). The fact that these distinctions exist even compared to girls who report that they were physically forced, suggests that young women have a particular perception of what constitutes "rape" versus forced sex. In the minds of respondents, "rape" appears to occur outside the bounds of an intimate relationship, while forced sex may occur

within such a relationship. "Rape" is often perpetrated by men much older than themselves and occurs at a much younger age. Perhaps because of the extreme nature of these events, they are more likely to be reported to others.

Based on previous research and on assumptions made about the Kenyan context, variables that might be associated with the outcome, coerced sex, have been identified. For each variable, a discussion of how they were constructed is presented, along with frequency distributions of the variables. In order to understand whether those who have been coerced are different from those who have not been coerced, significance testing was conducted to assess whether there is a significant difference between the two groups. For categorical variables, Chi-square statistics are presented; for continuous data, t tests are used.

Many of the girls who have experienced coercion had their first experience during their first year of sexual activity. It was not possible through the survey to surmise whether coerced sex was the first sexual experience or whether it closely followed sexual initiation. However, given previous research revealing a considerable amount of forced sexual initiation, it is likely that some girls are sexually experienced because of the coercive experience. Therefore, all girls - not simply those that are sexually experienced - should be considered at risk of coercion. One set of analyses will focus on comparing girls who are coerced with all girls aged 10 to 26.

Most research on sexual coercion focuses on the sexually experienced only. Boyer and Fine (1992) focused on pregnant girls only and compared them to non-pregnant but sexually experienced counterparts; Moore and colleagues (1989) compared girls who had experienced non-voluntary sex with those that had only experienced voluntary sex. The implicit assumption here is that one would have to be sexually experienced to be at risk of sexual coercion. In order to build comparisons with Western literature on sexual coercion, one set of analysis will compare girls who have been coerced with sexually experienced counterparts who have not.

A third framework considers the risk that marriage confers on young women. In most African countries, forced sex within marriage is not illegal. Studies, mostly of adult women, from both developed and developing country contexts, have revealed a considerable amount of violence and coercion within marriage. A third set of analyses will specifically look at married young women, comparing those who have experienced coercion with those who have not.

## **5.2 Comparing victims of coercion with never-coerced young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model**

This section examines girls who have been coerced in comparison with never-coerced girls, aged 10 to 26. The variables to be considered are a subset of all the independent variables described in Chapter 3, as not all variables apply to this group. For example, calculations with age at first sex, or number of sexual partners will only include the sexually experienced. Comparisons with sexually experienced adolescents will be treated in the next section.

Two tests of independence (t tests for continuous variables and Pearson chi square for categorical variables) were performed to assess whether the experience of coercion is independent of specified predictor variables, in this case, age, district of residence, school status, years of education, mother's education, socio-economic status, living arrangements, work experience and attitudes on decision-making in sex. When two variables are related, this implies that knowing the value of one of the variables will indicate something about the value of the other. Table 5.5 displays bivariate analysis comparing girls who have been coerced with never-coerced girls aged 10 to 26.

**Table 5.5: Comparison of girls aged 10 to 26 who have experienced coerced sex, with those who have not (n=1619)**

	Never coerced (n=1519)	Ever coerced (n=100)
Mean age (age range)	18.9 years (10-26)	22.0 years**** (15-26)
School Status (% in school)	31% (467)	3% (3)****
Mean years of schooling	8.3 years	9.0 years **
Work status (% ever worked for pay)	51% (767)	63% (63) ***
Mother's education		
Don't know	9% (141)	9% (9)
Low education (less than complete primary)	28% (426)	49% (49)
High education (complete primary or more)	63% (951)	42% (42)****
Socio-economic status (mean SES score)	4.4	4.2 (NS)
Lives alone	24% (369)	37% (37)***
District of residence		
Nyeri	72% (1094)	81% (81)**
Nyahururu	28% (425)	19% (19)
Believe a man should decide when a couple has sex	11% (171)	18% (18)*

\*  $p < 0.1$  \*\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

*Comparison of means based on independent samples t test; comparison of categorical variables based on Pearson chi-square*

There appeared to be a relationship between the experience of coercion and several variables tested. All variables except one, socio-economic status, appeared to be significantly different in the ever-coerced group compared to the never-coerced group. Age of the respondent, district of residence, school status, educational attainment, mother's education, living arrangements, work status, and attitudes on sexual decision-making all appeared to be related to the experience of coerced sex. However, the ever-coerced group is significantly older than the never coerced group, and age is likely to be related to many of these factors. Observed differences could



be due to differences in ages of the two groups, rather than differences associated with the experience of coercion.

Correlation coefficients were examined for variables considered for inclusion in the model (see Appendix 4). Though they are not extremely reliable for categorical variables, they provide an indication of relationships between variables. Variables that are highly correlated would suggest that two variables might be measuring the same underlying construct and, in a multivariate model, would explain the same variability in the dependent variable.

For many of the coefficients estimated, the p value was small, indicating that it is unlikely that the value of the coefficient is 0 in the population. As expected, age is fairly highly correlated with a number of variables including school status (Spearman's  $r = -.742$ ), educational attainment (Spearman's  $r = .577$ ), and work experience (Spearman's  $r = .553$ ). Not surprisingly, work experience and school status are highly negatively correlated (Spearman's  $r = -.600$ ). Most of the remaining coefficients are fairly small, suggesting that there is little relationship between the variables. In the case of highly correlated variables, one would consider removing one of the variables because they are possibly measuring similar constructs. However, given that age is such an important factor in studies of adolescents, all variables will be tested in the model and their relative contribution to explaining coercive sex, assessed. The multivariate model to examine the experience of coercion will test the independent variables described in Table 5.6.

In the model, variables are ordered starting from individual-level variables, followed by household level variables, followed by community-level variables. The variable on attitudes toward sexual decision making is included as the last variable in the model as it is difficult to fix the sequencing of this variable in relation to the outcome, sexual coercion. For this level of analysis, I cannot include behavioural outcomes of sexual coercion as all of these are measured for the sexually experienced only.



**Table 5.6: Independent variables, measurement, and type of variable**

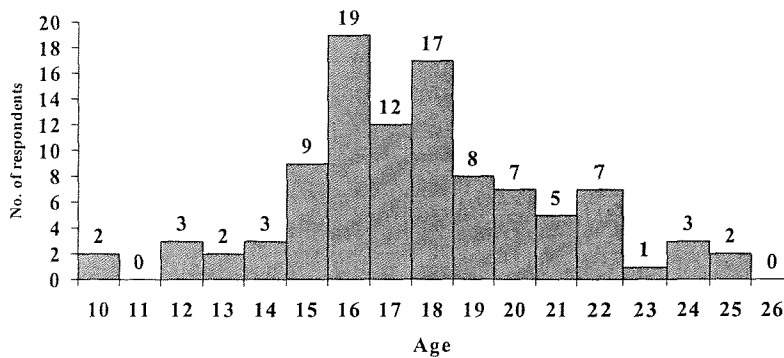
Variable	Indicator	Question(s) used in constructing indicator	Type of variable
Age	Age in completed years	In what month and year were you born? How old are you?	Continuous
School status	Whether of not currently attending formal school	Are you currently enrolled in school?	Dichotomous 0=Not Attending School 1=Attending School
Educational attainment	Level of education completed	Have you ever attended school? (For out of school). What is the highest class you have reached? (For in school). In what standard/form are you currently enrolled?	Continuous
Work experience	Ever worked for pay	Have you ever done any work for which you were paid in cash or in kind?	Dichotomous 0=Has not worked for pay 1=Has worked for pay
Mother's education	Whether or not mother completed primary education	What is the highest level of education your mother completed?	Categorical 0=Don't know 1=Mother has less than a completed primary education 2=Mother has at least a completed primary education
Living arrangements	Whether or not living alone	Does your mother / father live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere? Are you currently married, or are you separated, divorced or widowed	Dichotomous 0=Lives with mother, father, and/or spouse 1=Lives without mother, father, and/spouse
District of residence	District of residence	Questionnaire identifier information: District	Dichotomous 0=Nyahururu 1=Nyeri
Gender attitudes on decision-making in sex	Whether respondent thinks men should be the sole decision-makers in sex.	'Men alone should decide when a couple should play sex.' Do you agree or disagree?	Dichotomous 0=Men should not be sole decision-maker 1=Men should be sole decision-maker

5.2.1. Hazard model of coerced sex among all girls aged 10 to 26

Survival analysis examines the time it takes for a specific event to occur. This type of analysis is often used when the data involve a significant number of censored cases, or cases for which the event of interest has not happened. In contrast, results of logistic regressions may be biased in the presence of a large number of censored cases (Afifi and Clark, 1990). In the case of sexual coercion, the data contain a considerable number of right-censored cases, meaning that respondents have not been observed long enough to see more cases of sexual coercion.

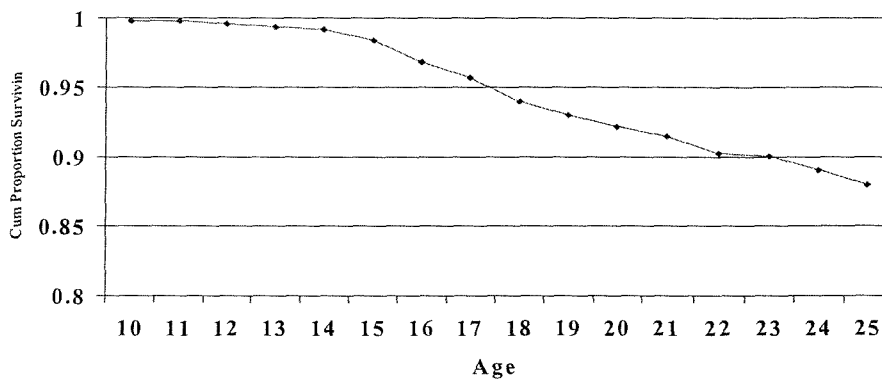
Survival analysis is based on a number of related functions, the death density function, denoted  $f(t)$ , the survival function,  $S(t)$ , and the hazard function,  $h(t)$ . Figure 5.1 is a histogram of the age at which coerced sex is first experienced among young women in the sample. The shape of the histogram approximates the death density function  $f(t)$ .

Figure 5.1: Frequency distribution of age at first coercion (n=100)



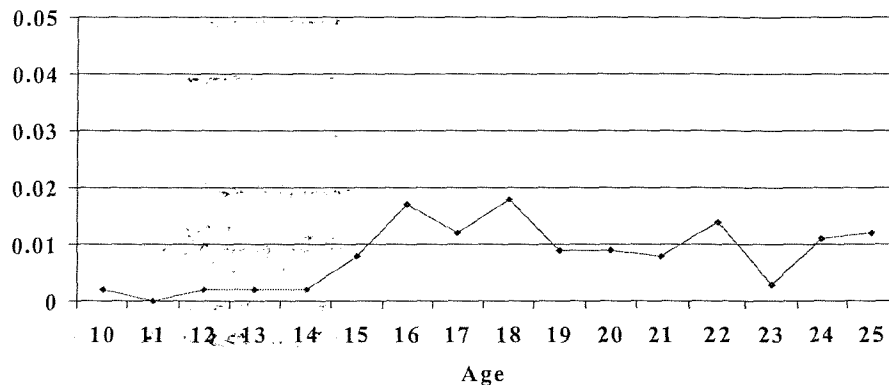
Using life table analysis, one can plot the survival function,  $S(t)$ , or the proportion of respondents not having been coerced, by age  $X$ , among those who have completed age  $X -$  in other words, age  $X+1$  (Figure 5.2). The hazard function is calculated using the death density function and survival function. This function estimates the probability that one will be coerced between age  $X$  and  $X+1$ , among those who have not been coerced by age  $X$  (Figure 5.3). The hazard function for coerced sex rises at around age 14 or 15. After age 15, the hazard function appears to be fairly constant, meaning that after age 15, age might not be an important factor in the risk of being coerced.

Figure 5.2: Survival function for coerced sex  
( $n=1233$ )



Note: Y axis scale from 0.8 to 1.0

Figure 5.3: Hazard function for coerced sex  
(n=1233)



Note: Y axis scale from 0.0 to 0.05

The Cox Regression model is used to model time-to-event data where there are a considerable number of censored cases. The Cox model assumes that the hazard function,  $h(t, X)$ , depends on time  $t$  and variable(s)  $X_i$ . In this model  $h(t, X)$  is expressed as the product of  $h(t)$  and  $h(X)$ :

$$h(t, X) = h_0(t) \exp(\beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_p X_p)$$

Where  $h_0(t)$  does not depend on  $X_i$ .

The Cox model assumes that the ratio of the hazard function for two individuals is constant and does not depend on time. To calculate the time-to-event variable used in the model, one must decide at what point adolescent girls start to be at risk of coercion. Given that the earliest age at which a respondent was coerced in the sample was at age ten, this age is taken as the time at which adolescent girls are at risk of being sexually coerced. For this model, the dependent variable is constructed from the time of the beginning of exposure (age 10), to the time of terminal event (coerced sex), for those who have experienced coercion. For those who have not experienced coerced, the number of years spent at risk of coercion was computed as current age minus 10.

In order to build the model, the effect of age on the outcome coercion was first examined. A model was fitted containing only the age variable as the predictor. Age alone appeared not to improve the prediction of the experience of coercion among young women in the sample (-2LL=1339.129; df=1; p=0.3720). Because the relationship between age and coercion may not be linear, the age variable was squared in order to correct for the likely non-linear relationship. Adding this variable to the model seemed not to make a significant contribution to explaining coercion (-2LL=1337.365; df=2; p=0.2353), so for the rest of the models, age will be included on its own.

The variables that were most highly correlated with the experience of coercion – age and mother’s education – were included in the first model. Additional predictor variables were then added into the model to test their contribution in reducing the deviance in the model. Table 5.7 displays deviance (-2LL values) for various models tested. For ease of interpretation, results are reported as odds ratios, rather than  $\beta$  coefficients. Odds over 1.0 indicate a positive relationship between coercion and the predictor variable, whereas odds below 1.0 indicate a negative relationship.

**Table 5.7. Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for ten fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time to sexual coercion**

	Age	School status (In school)	Yrs of education	Ever worked for pay	Mother's education	Lives alone	District	Attitude: men decision on sex	INT: Sch. stat X yrs educ	INT: Work X live alone	Dev. - 2LL	Change in -2LL (p value)
Model 1	.967										1337.203	-
Model 2	.947	.473									1335.557	1.646(NS)
Model 3	.956	.505	.957								1334.464	1.093(NS)
Model 4	.969	.413	.954	.634**							1330.235	4.229**
Model 5	.946	.400	.986	.625**	DK 1.383 Low 1.754** High 1.00						1324.143	6.092**
Model 6	.966	.470	.972	.551***	DK 1.425 Low 1.771** High 1.00	1.845***					1316.700	7.443***
Model 7	.964	.453	.966	.564**	DK 1.450 Low 1.816*** High 1.00	1.838***	1.702	**			1311.970	4.729**
Model 8	.970	.458	.976	.537***	DK 1.418 Low 1.803** High 1.00	1.848***	1.742	1.784	**	**	1307.795	4.176**
Model 9	.973	.6540	.726	.536***	DK 1.416 Low 1.814*** High 1.00	1.849***	1.740	1.795	1.351	**	1306.585	1.209(NS)
Model 10	.970	.459	.975	.496	DK 1.417 Low 1.805*** High 1.00	1.779**	1.741	1.782		.887	1307.725	.792(NS)

\*  $p < 0.1$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\* $p < 0.001$

In none of the models tested, was age a significant predictor of time to coercion among girls aged 10 to 26. Quite a number of respondents did not know the level of their mother's education. Therefore, the variable was divided into those that do not know, low education (less than completed primary education), and high education (at least completed primary education). High education was used as the reference category in the hazard model calculations. Adding variables on working for pay, mother's education, living alone, district, and attitudes on sexual decision-making improved the overall fit of the model. However, addition of the educational variables - school status and number of years of education of the respondent - did not greatly improve the prediction of coerced sex. An interaction variable was created using school status variable and years of education. This variable was included in the

model to test an interaction between these two variables or, in other words, that one variable differed by levels of another. The fact that the interaction variable was not significant (Model 9) suggests that there is no interaction between these two variables. In addition, an interaction between living alone and having worked for pay was tested. The interaction tests whether the effect of living alone differs among those who have worked for pay versus those who have not; and whether the effect of working for pay differs among those who live alone versus those who do not. The interaction variable combining living arrangements and work for pay was not significant in the model, suggesting that there is no interaction between these two variables.

The final model to predict the experience of coerced sex among young women aged 10 to 26, appears below (Table 5.8):

**Table 5.8: Hazard model predicting time to coercion among girls aged 10 to 26**

	Odds Ratio	P	95% Confidence Interval
Age	0.97		(0.89-1.06)
School status (In school)	0.46		(0.13-1.62)
Years of education	0.98		(0.89-1.06)
Ever worked for pay	0.54	***	(0.35-0.83)
Mother's education			
Mother has completed primary school	1.00		
Mother has not completed primary school	1.80	***	(1.15-2.70)
Don't know	1.42		(0.68-3.00)
Living arrangements (Lives alone)	1.85	***	(1.20-2.84)
District (Resides in Nyeri)	1.74	**	(1.05-2.89)
Attitude: Men should decide about sex	1.78	**	(1.06-3.01)
<i>Unweighted n</i>	<i>1444</i>		
<i>-2 log likelihood</i>	<i>1307.795</i>		

\*  $p < 0.1$  \*\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

As described, hazard models are used when data contain a significant number of censored cases. Unlike logistic regression that models whether or not an outcome has

occurred, Cox proportional hazards regression models a time-to-event outcome variable, which takes into account the length of time that one is at risk of experiencing the event. In this final model, the fitted odds of time-to-coercion among girls aged 10 to 26 are 1.80 times higher if a girl's mother has not completed primary school, compared to girls whose mothers have at least completed primary education. These findings are consistent with a number of other studies finding that mother's education is protective for a host of outcomes in the offspring, including child survival and health of the children. This finding suggests that benefits from mother's education extend into the adolescent years, far beyond infancy.

Living on one's own, without a parent or husband present, was also associated with increased vulnerability to coerced sex. The fitted odds of time-to-coercion during young adulthood are 1.85 times higher for girls who are living without parents or a husband, compared to those who are living with at least one parent or a husband. This finding is similar to US-based studies that found an association between coerced sex and having lived apart from parents from an early age (Abma, et. al, 1998). At the same time, the living arrangements of respondents were recorded at the time of survey, not the time of coercion. It is possible that the experience of coerced sex led a young person to leave their parent's house, making it difficult to establish pathways of influence with this finding. Longitudinal data would allow me to firmly establish the sequencing of events.

Having worked for pay seems to be protective against coercion. The odds of time-to-coercion among those who have worked for pay are roughly half (0.54) of those who have never worked for pay. The relationship between work and sexual behaviour outcomes are unclear, yet increasingly an area of interest in the public health domain. Having the opportunity to work might increase girls' self esteem, reducing their vulnerability to sexual coercion. Similarly, working might give girls increased independence from household members and sexual partners, equipping them to realize sexual intentions, including refusing sex, and/or making friends and



boyfriends respect their decisions. Finally, having a source of income could make girls less susceptible to exchanging sex for money or gifts.

Girls who feel that men should be the sole decision makers regarding whether or not to have sex were 1.78 times more likely to be coerced than those who do not hold that opinion. This suggests that girls who cede decision-making powers to men, tend to make themselves vulnerable to unwanted and non-consensual sex. At the same time, as this attitude was measured at the time of survey and not the time of coercion, it is unclear whether girls who experience coercion are more resigned concerning decision-making on sex, perhaps because of the experience of coercion. Time to coercion was 1.74 times greater in Nyeri compared to Nyahururu. Despite the pilot project having taken place in Nyeri, it appeared not to have made the environment safer for girls, compared to the control area. Reasons Nyeri District being more risky than Nyahururu are difficult to define within the context of this study. These could include its proximity to Nairobi, the fact that it is slightly more cosmopolitan than Nyahururu, or that coercion is more acceptable in Nyeri.

### **5.3 Comparing victims of coercion with never-coerced, sexually experienced young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model**

This section compares girls who have been coerced into sex with sexually experienced girls who have never experienced coerced sex. In all, 11 percent of sexually experienced girls had been coerced, a figure that is comparable to other population-based studies that measured coerced sex. For the comparison with all girls, it was necessary to reduce the number of variables under consideration because many applied only to sexually experienced girls. For this comparison, one can include all variables mentioned previously, particularly those related to age at first sex, age difference with partners, number of partners, and experience with STIs.

Many studies have highlighted that girls who have experienced coerced sex have earlier sexual initiation than girls who have not experienced coerced sex. Table 5.9

reveals the percent of girls in the two groups who had their first sex, by age group at first sex.

**Table 5.9: Age at first sex for coerced and non-coerced girls**

	Never coerced (n=781)	Ever coerced (n=94)
Before age 15	11% (84)	21% (20)
Age 15 to 19	67% (520)	67% (63)
Age 20 to 24	21% (165)	12% (11)
Age 25 +	1% (12)	0% (0)

Consistent with earlier studies of coercion among adolescents, girls who have been coerced seem to experience sexual initiation at earlier ages than those who have not been coerced. A greater proportion of the coerced group (21 percent) had first sex before age 15 than the non-coerced group (11 percent), a difference that is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ). Girls who had been coerced had a slightly different profile of first sexual partners, compared to girls who have never been coerced (Table 5.10).

**Table 5.10: Relationship with first sexual partner, for coerced and non-coerced girls**

	Never coerced (n=745)	Ever coerced (n=95)
Boyfriend/Husband	93% (696)	82% (78)
Other friend / person known to respondent	5% (41)	11% (10)
Relative	<1% (3)	2% (2)
Teacher	<1% (3)	2% (2)
Stranger	<1% (12)	3% (3)

While 93 percent of never-coerced girls had their first sex with a boyfriend or husband, 82 percent of coerced girls had the same experience. A greater proportion of coerced girls had first sex with “other friends or people known to them”, relatives, teachers, and strangers, compared to non-coerced girls. It should be noted that the data does not allow one to determine whether the first act of intercourse was coerced, and therefore one does not know whether these partners are the perpetrators of

coercion. What it does reveal, however, is that coerced girls have a slightly different pattern of first partners than non-coerced girls, which, in turn, might put them at increased risk of coercion.

Similarly, age difference with the first partner seems to differ between the groups of girls (Table 5.11).

**Table 5.11: Age difference with first sexual partner, for coerced and non-coerced girls**

	<b>Never coerced (n=745)</b>	<b>Ever coerced (n=95)</b>
10 + years younger than partner	10% (71)	19% (17)
5 to 9 years younger than partner	32% (237)	46% (41)
0 to 4 years younger than partner	55% (415)	34% (31)
Older than partner	3% (25)	1% (1)

Girls who have been coerced tend to have had first partners who are, in some cases, significantly older than them. While 10 percent of never-coerced girls were 10 or more years younger than their first partner, 19 percent of ever-coerced girls were 10 or more years younger; 32 percent of never-coerced girls were 5 to 9 years younger than their first partner compared to 46 percent of coerced girls. Again, it is not possible to conclude that these first partners were the ones who coerced girls, but rather that girls who associated with significantly older partners were more likely to experience coercion.

Table 5.12 displays a comparison of coerced and never-coerced girls on number of factors, many of which have been highlighted in previous studies of coercion.

**Table 5.12: Characteristics of sexually experienced girls, by coercion experience**

	Never coerced (n=781)	Ever coerced (n=100)
<b>Individual level variables</b>		
Current age	22.1 years	22.0 years
Marital status (ever married)	66%	56%**
School status (% in-school)	3%	3%
Educational attainment (Years of schooling)	9.2 years	9.2 years
Educational performance (Position in class)	4.9	4.3
Work status (% ever worked for pay)	71%	63%*
<b>Reproductive health and sexual behaviour</b>		
Age at first sex	17.7 years	16.5 years****
Years since first sex	4.4 years	5.1 years**
Age difference with first partner	4.4 years	5.4 years**
Number of different sexual partners	1.9	3.2****
Pregnancy status (ever pregnant)	71%	63%*
FP use (ever use of natural or modern methods)	86%	86%
FP use (ever use of modern FP method)	72%	78%
Condom use (ever use)	26%	33%*
Condom use (used condoms at last intercourse)	8%	20%****
STI/RTI experience (experienced symptoms)	7%	20%****
<b>Household-level variables</b>		
Mother's education		
Don't know	8%	9%
Low education (less than complete primary)	37%	49%**
High education (complete primary or more)	55%	42%
Socio-economic status	4.2	4.2
Lives alone	22%	37%***
Residence		
Nyeri Municipality	69%	81%**
Nyahururu Municipality	31%	19%
<b>Attitudinal factors</b>		
Believe that men should decide when to have sex	12%	18%*

Significant at \*  $p < 0.1$  \*\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Comparison of means based on independent samples *t* test; comparison of categorical variables based on Pearson chi-square

Through bivariate analysis, a number of variables are associated with the experience of coerced sex, especially those associated with reproductive health and sexual behaviour. As with the comparison with all girls in the previous section, young women who live without parents and/or a spouse are significantly more likely to have experienced coercion than those living with parents and/or a spouse. Similarly, girls whose mothers have a low level of education (less than completed primary level) are more likely to have experienced coercion compared to girls with more highly educated mothers. Work experience and marital status seemed to be protective of coercion, with a greater proportion of never-coerced girls being married and having worked for pay. Residing in Nyeri Municipality as opposed to Nyahururu was associated with significantly increased risk of coercion. None of the respondent-level educational variables, such as school status or educational attainment or performance, seems to be associated with the experience of coercion.

This level of analysis allows inclusion of reproductive health and sexual behaviour variables, given that all girls in this analysis are sexually experienced. In fact, a number of these variables were associated with increased risk of coercion. Girls who had experienced coercion initiated sex at significantly younger ages, had significantly older partners, and had more partners than girls who had not been coerced. Interestingly, fewer coerced girls had been pregnant compared to non-coerced girls and more had used condoms, findings that are counter to previous research in the area of sexual coercion. However, a greater number of coerced girls had experienced symptoms of an STI/RTI compared to non-coerced girls.

In order to explore the relationship between independent variables and the experience of coercion, Spearman's rho correlation coefficients were calculated (see Appendix 4b). Not surprisingly, marital status and living alone were highly negatively correlated (Spearman's  $r = -.600$ ) which simply reflects that most married women live with their husbands. Other variables that were highly correlated were age and years since first sex (Spearman's  $r = .570$ ) which is not surprising given that the older one is, the more likely that she has been sexually experienced for a longer period. Also,

experience of a pregnancy is highly correlated with marital status (Spearman's  $r=.500$ ), as is years of education and age at first sex (Spearman's  $r=.464$ ). None of the independent variables were extremely highly correlated with the experience of coercion. Those that were most highly correlated with coercion were the experience of STI symptoms (Spearman's  $r=.145$ ), the number of sexual partners (Spearman's  $r=.149$ ), age difference with first partner (Spearman's  $r=.134$ ), and age at first sex (Spearman's  $r=-.116$ ). The variables included in the Cox proportional hazards model appear in Table 5.13, along with the way in which they were measured and the type of variable they are.

**Table 5.13: Independent variables, measurement, and type of variable**

Variable	Indicator	Question(s) used in constructing indicator	Type of variable
<b>Marital status</b>	Whether or not respondent was ever married	Have you ever been married?	Dichotomous 0=Has not been married 1=Has been married
<b>Work experience</b>	Ever worked for pay	Have you ever done any work for which you were paid in cash or in kind?	Dichotomous 0=Has not worked for pay 1=Has worked for pay
<b>Mother's education</b>	Whether or not mother completed primary education	What is the highest level of education your mother completed?	Categorical 0=Don't know 1=Mother has less than a completed primary education 2=Mother has at least a completed primary education
<b>Living arrangements</b>	Whether or not living alone	Does your mother live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere? Does your father live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live elsewhere? Are you currently married, or are you separated, divorced or widowed	Dichotomous 0=Lives with mother, father, and/or spouse 1=Lives without mother, father, and/spouse
<b>District of residence</b>	District of residence	Questionnaire Identifier information: District	Dichotomous 0=Nyahururu 1=Nyeri
<b>Age at first sex</b>	Respondent's age at first sex	How old were you when you first had sex?	Continuous
<b>Condom use at last sex</b>	Use of condom at last sex	The last time you had sex, did you use a condom?	Dichotomous 0=Did not use a condom at last sex 1=Used a condom at last sex
<b>Age difference with 1<sup>st</sup> partner</b>	Partner's age at first sex minus age of respondent at first sex	How old were you when you first had sex? How old was the person with whom you had sex the first time?	Continuous
<b>Number of partners</b>	Number of lifetime sexual partners	How many different people have you ever played sex with?	Continuous
<b>STI symptoms</b>	Whether or not has ever experienced symptoms of an RTI or STI	Have you ever had pain or unusual discharge from the private parts?	Dichotomous 0=Has not experienced symptoms 1=Has experienced symptoms

Individual level variables were included in the model first, followed by household and community variables. Finally, sexual behaviour variables – those variables for which it is difficult to fix timing and sequencing - were added to the model. Table 5.14 displays the fitted proportional hazards models using various independent variables, along with respective deviance (-2LL) and change in deviance statistics. As before, odds ratios are presented rather than  $\beta$  estimates, for ease of interpretation.



**Table 5.14. Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for eleven fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time to sexual coercion**

	Married	Ever worked	Mother's education	Lives alone	District (Nyeri)	Age at 1 <sup>st</sup> sex	Condom at last sex	Age diff w/1 <sup>st</sup> partner	No of partners	STI symptom	Interaction Work_Dist	-2LL	Change in -2LL (p value)
Model 1	.54***											1013.34	-
Model 2	.53***	.58**										1008.33	5.01**
Model 3	.50****	.57**	DK: 1.18(NS) Low: 1.57* High: 1.00									1004.66	3.66 (NS)
Model 4	.93 (NS)	.51***	DK: 1.14(NS) Low: 1.56* High: 1.00	2.46***								997.81	6.85***
Model 5	.95 (NS)	.53***	DK: 1.13(NS) Low: 1.61** High: 1.00	2.48***	1.95**							991.72	6.08**
Model 6	.90 (NS)	.55**	DK: 1.20(NS) Low: 1.59* High: 1.00	2.32**	2.39***	.81****						967.81	23.92****
Model 7	1.01 (NS)	.53***	DK: 1.11(NS) Low: 1.51* High: 1.00	2.08**	2.50***	.82****	2.18***					961.87	5.94**
Model 8	.95 (NS)	.52***	DK: .99(NS) Low: 1.50* High: 1.00	2.00**	2.39***	.83****	2.18***	1.04 (NS)				960.00	1.87 (NS)
Model 9	.91 (NS)	.48****	DK: 1.09(NS) Low: 1.55* High: 1.00	1.81*	2.35***	.85****	1.93**	1.05 (NS)	1.09***			952.183	7.82***
<b>Model 10</b>	<b>.85 (NS)</b>	<b>.46***</b>	DK: 1.10(NS) Low: 1.51* High: 1.00	<b>1.72 (NS)</b>	<b>2.36***</b>	<b>.86****</b>	<b>1.61 (NS)</b>	<b>1.05 (NS)</b>	<b>1.09 ***</b>	<b>1.50 (NS)</b>		<b>949.85</b>	<b>2.33 (NS)</b>
Model 11	.86(NS)	.49**	DK: 1.11(NS) Low:1.50* High:1.00	1.73(NS)	2.69***	.85****	1.64 (NS)	1.04 (NS)	1.09***	1.67(NS)	1.5(NS)	949.425	.430 (NS)

Significant at \*  $p < 0.1$  \*\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

At every stage except three, inclusion of successive variables increased the prediction of time to coerced sex. Adding mother's education, age difference with sex partner, and STI symptoms did not improve the fit of the model. Further, some variables seemed to be explaining the same variability in the dependent variable. For example, while marital status was significant in initial models, when adding the variable on living arrangements, it became insignificant. The fact that these two variables were highly negatively correlated (Spearman's  $r = -.600$ ) suggests that the two variables explain the same variability in the dependent variable. An interaction between having worked and district of residence was tested in the model (Model 11). Addition of this variable did not significantly improve the fit of the model, nor was the variable significant in explaining time-to-coercion, suggesting that there was no interaction between the two variables.

Table 5.15 displays the final hazard model predicting time-to-coercion among sexually experienced girls in the sample.

**Table 5.15: Hazard model comparing time-to-coercion among sexually experienced young women aged 10 to 26**

	Odds Ratio	p	95% Confidence Interval
Marital status	.86		(.43-1.68)
Ever worked	.46	***	(.28-.75)
Mother's education			
Don't know	1.10		(.46-2.68)
Low education	1.51	*	(.95-2.42)
High education	1.00		
Lives alone	1.72		(.85-3.47)
District (Nyeri)	2.36	***	(1.32-4.22)
Age at first sex	.86	****	(.79-.93)
Used a condom at last sex	1.61		(.83-3.11)
Age difference with 1 <sup>st</sup> sex partner	1.04		(.99-1.10)
Number of partners	1.09	****	(1.03-1.15)
Symptoms of STI	1.69		(.88-3.24)
<i>Unweighted n</i>	881		
<i>-2 log likelihood</i>	949.853		

\* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\* $p < 0.001$

In the final model, five variables – having never worked, low maternal education, living in Nyeri district, age at first sex, and number of lifetime partners - were significant predictors of time to coercion among sexually experienced young women.

Paid work seems to be protective against coercion. The odds of coercion are roughly half (0.46) as likely among girls who have worked compared to those who have not. As with the previous analysis, there are several possible interpretations of this finding. One is that girls who earn money might be more independent from their partners than those that do not, and they might not feel obliged to give them sex in return for support. Another is that girls who have worked for pay have greater self-esteem and are better able to make their views heard and respected. As previously described, a significantly greater proportion of sexually experienced non-coerced girls had worked for pay compared to coerced girls. Moreover, among the coerced girls

who had worked, the majority (79 percent) first worked after the experience of coercion. This suggests that at the time of coercion, most of the girls had not worked for pay and had not benefited from the protective effects of paid work. Among the 100 coerced girls in the sample, only 13 had worked for pay prior to the coercive experience. The remainder either started working afterwards or had never worked for pay by the time of survey.

As with the analysis of all girls, sexually experienced girls seem to be at increased risk of coercion when they live in Nyeri Municipality - not Nyahururu - and when they have mothers with less than completed primary education. Time-to-coercion for sexually experienced girls in Nyeri is 2.36 times that of Nyahururu girls. Sexually experienced girls with mothers with low education are 1.5 times more likely to be coerced than girls with highly educated mothers.

Age at first sex is also significantly associated with time-to-coercion in the model. Those who start having sex later, are at decreased risk of coercion compared to those who start having sex at earlier ages. According to the model, a girl who delays having sex until age  $X+1$  is 0.86 times as likely (or 15% less likely) to be coerced compared to a girl who starts having sex at age  $X$ . Again, the interpretation of this finding is not obvious. Girls who have sex at early ages might be more vulnerable to coercion as they are less experienced in sexual negotiation and probably have diminished power in the relationship by virtue of their age. On the other hand, early sex might be the result of a coerced experience itself.

In order to explore the relationship between age at first sex and coercion, I explored the relative timing of these two variables. For 55 percent of coerced girls, coercion took place in the same year as sexual initiation. Though the data does not allow me to ascertain whether the coerced sex was also the first sex, it does imply that, for over half of the girls, their sexual debut may have resulted from coercion. Moreover, this relationship is stronger, the younger the girl is at sexual debut. Among girls who had first coerced sex before the age of 15, 72 percent were first sex during that same year.

Among girls who had sexual debut from ages 16 to 19, 65 percent were coerced during the same year. In comparison, only 12 percent of girls who were coerced age the age of 20 or over had sexual debut in the same year. This suggests that the youngest girls are more likely to have sexual debut that is coerced, compared to girls who are coerced when they are older.

Larger numbers of partners were associated with a slightly increased risk of coercion. With every additional sex partner a girl had, she was 1.09 times more likely to be coerced than a girl with one fewer partners. It is difficult to interpret pathways in this association as the number of lifetime partners was measured at time of survey and not time of coercion. One interpretation is that the more partners one has, the more likely she is to encounter a partner who is coercive. Another interpretation, which is put forth in much of the literature, suggests that the experience of coercion results in girls having more partners, probably because of diminished self-esteem.

#### **5.4 Comparing married victims of coercion with never-coerced, married young women: Bivariate analysis and proportional hazards model**

The third level of analysis examines coercion within marriage. As described in Chapter 2, the laws in Kenya are ambiguous regarding coercion and forced sex within marriage. None of the respondents reported that their husbands had raped them, perhaps a reflection of the fact that rape is popularly considered impossible within marriage. Yet, 12 percent of those who said that they were physically forced said that their husband was the perpetrator. The most common form of coercion from husbands seemed to be in terms of insistence or not taking 'no' for an answer. Thirty-one percent of young women whose sex had been insisted, reported that their husbands had been the perpetrators of coercion.

Table 5.16 displays bivariate analysis of married young women in the sample, by whether or not they have been coerced by their husbands.

**Table 5.16: Characteristics of married young women, by coercion experience**

	Never coerced by husband (n=581)	Ever coerced by husband (n=20)
<b>Demographic factors</b>		
Socio-economic status (mean SES score)	4.0	4.0
Mother's education		
Don't know	10%	5%
Low education (less than complete primary)	42%	57%
High education (complete primary or more)	48%	38%
Ever worked for pay	73%	48%***
Currently working for pay	37%	19%*
Residence		
Nyeri Municipality	69%	91%**
Nyahururu Municipality	31%	9%
Educational attainment (Years of schooling)	8.9 years	8.7 years
<b>Attitudinal factors</b>		
Believe that men alone should decide on sex	85%	95%
Believe a wife should be able to refuse sex	72%	65%
Believe a husband should be able to refuse sex	79%	85%
<b>Marital factors</b>		
Age at marriage	19.6 years	19.6 years
Age difference with spouse	6.2 years	5.6 years
Educational difference with spouse	1.4 years	1.5 years
Has had a baby with husband	80%	71%
Dowry was part of marriage	50%	70%*
Has been pressured to have a baby with husband	20%	35%
Spouse has other partners	9%	16%
Has been hit by husband in last month	7%	21%**

Significant at \*  $p < 0.1$  \*\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Comparison of means based on independent samples *t* test; comparison of categorical variables based on Pearson chi-square

Residents of Nyeri Municipality seemed to be at greater risk of marital coercion than residents of Nyahururu Municipality. Factors associated with work seem to be associated with whether or not a woman has experienced marital rape. While 73 percent of women who had never been coerced within marriage had ever worked for pay, only 48 percent of coerced women had worked for pay, a difference that was statistically significant. Similarly, while 37 percent of married women who had never been coerced were currently working for pay, only 19 percent of coerced married women were working for pay. Women who had been coerced by their husbands were significantly more likely to have dowry part of their marriage and significantly more likely to have been hit by their husbands in the last month.

Spearman's Rho correlations coefficients were calculated for the experience of coercion and associated variables in the married sample (See Appendix 4c). Not surprisingly, having ever worked is highly correlated with currently working (Spearman's  $r=.471$ ). In addition, currently working is fairly highly correlated with living in Nyahururu District (Spearman's  $r=.158$ ). The variables most highly correlated with the experience of husband's coercion is having ever worked and district of residence. The four variables included in the model, and the way that they were measured, appear in Table 5.17.

**Table 5.17: Independent variables, measurement, and type of variable**

Variable	Indicator	Question(s) used in constructing indicator	Type of variable
Work experience	Ever worked for pay	Have you ever done any work for which you were paid in cash or in kind?	Dichotomous 0=Has not worked for pay 1=Has worked for pay
Hit by husband	Hit by husband in the last three months	How many times in the last three months has your husband hit you?	Dichotomous 0=Not been hit 1=Hit one or more times
Dowry in marriage	Dowry was part of the marriage process.	Was dowry part of the your marriage?	Dichotomous 0=Dowry not part of marriage 1=Dowry part of marriage
Currently working	Has worked for pay in the last month	Have you done any of this work in the last month?	Dichotomous 0=Not worked for pay in last month 1=Worked for pay in last month

The dependent variable, time-to-marital coercion was recalculated to reflect exposure to risk of coercion within marriage. Age at marriage was considered the start of the risk period for marital coercion. The terminal event was having been coerced by one's husband. Time-to-marital coercion was calculated by subtracting age at marriage from age at which a husband coerced sex. For those who had not been coerced within marriage, the dependent variable was calculated as current age minus age at marriage.

In conducting hazard analysis, the district variable was removed because the model could not converge with the inclusion of this variable. This was likely because there were only two cases of marital coercion within Nyahururu District.



**Table 5.18: Odds ratios and goodness-of-fit statistics for four fitted hazard models with dependent variable, time-to-marital sexual coercion**

	Ever worked	Hit by husband	Dowry in marriage	Currently working	Deviance (-2LL)	Change in deviance (p value)
Model 1	.4138*				175.350	3.010*
Model 2	.4397	3.6923**			171.360	3.990**
Model 3	.4573	3.7412**	2.4389		168.713	2.647
Model 4	.6557	3.7361**	2.5188	.4655	167.579	1.134

*Significant at \* p<0.1 \*\* p<0.05 \*\*\* p<0.01 \*\*\*\*p<0.001*

The addition of work experience and having been hit by one’s husband in the last month, improved the fit of the model. However, addition of predictors reflecting dowry within marriage and currently working did not significantly improve the fit. The final model predicting sexual coercion within marriage is appears below (Table 5.19).

**Table 5.19: Hazard model comparing time-to marital coercion among married young women aged 10 to 26**

	Odds ratio	P	95% Confidence interval
Ever worked for pay	.66		(.21-2.02)
Hit by husband	3.73	**	(1.19-11.71)
Dowry part of marriage	2.52		(.80-7.91)
Currently working for pay	.47		(.11-1.96)
<i>Unweighted n</i>	<i>616</i>		
<i>-2 log likelihood</i>	<i>167.579</i>		

*\*p<0.1, \*\*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*\*p<0.001*

Only one variable in the model, having been hit by one’s husband in the past month, was a significant predictor of sexual coercion within marriage. Women who have been hit by their husbands in the last month are 3.73 times more likely to have experienced coercion within marriage than those who have not been hit within the last

month. This suggests that violence seems to cluster within intimate relationships – marriages with domestic violence tend also to have sexual violence.

## **5.5 Discussion**

This chapter explored the experience of coerced sex among young women aged 10 to 26 in the sample. In all, 6 percent of the sample of all young women, and 11 percent of sexually experienced young women reported some form of coercive experience, whether that was sex resulting from threats, insistence, or physical force. Coercion that was of a verbal nature was slightly more common (5 percent) than physical coercion (3 percent). Most of the coercion occurred in the early years of sexual activity. Over half (55 percent) of the girls who were coerced were coerced during the first year of sexual activity.

Most perpetrators of sexual coercion were intimate partners. Boyfriends and husbands made up 76 percent of the perpetrators of sexual coercion. At the same time, when intimate partners were the perpetrators of coercion, girls are less likely to report the event to anyone. This could suggest that girls do not consider coerced sex within intimate relationships noteworthy, and therefore, not worth reporting. On the other hand, girls could be afraid of retaliation or abandonment by boyfriends or husbands if the incident is reported, as has been suggested in other studies of intimate partner violence.

Girls' perception of rape seems to be different from forced sex. To girls, rape appears to occur under special circumstances and be perpetrated by particular people. No one reported being raped by her husband, though some reported that their husband had physically forced sex. Compared to other forms of coercion, few girls reported that boyfriends had raped. Most rapists were strangers or other acquaintances who were generally much older than the victims. Most of these occurrences were reported to others. This finding underscores the difficulty in researching sensitive and – possibly - stigmatised subjects such as rape. Researchers should be aware that use of

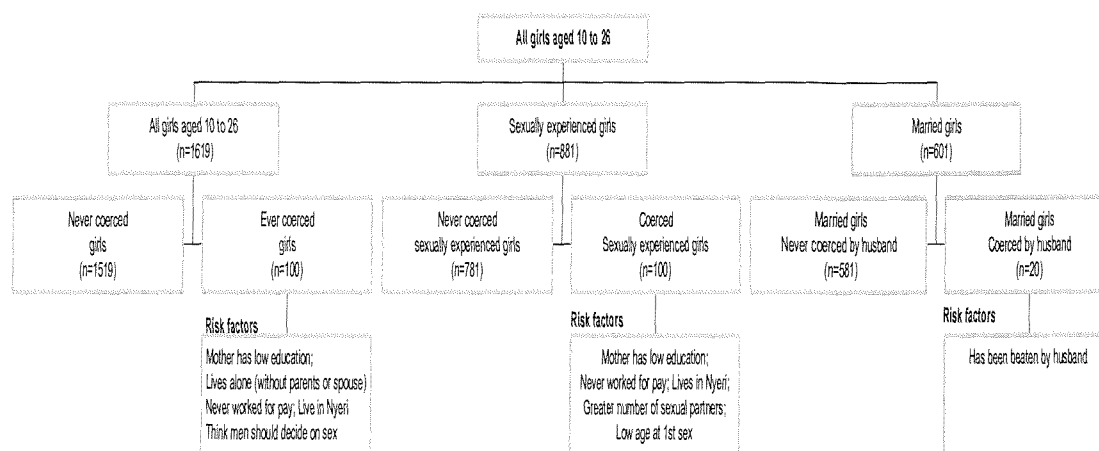
emotionally laden terms such as “rape” might conjure up varying perceptions and biased reports among respondents, as compared to more neutral terms such as physically forced sex.

As with other studies of coercion, coerced girls in this sample initiated sex at an earlier age and had partners who were significantly older than themselves, compared to never-coerced sexually experienced girls. In addition, coerced girls are more likely to have initiated sex with a person other than a boyfriend or husband, compared to non-coerced girls.

Multivariate analysis of sexual coercion was conducted on three levels. First, sexually coerced girls were compared with all girls aged 10 to 26, whether or not they were sexually experienced. This level of comparison is not found in the existing sexual coercion literature but reflects that all girls - whether sexually experienced or not – are at risk of being coerced. Further, many girls are sexually experienced precisely because of an experienced of coerced sex. The second level of analysis compared sexually experienced girls in terms of whether or not they had experienced coercion. Finally, coercion within marriage was examined.

Analysis used a Cox proportional hazards model, which is appropriate where the outcome is time sensitive and there are a large number of censored cases. This multivariate method models time-to-event data, in this case time-to-coercion or time-to-marital coercion.

**Figure 5.4: Summary of results from multivariate analysis**



Across analyses, many of the same variables were significantly associated with sexual coercion. Mother's not having completed primary education compared to mothers' having at least completed primary was associated with increased risk of sexual coercion for all girls (1.8 times greater risk) and for sexual experienced girls (1.5 times greater risk). Mother's education has long been associated with improvements in children's well being, including survivorship, nutritional status, and education. These findings suggest that mother's education might have an impact that extends into the adolescent and young adult years. As with the better known associations, the pathways between mothers education and gains in other areas are not well-understood. One can speculate that mothers with more education instil greater levels of self-esteem in their daughters, making them more resistant to the risks of sexual coercion.

Having worked for pay was protective of sexual coercion, with girls who have worked for pay being about half as likely to be coerced than those that had never worked for pay. This was a significant factor in both the analysis of all girls and that of sexually experienced girls. Few of the coerced girls had ever worked for pay and, among those who had, they starting working after the coercive event. This suggests that at the time of coercion, they had not yet benefited from the protective effects of

paid work. The effect of work on reproductive health outcomes is just beginning to be explored. However, some have suggested that work confers upon girls additional self-reliance and independence, outside the confines of the home, and might increase her visibility and level of respect in the eyes of others (Population Council and ICRW, 2000).

Residence in Nyeri Municipality, as opposed to Nyahururu was associated with increased risk in both levels of analysis. Nyeri is a larger town and probably more cosmopolitan than Nyahururu. While ethnic composition of the two towns is similar, historically and politically, they are not. Nyeri was historically the seat of the MauMau movement during Kenya's fight for independence and is now the centre of the opposition to the ruling party. Nyeri has traditionally been a centre of struggle and violence in Kenya, while Nyahururu has not. While South African authors have attributed the extent of intimate violence in that country to a history of violent political struggle (Maitse, 1998), it is not unthinkable that Nyeri's history of political struggle and violence could also be tied to the increased incidence of sexual coercion.

Among sexually experienced, a greater number of partners and younger age at first sex was associated with increased risk of coerced sex. The pathways of influence can be ambiguous in this case. On the one hand, earlier age at first sex and a larger number of partners may increase the risk of coercion because of increased exposure to sexual events and to different types of partners. On the other hand, early sexual debut might be the result of a coercive experience, and coerced sex may result in girls lowering barriers to having sex with many partners. Analysis of the timing of coercion compared to the timing of first sex suggests that many girls' sexual debut is coerced, resulting in earlier age at first sex for these girls. Contrary to other studies of coercion among the sexually experienced, non-use of family planning was not significant in this model.

Within marriage, coercion appears to be associated with other forms of violence against women, such as domestic violence. While there were few cases of marital

coercion in this dataset, the experience of marital coercion was significantly associated with the experience of having been beaten by the husband in the last month.

Many of the findings from this study are consistent with other studies of sexual coercion. This study has also revealed specific vulnerabilities in Kenyan girls that might increase their susceptibility to coercion. Mother's education and having worked for pay appear to be significant predictors of whether or not a girl is vulnerable to sexual coercion. While the quantitative aspect of this study has provided new insights into Kenyan girls' vulnerabilities, it cannot give us a clear picture of the context within which coercion takes place, and how girls and boys view coercion. In the next part of the study, I use qualitative in-depth interviews among over 60 young people to expand our understanding of how sexual coercion occurs and how young men and women feel about coercing sex or being coerced.

## CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

Within the research community, there has traditionally been a tension between the relative merits of quantitative versus qualitative research. Those promoting qualitative studies typically contend that quantitative studies neglect the “emic” perspective – or the perspective of the respondents. They argue that survey research may impose foreign constructs – an “etic” approach - in that questions are largely determined by the researcher and not the subjects themselves, and are therefore alien to them (Pelto and Pelto, 1970). On the other hand, quantitative researchers typically accuse qualitative research of being unrepresentative, based on small numbers of respondents, and not necessarily representative of the populations they are describing.

Increasingly, however, qualitative and quantitative approaches are no longer seen as in opposition to each other, but rather complementing each other. Each method provides a different type of information and fulfils different research objectives (Fisher et al, 1991). Quantitative data can give a representative reflection of how extensive an event or circumstance is in the population under study. For example, in the present study, a large-scale survey in Nyeri and Nyahururu gave a picture of how extensive sexual coercion is among the young people studied. On the other hand, the survey also underscored a number of questions that could not be answered in the survey, including how respondents viewed coerced sex and why some instances of coercion were reported while others were not. Qualitative data can answer such questions. Qualitative studies generally answer the questions regarding how respondents perceive circumstances and why they behave in the ways that they do. This chapter introduces qualitative data that were collected in the context of this study and describes the methodology used in collection that data.

## **6.1 Context of the research**

Like the quantitative study, this study is part of a stream of research investigating sexual coercion in Kenya. Qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted in two districts, Nyeri and Nakuru, collecting data from adolescents regarding their experiences with sexual initiation and sexual activity. Both Nyeri and Nakuru were selected as the Population Council had been conducting a number of adolescent studies in these districts. It was decided early on to conduct in-depth key informant interviews, rather than focus group discussions. This is because of the tendency for respondents to give the normative, or socially acceptable response in the context of the focus group, especially on sensitive matters (Helitzer-Allen, et al, 1994). Also, in focus groups, respondents are asked to represent the views of their peers or people that they know, rather than themselves and researchers preferred to get personal views and experiences of respondents, themselves, rather than second-hand information. One focus of this qualitative study was to uncover a typology of sexual experience and further explore the topic of sexual coercion. The findings, presented in the next chapter, reveal young people's views on partnerships, sexual intercourse, and sexual coercion. They elucidate many of the questions that arose in the quantitative study of coercion.

## **6.2 Interview guides**

Unlike structured interviews, in depth interview guides are designed to be a guide to the interview, rather than a preset formula that dictates the interview process. The interviewer's job is to guide the respondent over topics that he/she would like to cover, which, in turn, are derived from the objectives of the research. At the same time, the interview should be respondent-driven, with the respondent largely controlling the order in which topics are covered and the flow of conversation.

An interview guide and one short exit questionnaire eliciting demographic information were developed for in-depth interview respondents. The interview



guides suggested an initial warm-up period, during which the interviewer and respondent would discuss non-sensitive information and build rapport. Possible warm-up topics included who the young person lives with, whether or not and where they are schooling, and their future aspirations. After that, respondents were guided to discuss the roles of men and women in the household, in school, at the workplace and in romantic relationships. Suggested dimensions of gender roles to be covered included division of labour, decision-making, and power relations between men and women. Topics on sexual behaviour were also suggested and the guide specified that discussion should not be limited to sexual intercourse, but cover the range of sexual expression including kissing and caressing, as well as penetrative sex. Where possible, the interviewer should elicit the respondent's own personal experience and views. Possible probes on this topic included influences on decision-making, negotiation, use of family planning, whether or not sex had been anticipated, feelings experienced during that time, feelings about the partner, and discussion about the event with others. In the course of the interview, the interviewer was also to elicit the respondent's reaction to the discussion, as well as his/her comfort level in discussing these personal experiences with an interviewer.

### **6.3 Training of interviewers and data collection**

Four interviewers, two male and two female, were recruited. All interviewers had extensive experience with qualitative interviewing, were aged thirty years and under, and were fluent in Kiswahili, Kikuyu, and Sheng, the languages spoken by most of the respondents. Sheng is a modern slang that evolved on the streets of Nairobi, especially among street children. The language is spoken mostly by young people in Kenya and combines linguistic forms from Kikuyu, Kiswahili and English. Interviewers for the study were trained during a five-day workshop that included a review of study objectives and interview guides, qualitative interviewing techniques, and practice in-depth interviews with adolescents from Nairobi. Each interviewer practiced qualitative interviewing with two adolescents recruited from the Nairobi slums, through a local sports organization, Mathare Youth Sports Association. After

the interviewing, the research team discussed the interviews and the challenges that they encountered. Strategies for improved probing, rapport-building, and body language were suggested during these discussions.

Data collection took place over a two-week period in Nakuru and Nyeri Districts. Male interviewers interviewed only male respondents and female interviewers interviewed females. Informed consent was obtained from both respondents and their parents or guardians prior to the interviews. Each interview was preceded by an explanation of the study as well as consent to tape record it. In addition to the tape recording, interviewers took notes during the interview, concentrating on recording non-verbal cues exhibited by the respondent or other interferences that took place during the interview. The interview itself took approximately one to one-and-a-half hours. Interviews took place in a private place in respondents' own villages, often after hours at a school or in a field. The research team met every evening to discuss the day's interviewing and to generate suggestions for how to improve interviewing techniques.

#### **6.4 Key informants**

As with the quantitative study, the research team collaborated with the Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in both Nakuru and Nyeri Districts. CBS staff are known and recognized in the villages, providing credibility to research activities including linkages with village chiefs. Key informants were recruited by CBS field staff. Research investigators guided CBS staff on the profile of key informants to be selected. Informants were chosen based on sex, age range, and schooling status, as well as willingness to participate in the study and consent of their parents or guardians. At the same time, they were selected to represent the range of adolescent experiences in the Districts, including varying backgrounds, living arrangements and social strata.

Ultimately, 62 never-married adolescents were interviewed - 30 boys and 32 girls - between the ages of 14 and 24 living in Nakuru and Nyeri Districts of Kenya. Originally, it had been intended to interview only young people aged 14 to 17. This age group was selected as, in Kenya, a large proportion of young people make the transition from sexually inexperienced to sexually experienced during these years. By interviewing these young people, one could get their current views, perceptions, and experiences, as they make the transition to sexual experience. However, during the course of data collection, it was decided to start interviewing older adolescents, aged 20 to 24, with the hope that they would provide information more candidly and in greater detail than had the younger respondents. Therefore, while respondents in Nakuru are all aged between 14 and 17, some Nyeri respondents are aged 20 to 24. Fifty respondents were between the ages of 14 and 17, residing in both districts, and 12 were over the age of 20, residing in Nyeri District only. The majority (40) were still in school. Of the 22 respondents who were out of school, 10 of these were aged 14 to 17. Among those interviewed, 19 (11 boys and 8 girls) admitted that they were sexually experienced (Table 6.1). Analysis of sexual coercion drew from the 19 sexually experienced young people in the qualitative study.

**Table 6.1: Characteristics of key informants, by District**

	<b>Nyeri</b>	<b>Nakuru</b>	<b>Total interviews</b>	<b>Number sexually experienced</b>
<b>Boys In-School</b>				
14-15	8	5	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>
16-17	4	3	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>
20-24	0	0	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Boys Out-of-School</b>				
14-15	0	0	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>
16-17	3	2	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
20-24	5	0	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Girls In-School</b>				
14-15	7	5	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>
16-17	4	4	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>
20+	0	0	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Girls Out-of-School</b>				
14-15	0	0	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>
16-17	3	2	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
20+	7	0	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>19</b>

### **6.5 Data analysis**

The taped interviews were translated into English and transcribed. Two of the interviews were not completely transcribed due to poor tape quality. Background information on these two particular interviews was entered into the analysis program for reporting purposes only. Data were analysed using standard qualitative methods. First, all transcripts were read several times, highlighting dominant themes that emerged from the data. Because one of the objectives was to formulate a gender-specific typology of sexual experience, themes based on various motivations for sex

were identified. Following identification of themes, transcripts were read again, separating male from female respondents, to understand the meanings, contexts and patterns of different forms of sexual experience for girls compared to boys. Sections of text touching on these themes were highlighted, compiled and summarized. Illustrative quotes were included to support patterns and themes that emerged from the data. The next chapter highlights findings from the qualitative study of adolescents' sexual experience.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS FROM THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

In this chapter, the findings from the qualitative study of adolescents' sexual experiences are reported. As described, the study focused on young people's earliest sexual experiences as well as their perceptions of the ideal partner and how they viewed sex. Results from the qualitative study explore young people's preferences for partners, the context of sexual relations for adolescents and reasons for abstinence. Finally, a typology of sexual negotiation will be built – including coercive sex, and young people's views on their sexual experiences.

### 7.1 Preferences for partners

#### *7.1.1 Boys preferences for partners*

Chapter 4 explored the main characteristics that young people looked for in a spouse, as expressed by respondents in the quantitative survey. In this survey, the most admired characteristics were that the partner have good morals and behaviour, be loving and understanding, and remain faithful. In the context of the in-depth interviews, many of the boys echoed these preferences. When boys talked about what they appreciated in their girlfriends, or what they looked for in a girlfriend or future wife, most spoke of “good behaviours.” Boys expounded on what they viewed as “good behaviours” in women, which were often linked to respectfulness, being hard working, obedience, and politeness. The ideal girls, as described by boys, were often deferential and subservient—they always did what they were told and were selfless in their service to others.

The reason why I admired this girl is because she is very respectable...this one really respects her parents. That is one reason. The second reason is that she is very hard working, and that is something that I like. If you tell her to take you to the forest and you observe how she works, you really appreciate it. *[21-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: Why is she the only one you are seeing? What will you tell her is attracting you to her?*

*Respondent: Because I find her to be good.*

*Interviewer: How 'good'? Please explain.*

*Respondent: She is good at work [17-year-old male, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: What made you decide to have this girl for your girlfriend?*

*Respondent: Her good manners. If, for example, a student faints, she is the first one to give assistance. [15-year-old male, in school, Nakuru District]*

Even when boys described a girl as “beautiful”, it was often not a reference to physical characteristics, but equated with inner beauty as reflected by obedience:

*Interviewer: Supposing [your girlfriend] comes and asks you to give her three reasons why you decided to have her as your girlfriend, what can you tell her?*

*Respondent: I can tell her it's her beauty.*

*Interviewer: What can you compare her beauty with?*

*Respondent: If you ask her to help you, she will...If you tell her to bring you books, she does. [16-year-old male, in school, Nyeri District]*

Such definitions of ‘beauty’ underscore the fact that interpretation of survey findings can sometimes be ambiguous. While 31 percent of boys in the survey mentioned that ‘beauty’ is an important characteristic in a wife, it is not clear whether this refers to physical beauty or another type of beauty.

Boys did not mention intelligence or independence as a desirable trait in girls. One boy did say that he liked a girl that was “bright” but explained that intelligence would allow the girl to understand what he was saying rather than the girl’s independent ability to express herself. Another characterized his ideal girlfriend as one who does what she is told and said that he does not want a girlfriend who is a “hypocrite.” When he was asked what he meant by the term “hypocrite,” he gave the following example:

You know there are some who come with their hypocrisy. For example, when you buy anything, say a television, she wants her name to appear as if she's the one who has bought it. Such a lover is not good. [15-year-old male, in school, Nakuru District]

Girls who approached boys were seen as unappealing by male respondents. Boys felt something must be wrong with any girl who took the role of pursuer; in most cases the boys who experienced this suspected that such a girl must have a sexually transmitted disease such as AIDS.

She's in fact the one that was looking at me the whole time...If I look at her, I find her looking at me...I thought that she had a deadly disease that she wanted to transmit to me. [15-year-old male, in school, Nakuru District]

One of the most undesirable characteristics in girls mentioned by boys was "pride." To boys, pride seemed to be associated with self-confidence or, at times, refusal to have sex. One boy described proud girls as being "high and mighty" and "proud of the way they dress." Another said he did not need a girlfriend because "the way I see it, girls love themselves very much." Boys mentioned staying away from girls whom they considered to be too proud.

#### 7.1.2 Girls preferences for partners

Girls often characterized boys quite negatively. The few girls that did talk about ideal characteristics in a partner often expressed them in terms of the absence of traits they perceived as negative, that is, a desire to find boys without habits such as bullying, insulting, and being bad mannered. Many girls cited these as reasons they did not have boyfriends.



*Interviewer: What kind of boyfriend would you like to have?*

*Respondent: He should have good manners...He should not be a bully. He should not have other girlfriends. [16-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: Why don't you have boyfriends?*

*Respondent: Because they have bad manners.*

*Interviewer: Which are these bad manners?*

*Respondent: Bullying girls [14-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

*Respondent: I just hate [boys'] behaviours.*

*Interviewer: Which behaviours don't you like?*

*Respondent: Insults. [14-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

*[Boys] have very bad manners...They are not afraid of anybody...Even if there is somebody else around, they just continue to tell you bad things. Like he can tell you he wants to play sex with you today. So you just tell him to go away. [16-year-old female, in school, Nakuru District]*

As in the quantitative survey, girls mentioned that they wanted a man who was faithful. Girls also described boys as very sexually aggressive and many girls, particularly younger girls, were quite sensitive to what they perceived as boys' rude or aggressive behaviour. Similarly, girls were often cautious about marriage and future husbands:

*There are men who go to the bar and spend days without going home. I wouldn't want him [my future husband] to be like that. [17-year-old female, in-school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: If it were your wish, would you like to get married?*

*Respondent: It would depend.*

*Interviewer: On what?*

*Respondent: The kind of husband I will have. Is he a husband who will mistreat me or what kind of husband will he be? So I always put God first.*

*Interviewer: What kind of married life would you like to have?*

*Respondent: Normal life. He should not mistreat me and make me have no peace of mind. [21-year-old female, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

Girls in the study rarely stated any ideal quality that they sought in a boyfriend or partner. Rather, their discussions seemed to reflect passiveness in their choice of partner and demonstrated a pattern of acquiescing to the choices made by boys:

*Interviewer: What was your reaction when he told you that he'd like you to be friends?*

*Respondent: Since I was still immature, I didn't tell him no, I just said it's okay. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*You know, when someone begs you that much, you begin to feel you want to be with him as well. [17-year-old female, out of school, Nakuru District]*

While boys' preferences for girls were centred on hard work, helpfulness and obedience, girls' did not clearly state the characteristics they looked for in boys. Girls in the study did not mention desirable traits in boys, but rather the absence of negative ones, including aggressiveness and rudeness.

## **7.2 The context of sexual relations**

Sex among adolescents as described by respondents was indeed erratic. Though boys and girls had been together in relationships for sometimes many years, most described that they had sex quite rarely. Several respondents described having sex with long-term partners (in relationships lasting more than two years) only three to five times during the course of the relationship. A few young people had steady girl/boyfriends with whom they had sex more frequently, but most reported a limited number of sexual encounters. This is consistent with the findings from the survey which found that about two thirds of sexually experienced young people has not had sex in the last month.

For boys and girls alike, sex was infrequent and experimental, often constrained by the lack of opportunity for privacy and secrecy, or lack of interest. Whereas various accounts from the past describe adolescent sexual activity as being regulated by elders

within the communities (Kenyatta, 1971; Worthman and Whiting, 1987), sexual activity among the respondents was clearly a clandestine activity, hidden from adults and others:

I may go to their place (a female friend) and when I go there, I find she may be cooking and after cooking, when her parents are asleep, she goes away [to her boyfriend's house]. And maybe she'll come back in the morning the following day... She leaves the parents asleep. They have their own houses – I mean 'cubes'. They go away and the parents won't know a thing. *[17-year-old female, out-of-school, Nakuru District]*

Many boys planned to have sex when family members were away. One boy complained that it was difficult to see his girlfriend, as he did not want her parents to know that they were involved and would go to borrow a schoolbook and take the opportunity to talk to her. A girl reported that her boyfriend would only visit when her mother was not at home, saying he did not want her mother asking “what he had come to do.” In Kikuyu culture, once a boy is circumcised, he builds an independent, free-standing house or hut – commonly called a ‘cube’ by young people – in the same compound as his parent’s home. The boy’s ‘cube’ is often where young people meet and, at times have sex. Nearly all the young people in the study, who had had sex, had it in the boy’s ‘cube’.

Some young people said that having boyfriends or girlfriends is also hidden from peers. They did not know the relationship status of their friends either because they were afraid of their friends’ disapproval (in cases where their friends disapproved of boy/girl relationships or sexual activity) or concern about gossip or rumours being spread about them. This was much more common among girls than among boys, although a few of the boys reported this as well.

*Interviewer: Did your friends have boyfriends?*

Respondent: It was difficult to tell because they kept it a secret....

*Interviewer: What about your friends? Did you discuss your boyfriend with your girlfriends?*

Respondent: It will depend on how close you are because you might tell others and end up being the talk of the village. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]

*Interviewer: Why did you decide not to have a girlfriend?*

Respondent: Because my friends might talk about my girlfriend. [15-year-old male, in school, Nakuru District]

*Interviewer: Do [your girlfriends] have many boyfriends?*

Respondent: You know, you can't really know because they may tell you they have only one, but maybe they have several.

*Interviewer...And what do you think?*

Respondent: I don't trust them. [17-year-old female, out of school, Nakuru District]

Boys were often influenced to get girlfriends and have sex by their male friends. On the other hand, once they got girlfriends, many did not discuss the details of the relationships with their male friends, often because they did not want the news spread to others:

Respondent: I didn't think they should know.

*Interviewer: Why?*

Respondent: Because they might tell others... I wouldn't have wanted the girl to know that my friends know. [16-year-old boy, in-school, Nyeri District]

Many programmers who design adolescent programs remark upon the significance of peer pressure in making the decision to have sex. Young people interviewed in this study, particularly the girls, appear to keep their relationships secret, even from peers. As such, the issue of peer pressure would seem to be less relevant in programming for adolescents than is commonly assumed, particularly in programming for girls.

### **7.3 Reasons for abstinence**

A large number (approximately one-half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls) in the study reported they had never had sexual intercourse. In many cases, the respondent had never been involved with any sort of relationship with the opposite sex. The reasons given by girls remaining abstinent were often different than those given by boys. In addition, many of the young people who had had sex earlier, decided to stop having sex. The reasons they gave for stopping sex were similar to those who had never had sex at all.

#### **7.3.1 Girls' reasons for abstinence**

Girls' main reason to avoid sex was to avoid an unwanted pregnancy, the stigma attached to it, and burdens to the family. Girls often made the assumption that boys abandon girls that they make pregnant outside of marriage:

Sometimes we might play sex and I become pregnant. Then the guy ditches me. This will mean I will remain at my parents' home with my child to suffer. *[21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

...it is not good to have a boyfriend because he will just cheat you; you become pregnant and you burden your mother. Instead, one should work hard in school, get a job, and then get married. If you do this, people will respect you. *[16-year-old female, in school, Nakuru District]*

[My girlfriends and I] wouldn't want to have [boyfriends]...because they can mislead you. You can get pregnant. *[15-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: What do you think happens when one has a boyfriend?*

*Respondent: You know, a boyfriend and a girlfriend are supposed to be together. I am afraid of becoming pregnant. [16-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

Some girls, such as the girls in the previous quotation, felt that relationships with boys necessarily involved sex. Notably, none of the girls mentioned use of family planning methods to prevent pregnancy. The fear of abandonment and single motherhood figured prominently in decisions on the timing of sexual initiation, particularly sex within marriage.

*Interviewer: There is no time you feel you'd like to have a boyfriend?*

Respondent: There is - when I have completed secondary school and I have a job, so that if he dumps me I can take care of myself and the children. *[15-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: Why would you like to wait [to have sex] until you are married?*

Respondent: Because we can assist each other in bringing up the children, but you see when you are alone, it is not possible.

*Interviewer: Is there another reason why you'd like to wait until you get married?*

Respondent: Because your children can ask you where their father is. *[14-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

*Interviewer: What are some of the reasons you'd like to wait until you are married [to have sex]?*

Respondent: Because I can't be able to take care of a child if I am not married. *[16-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

In fact, girls' fear of abandonment if they became pregnant appeared to be a real possibility. When boys were asked what they would do if they made a girl pregnant, many said that they would not take responsibility for the pregnancy:

*Interviewer: Now that you are 17 years, if you impregnate a girl and she gives birth, what would you do?*

Respondent: [Long pause] I'd tell her that the pregnancy is not mine. *[17-year old male, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

Further, four girls in the study had become pregnant and all were abandoned by the boys who made them pregnant, suggesting that girls' fears of abandonment are a distinct possibility:

I went to visit him. I had been visiting him for quite some time. This particular day my days were not safe so I conceived. When I told him, he didn't say anything, neither did he deny that the pregnancy was his. After some time I went back to him and asked him what we should do. He started to behave in a manner to suggest that the pregnancy was not his. When I pestered him, he told me that he had nothing to say to me and I should not bother him with my pregnancy because as he put it, he had come to school to get an education and not be involved in such things. He turned hostile and even threatened to beat me so I left him and waited until I gave birth. [22-year-old female, out-of-school, Nyeri District]

It is noteworthy that in this case, the boy threatened physical violence and the respondent's reaction was to acquiesce – to simply leave and wait for the birth of her baby. Such a passive reaction of girls to violence or threatened violence is also reflected in girls' experiences of sexual coercion.

### 7.3.2 *Boys' reasons for abstinence*

Although some discussed the fear of impregnating a girl, boys spoke predominantly of abstinence based on a fear of contracting a sexually transmitted diseases, most often referring to AIDS:

I wouldn't know where this girl has come from, who she's been with...I wouldn't know if she is infected with a disease or not. [21-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]

I told her I don't want to have a relationship with women... because of what I see in the village, what happens to those who are in a relationship...The boy or girl might have, for example, the AIDS virus and you might get the virus from them. [17-year-old male, in school, Nyeri District]

*Interviewer: What made you decide not to sleep with a girl and play sex?*

*Respondent: So I don't contract diseases...like AIDS, gonorrhoea, syphilis. Those diseases you can contract and you can die. [15-year-old male, in school, Nyeri District]*

Before I have sex, I would like first to investigate this girl... You know, nowadays, there is AIDS. I wouldn't want to get it or to be 'torched' [contract an STD]. [21-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]

Boys' fear of sexually transmitted diseases figured prominently in their discussions of abstinence, while girls generally did not mention such fears. Interestingly, none of the respondents who cited fears of pregnancy or sexually transmitted infections discussed the possibility of safer sex and condom use.

#### **7.4 Negotiation of romantic relationships and sex**

The exchange of letters or using an intermediary seems to be a common means of approaching someone in whom one has interest. Cousins, siblings, and friends are often involved in making arrangements for young people to meet: "He sent my cousin to tell me he wanted to see me... So when I met my cousin, he told me how good this guy is." [17-year-old female, in-school, Nyeri District]. After that, letters become an important means of early romantic communication:

Respondent: We started talking about school and she told me to send her a letter in school.

*Interviewer: When she told you to write her a letter, how did you feel?*

Respondent: I felt good... because it showed that she loved me. [16-year-old male, in school, Nyeri District]

*Interviewer: When you met the first time, how did he ask you to be his girlfriend?*

Respondent: He started writing to me... He would bring [the letter] and at times he'd give it to a friend to pass it to me. [17-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]

After initial letter writing, negotiation for a romantic relationship and/or for sex occurs in many different places—at school, in the town shopping centre, on the road, and often in the boy's small house or 'cube'. These encounters occur mostly in areas or at times when adult supervision is lacking. In most cases, boys initiate the



exchange. Almost all of the boys and every one of the girls in the study reported that the boy approached the girl for sex.

Boys' and girls' accounts of negotiation for romantic relationships and sex differed markedly. In general, boys' descriptions of the negotiation process were less detailed than were girls'. Young people's accounts of the negotiation process can be roughly divided into five categories: sex that is consensual; sex negotiated through persuasion or 'sweet talk'; sex negotiated through money and gifts; sex for safety; and sex by force.

Among the sexually experienced girls in the study, five described events that would be considered coercive. While one would consider the other three girls to have had consensual sex, their descriptions and experiences of sex were extremely negative and all of these girls regretted having the sex that they had. At the same time, boys rarely described situations in which they used force with girls. Among boys, most described situations that seemed consensual. Many described sweet talking girls or using token gifts. Interestingly, money and gifts did not figure prominently in the descriptions of girls compared to those of boys. The sections below describe boys' and girls' accounts of the sexual negotiation process. Though methods of negotiation have been roughly categorized by strategy, it was possible that more than one strategy was used in the process of negotiating for sex.

#### *7.4.1 Consensual sex*

As mentioned, boys' accounts of the negotiation process were much less detailed than girls. In none of the girls' accounts was sex described as initially wanted but many described giving in to boys' pleas, pressure, or force. However, among the male respondents, many described what might seem like a consensual sex, perhaps, in part, because of the lack of detail regarding the negotiation:

*Interviewer: I would like you to remember the first time you made love. How was it? How did it start?*

Respondent: I approached her and told her that I loved her. Then she told me that she loved me too.

*Interviewer: Then what happened?*

Respondent: Then we went to my house.

*Interviewer: Then?*

Respondent: We slept. [16-year-old boy, in-school, Nyeri District]

Respondent: I told her I wanted to see her.

*Interviewer: What did she say?*

Respondent: She came to where I suggested we meet...

*Interviewer: What did you tell her and what did she tell you?*

Respondent: I told her that I would like us to be together...

*Interviewer: What did she say?*

Respondent: She said 'no problem.' [17-year-old male, out-of-school, Nyeri District]

When asked how they thought the girl was feeling about the experience of sex, many boys did not seem very aware of girls' reactions:

*Interviewer: How did she feel [after sex]?*

Respondent: I wouldn't know how she felt.

*Interviewer: Just by looking at her, how did she seem?*

Respondent: She wasn't unhappy.

*Interviewer: What gave you that impression.*

Respondent: I was looking at her and she was looking down. [16-year-old male, out-of-school, Nakuru District]

Boys' lack of detail in recounting sexual negotiation could reflect a lack of sensitivity regarding dynamics within relationships and girls' feelings. Such thin accounts could also mask circumstances that were, in fact, not consensual. Alternatively, boys' might be embarrassed to divulge such information to an interviewer, particularly if negotiation for sex was difficult for them. One older respondent recounted his first sexual experience and how embarrassing it was for him:

*Interviewer: What means did you use to get her?*

*Respondent: It was a very big task... you know, we were young. We had to do what mother wanted so that at least we can earn money to take the girl out to the disco. But telling her 'I want you', was very hard.... I would tell myself, if she comes I will ask her but when she did, I would feel shy and not say anything. When she left is when I would ask myself 'why did I let her go?'...[23-year-old male, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

From the boys' accounts of negotiation for sex, it was hard to ascertain the context within which sex was negotiated. Even with considerable probing, boys gave little information. However cursory, most accounts from boys depicted what were essentially consensual encounters with girls.

#### 7.4.2 Sex by persuasion and sweet talk

Many respondents – all of them girls - described being persuaded or “sweet talked” into sex. According to the girls, boys often tell them that they love them or that they will marry them. Many discussed how boys are quite persistent in pursuing sex, even after girls have refused.

*Through talking, he will trick you slowly... He'd come [to my] home and plead with me to go to his house. He said that I can even live with him, but I was too young. He said that if I don't want to go and live there, then why not go and visit him. Then I would find myself there...He sweet-talked me into going, but it was not my wish to sleep with him. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*At first I refused, but after talking for such a long time I agreed... I told him that I could get pregnant, but he assured me that there was no problem... He'd tell me that even if I become pregnant he'd marry me after he finished school. [23-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*He pressurized me because we talked a great deal and I told him my fears but he told me there was no problem. I didn't want to. [23-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Girls do not seem to be very successful at refusing boys attempts at persuasion. Many girls describe refusing at first, but then giving in when the boys' sweet talk. Girls did not describe instances when they were successful at refusing boys sex. Girls who refuse sex with boys are not taken seriously or are considered to be "proud":

Respondent: I told him I was not ready to make love.

Interviewer: *What did he tell you?*

Respondent: He told me I was joking

Interviewer: *How did you feel when he told you, you were joking?*

Respondent: I felt bad... He told me I am feeling proud, as if I am the only one. *[15-year-old female, in-school, Nakuru District]*

Thus, girls' refusals of sex seem to carry little or no weight in the negotiation process. In many of the experiences described by girls, boys would simply not take 'no' for an answer. Girls who are steadfast in refusing sex are often insulted or humiliated. One of the girls who was accused of being proud because of refusal of sex was subsequently raped by the boy. After being raped he told her that she "was proud, but that day he had got her." None of the boys in the study described being sweet-talked or persuaded to have sex by girls.

#### *7.4.3 Negotiating sex with money and gifts*

For many boys in the study, the negotiation of sex was linked to giving money or presents. Boys buying girls presents in the hope of sex seems to be pervasive in the way they think about it:

[W]e take good care of each other...when she asks for something, I buy it. When I ask for something [sex], I get it. *[16-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Interviewer: *What else can you do [to seduce a girl]?*

Respondent: Buying her things...The things she wants, like if she wants a soda. *[16-year-old male, in school, Nyeri District]*

Like letters, buying gifts for girls seems to be a way for boys for express interest in girls:

*Interviewer: Telling her [you want her] was hard, but you'd show her through actions?*

*Respondent: Yes, like if she wants a soda, I'd get her one very fast. [23-year-old male, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

Similarly, when girls accept the gift, this appears to be a sign that she might consider having sex with him.

*Interviewer: What things did they give to girls?*

*Respondent: Things like biscuits, sweets... You just enjoy the things he gives you until he tells you what he wants. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Another boy met all his girlfriends in video parlours. When this respondent offered a girl a soda and she refused to accept it, he took the refusal as a rejection and "left her alone." Money is also used to persuade girls who initially refuse to have sex:

*Respondent: I told her I wanted us to make love.*

*Interviewer: What did she say?*

*Respondent: She refused*

*Interviewer: Then?*

*Respondent: I told her until she agreed.*

*Interviewer: What did you tell her until she agreed?*

*Respondent: I told her to give me and I will give her twenty shillings<sup>1</sup>. [17-year-old boy, out-of-school, Nyeri District]*

In girls' accounts of sexual negotiation, gifts and money did not figure as prominently as they did in boys' accounts. However, for girls who did mention them, they seemed to be aware of an unstated understanding that her acceptance of the gift was a sign that she was interested in the boy and might consider having sex with him:

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<sup>1</sup> Twenty shilling is equivalent to about 30 US cents.

During the two weeks, I used to enjoy the sweets and biscuits. Then he asked me what I had decided. I told him that since we've studied each other and we like each other, we can as well become friends [have sex]. *[21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

One girl refused the gifts from her boyfriend in order to send him a clear message that she was not interested in the boy – that she was not ‘that kind of girl’:

At times I would refuse to take that soda...I didn't want him to think that I like that kind of life—being given and being bought for things. I wanted him to know that that was not the kind of love I had for him. So he would buy me things like chains, and I would refuse to take them. *[23-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

One boy described that he did not like girls because they want money “every time.” Boys so equated girls and sex with money exchange that one boy used the term “prostitutes” to describe all girls and possible girlfriends.

However, the idea of ‘prostitution’ – or simple exchange of money for sex - did not come across in young people's accounts. The items exchanged by respondents in the study were relatively small, token items such as sodas, chips, sausages, sweets and biscuits. Reported exchanges of money for sex ranged from 5 to 20 shillings – about the price of sweets, biscuits, and sodas. One could not conclude that such small exchanges for sex are tantamount to prostitution, nor for the girl's survival. Girls' enjoyed the token gifts their boyfriends gave them in the context of the romantic relationship. In no description was the exchange of money or gifts a feature in the process of coercion. Rather, like letter-writing, present-giving by boys seems to be part of the dating process, and girls' acceptance of such small gifts seems to be code for acceptance of, at least, romantic interest and, at most, physical involvement.

#### 7.4.4 *Sex for safety*

The quantitative survey revealed that a considerable number of girls feel unsafe in their home village or estate, particularly after dark. Some of the girls in the study described being coerced or forced into sex in exchange for refuge and safety. In some instances, girls found themselves far from home late at night and feeling that it was unsafe to go home alone. The accounts of these girls suggested that they were coerced into sex by boys that offered them a place to stay for the night:

Respondent: Since it was night and I couldn't go back alone, I had no choice but to spend the night there.

*Interviewer: Had you decided that you will spend the night there?*

Respondent: I was not planning to reach his house.... He would tell me to take him further and further until we reached his house. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]

When I told him I wanted to go home, he locked me inside and he went away. He only came back during the night.... He came when it was dark because he knew that I would not go home on my own. That road is risky at night....[17-year-old female, out of school, Nakuru District]

In the second case, the girl was locked in the boys' room until it was unsafe for her to leave, forcing her to stay and ultimately have sex with the boy. In essence, boys took advantage of girls' vulnerability, in some cases, putting them in a vulnerable situation such as leading them far from home at night, and then forcing them to choose between the risk of walking at night and sex with the boy who gives her refuge.

One boy also described offering a girl a place to stay when she had had too much to drink. To him, the fact that she needed a place to sleep because she was drunk was tantamount to accepting to have sex with him: "She wanted to have sex because she was drunk." However, this boy' later recounted a situation where sex had clearly been coerced through offering her a place to sleep:

Respondent: You know when I asked her [for sex] she was drunk. She abused me for a while but then I told myself, since this person is drunk, let me try my luck – she might give in. So I continued asking and finally she started undressing...

*Interviewer: Why do you think she was undressing?*

Respondent: She was undressing because I had asked her for sex and she was sleeping with me and if she refused, I would have chased her away. [16-year-old boy, out-of-school, Nakuru District]

In this case, the girl had to submit to sex in order not to be thrown out of the boys' house in the middle of the night. At the same time, the boy seemed not to see his actions as coercive but considered her drunkenness as consent.

#### 7.4.5 *Sex by force*

A few girls interviewed had experienced forced sex, and some boys described situations in which they had used force. Most of the girls were raped when they had refused to have sex with their boyfriends, which is consistent with the survey findings that revealed that most girls are coerced to have sex by intimate partners:

Then we did it. He forced me... because I had refused completely.  
[17-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]

I told him that my days were bad and he told me that he didn't have it (condom). I told him if he didn't have then he should let me go. He refused completely to let me go. [17-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]

Respondent: He wanted us to have sex and I refused....

*Interviewer: What happened?*

Respondent: He forced me to have sex with him...

*Interviewer: What did he say?*

Respondent: He said that I was proud but that that day he had got me.  
[15-year-old female, in school, Nakuru District]

In the last quotation above, the matter was reported to the police and the boy that raped this girl received only two strokes of the cane over two days.



Many girls felt that the rape had been their fault. One girl reported that she had been forced to have sex but felt that she had no right to stop him because “she had taken herself there [to the boys’ house].” Blaming oneself for the rape, in combination with the negligible punishments that boys received they are accused of rape, could explain girls’ reluctance to report the crime.

Interestingly, none of the girls used the word ‘rape’ in their accounts of forced sex. Instead, the word ‘force’ was used. This would seem to be consistent with the survey results where ‘force’ was used more often to describe rape by a person known to the respondent, most often a boyfriend or husband.

Boys also describe using domination, intimidation and force to get sex with girls. One boy reports playing a game he called “the cat and mouse game,” in which the boy took the girl by the hand and refused to let go. The boy said he pulled the girl along, all the while “sweet talking” her into having sex. Two other respondents (one boy and one girl) reported instances in which the girl was locked in a room and forced to have sex. One respondent described how he locked a girl in his room to ensure that he had sex with her and a female respondent told us about her experience of being locked by a boy:

I fucked her at night, but because I told her to sleep there I locked the door from outside so that she couldn’t run away because that was my first time to have a girl in my room...there is no way I could have slept with her [in the same bed] without asking for it...yes, she couldn’t have escaped that. *[16-year-old male, out of school, Nakuru District]*

When I told him I wanted to go home, he locked me inside and he went away. He only came back during the night... He came when it was dark because he knew that I would not go home on my own. That road is risky at night... We talked for a few minutes. I told him that I didn’t want to do anything and that I wanted to go home. Then he told me that he would be back in a minute. Then he took a padlock. It was only when I heard him using it, that I realized that he was locking me in. *[17-year-old female, out of school, Nakuru District]*

In these instances, the girls were locked in the boy's room or 'cube', which is often the location of sexual activity among adolescents. Consistent with the survey findings, few of the girls who were forced to have sex, told anyone about it. Many felt it had been their own fault for going to the boy's 'cube' and some looked back at the incident, considering themselves to have been naïve about boys' intentions.

### **7.5 Perceptions of sexual activity**

Boys spoke very little about their own, or the girls' feelings compared to girls' accounts. Those that did surmised that the girls with whom they had sex enjoyed the experience, although they rarely provided evidence to support this. Even the respondent who had locked a girl in his house believed that she wanted to have sex with him. At first, boys typically report that the girl "felt good," but on further probing some admit that they could not tell how she really felt. Sometimes boys seemed aware that some girls have negative feelings about the experiences. One said that his girlfriend was happy after sex, "[b]ut then you know there are people whose happiness shows on the face, but in their hearts they are carrying a lot."

Many girls seemed to regret their first (and often subsequent) sexual experience and some even seemed traumatized. Most of these girls had been coerced or forced into the sex that they had, and others had simply not intended or wanted to have sex.

*Interviewer: What did you feel?*

*Respondent: Something very unpleasant because you have severe stomach ache, you feel drowsy and you can even faint.... I nearly fainted but God intervened. [21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Very few girls described sex as pleasurable. Many girls talked about sex as an obligation to boys or something that was outside of their control. One girl said about her first sexual encounter: "I hated myself... for giving in." Another described that when she sees her boyfriend she "[makes] him happy...by showing him that I love

him.” However, later in the interview this respondent described how her first sexual experience was forced by her boyfriend and that sex for her is always unpleasant. This respondent has continued to have sex with her boyfriend, as he has successfully convinced her that her unpleasant sexual experience with him is normal:

*Interviewer: How did he convince you?*

Respondent: He told me that that’s how one feels the first time - that you don’t enjoy it the first time you play sex... and you get used to it with time.

*Interviewer: Is this how you felt?*

Respondent: No.

*Interviewer: How did you feel?*

Respondent: Bad.

*Interviewer: The first time or later?*

Respondent: All the time. *[17-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

Many girls expressed remorse, regret, and anger about sex that they had had. For many of them, the boys had successfully persuaded or forced them to have sexual relations, even though they were not happy about it and did not enjoy it. From the girls’ accounts, boys seem to put girls under intense pressure for sex and were dismissive of girls wishes:

Respondent: When I was doing it, I didn’t feel like I could do it again.... I told him that I will never do it again.

*Interviewer: What about him?*

Respondent: He told me that I will do it again. I told him that we’ll see. *[21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

In fact, boys seem to go to great lengths to get sex from girls. One girl described how when she was pregnant, many boys pursued her for sex:

They’d tell me that that was the best time because I was already pregnant... they’d tell me that there is nothing to be afraid of... *[21-year-old female, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Such seemingly predatory actions by boys made girls' relationships with them extremely unpleasant, often creating a sense of confusion and conflict. One girl expressed a great sense of relief after breaking up with her boyfriend: "...when we were together, I never used to think straight...after he left, I had a peace of mind."

For boys, on the other hand, sex with girls seems to represent significant social capital among other boys, and some boys initiated sex in order to be able to tell friends about it. Many times, sex seemed to be performed not for the girls or for pleasure, but for the pride in being able to tell other boys about it:

*Interviewer: What do you mean exactly when you say it (sex) was great?*

*Respondent: You see, at least you have something to boast about... especially if you get a good catch. [22-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]*

*When we finally made love, it was not that enjoyable because she was a virgin but I was very proud and I had to tell my friends about it. I felt very good. [23-year-old male, out of school, Nyeri District]*

Girlfriends and sex were important topics of conversation among boys. Many boys said they sought the advice of their peers on how to obtain a girlfriend and what to do with a girlfriend. Several of the boys that were interviewed had planned with other boys how to get a girl to have sex with them. Conversely, not one girl in the study had even anticipated that she would have sex at the time that she did.

Other boys linked sexual initiation with the circumcision experience and equated sexual initiation with manhood. One boy mentioned how it was only after the circumcision that his mind "was not shallow" and he "entered into a new age grade and started thinking about other things [sex]." He ascribed the circumcision experience as the experience that made his "mind grow" and made him "start thinking about sex." This is consistent with research by Ahlburg and colleagues (1996), who describe the period after boys' circumcision as a time when many boys initiate sex.

Clearly, boys and girls experiences of sex are very different. While boys are either not aware of or ignore girls' feelings, the girls themselves express quite extreme emotions associated with sexual intercourse, especially feelings of shame and regret. One girl interviewed summed up what was observed as the vast difference between boys' and girls' reactions to their sexual experiences:

*Interviewer: How did you feel after he forced you and you talked about it?*

*Respondent: I felt a lot of hatred toward him....*

*Interviewer: At the time you were feeling such hatred, how do you think he felt?*

*Respondent: He seemed very happy about me. [17-year-old female, in school, Nyeri District]*

## **7.6 Discussion**

In depth interviews were conducted among both boys and girls, exploring their earliest experiences and perceptions of sex and sexual negotiation. Many of the findings from this phase of the study supported those from the quantitative survey. For example, young people – both in the qualitative study and in the survey - described that sex is rather infrequent, often separated by long periods of abstinence. The characteristics that boys looked for in girls was similar to results from the survey, especially in terms of hard work and good behaviour. In the context of the qualitative study, the meaning of 'good behaviours' were clarified as hard working and obedient. For girls, however, few expressed concrete characteristics they looked for in boys, except, perhaps, for the absence of negative traits they observed among their male peers. As in the quantitative survey, many girls felt unsafe after dark in their communities, which sometimes resulted in their trading sex for safety.

In-depth interviews revealed various contexts in which sex between young people takes place, including in consensual arrangements, after persuasion or sweet talk, in conjunction with gift giving, in exchange for refuge or safety, and by means of force.

Boys' and girls' accounts of the experience of sexual intercourse and the negotiation of sex differed markedly. According to most boys, sex that occurred among adolescents was most often consensual or facilitated by boys' giving girls money or gifts. Boys who gave few details on the process of sexual negotiation often described the happening as if it were consensual. On the other hand, the lack of detail in their descriptions could mask a situation in which girls were put under pressure or force. Boys seemed to resent the practice of gift giving, describing that many girls expected that boys buy them gifts. Gifts were relatively minor tokens – sodas, sweets and biscuits – and not essential items one needs for survival. In both the descriptions of boys and girls, gift giving was not a feature in coercive sex, but rather seemed to be code for boys and girls expressing interest in one another. For example, if a girl did not accept a boy's gift, it showed that she was not interested in the boy; if she did accept the gift, it suggested that she was interested in the boy or open to the idea of having sex with him. Recently, there has been increased attention to exchange of money and gifts for sex. This exchange has often been described as sex in exchange for basic needs for survival, in other words, sex that is coerced by the need to survive. The qualitative portion of this study did not reveal sex that was coerced by gifts or money, but gifts and money as a common part of romantic relationships.

All the girls interviewed described considerable regret regarding sexual relations and five of them described circumstances that would be considered coercive. Not one girl interviewed expressed satisfaction with her sexual experiences. Girls' initial resistance to sex was often met with sweet talk or insistence by boys. Girls who refused sex were not taken seriously and considered 'proud' by boys. In almost all of these cases, girls who gave in to boys' pleas expressed regret regarding giving into sex and described sex as not pleasurable. They also described instances of force, which included locking girls in the boy's 'cube' or small house, and being compelled to have sex in exchange for a safe place to stay. Girls' language in describing these instances was one of powerlessness, and girls' feelings about sex was often, not surprisingly, negative. Some of the boys interviewed described instances of rape that they seemingly regarded as normal and acceptable.

Girls were often convinced to have sex by boys, through sweet talk, insistence, and, at times, humiliation. This results in the regret, humiliation and shame that girls portray when they talk about sex. Though these experiences are extremely negative, review of the girls' transcripts suggests that not all of these girls have been coerced. The extent of regret that girls experience in the context of sex could result in over-reporting coerced or forced sex, especially in other surveys where the questions are not carefully worded. Where other surveys have not used behaviourally specific questions, simply asking girls whether sex was "forced" could result in positive responses when girls felt that they were giving in to boys' pressure. This survey used behaviourally specific questions to measure coercion, which could explain why the extent of coercion is lower than in other Africa-based surveys. While other surveys are measuring the considerable regret that girls experience, this survey only measured instances where sex was truly compelled. At the same time, few surveys have measured the extent to which sex is pleasurable for adolescents and the extent to which young people regret having sex. One of the few that has, asked young people in rural Zimbabwe how they felt after their first sex – happy, sad or indifferent. In this study, while 70 percent of boys reported they felt 'happy' after their first sex, 73 percent of girls said that they felt 'sad' (Phiri and Erulkar, 2000). Like the study in Zimbabwe, this qualitative study revealed that, while not all girls have been coerced into sex, few find sex pleasurable and most regret having sex.

The extent of regret that girls experience also has powerful implications for programmes for adolescents. Few programmes address sexual violence and non-consensual sex. Virtually no programmes address girls' regrets and shame over sex, and few teach them how to assert themselves in the face of boys' pressure. Similarly, programmes generally do not address boys' perceptions of the negotiation process and what constitutes coerced or forced sex.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study explored young people's experiences of sexual activity, focusing particularly on young women's experience of sexual coercion. It is the first population-based study of young people that has sexual coercion as one of its foci. Other studies of sexual coercion on the continent have been from selective samples or based on exclusively qualitative designs. It is important to note that this study did not exclude married adolescents, a practice that is common in most studies of young people. As such, it is one of the first truly representative studies of this young population in Kenya. The study broadens our understanding of adolescent sexuality and demonstrates that not all sex is consensual and wanted, particularly by girls. The study carries powerful implications for the direction of policies and programmes on the continent.

A population-based survey was carried out in Nyeri and Nyahururu Municipalities among 2,712 married and unmarried young people aged 10 to 26. The survey explored sexual behaviour and sexual experiences as well as other aspects of young lives including schooling, work, mobility, and married life. Descriptive statistics were presented on young peoples' transition to adulthood and the context of sexual experiences. Hazard models were used to predict the experience of coercion among young women in the sample. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted among young people aged 14 to 24. These interviews sought to understand the context within which sex takes place for young people, including instances of coercion, as well as what their perceptions are of sexual initiation and the negotiation process.

This concluding chapter presents a summary and synthesis of results, after which limitations of the research are outlined. Implications for policy and programs are discussed and, finally, I will suggest some priorities for future research in the area of adolescent sexual behaviour and reproductive health.



## 8.1 Summary of results

Understanding adolescent sexual behaviour has increasingly become a public health priority, particularly in the era of HIV/AIDS. Thus far, research has focused quite narrowly on sexual experience, fertility, family planning use, and sexually transmitted diseases with little attention to the context of sexual relations among adolescents. It is only very recently that more attention has been paid to contextual factors associated with sex, with scattered accounts of sexual coercion emerging in studies in sub-Saharan Africa, most of which are qualitative studies and most of which come from South Africa.

Historical accounts of Kikuyu culture describe that young people's transition to adulthood was institutionalised through traditional rites of passage. Groups of boys and girls – organized into age sets - were initiated into adulthood through the circumcision ceremony and practices that followed. After circumcision, young people were considered to be adults, and were eligible for marriage. The early stages of sexual exploration and courtship among young people were regulated by older people, with controls in place to prevent premarital sex and pregnancy. Young people were allowed to engage in sexual exploration, but did so in an event organized for that purpose, *ngweko*. During *ngweko* events, young people engaged in romantic touch and fondling in a group setting, with girls wearing a special apron to prevent boys from touching her genitals. If a boy attempted penetration, the girl would report the matter immediately and the boy would be barred from such events. Similarly, if a boy caused a pregnancy before marriage, he was either forced to marry the girl he made pregnant or his family would pay a heavy fine to the girls' family. Such measures effectively protected the girl against unwanted sexual intercourse.

The expansion of education, the breakdown of traditional rites of passage, and the loosening of social controls, especially on boys, have all been suggested as reasons for recent increases in premarital sex and pregnancy in Kenya. In addition to this, it

can be suggested that such changes have resulted in new forms of sex: sex that is not consensual.

Findings from both the quantitative survey and the qualitative study revealed that girls' experiences during adolescence - including their earliest sexual experiences - differ markedly from boys. Girls and boys in the sample enjoyed similar levels of educational participation, with rates of drop out from school roughly equal between the sexes. At the same time, girls' workforce participation was much less than boys, with girls entering the labour force later than boys, and receiving less pay for the work that they do. On the other hand, adolescent girls were married and parenting to a far greater extent than adolescent boys, with over 40 percent of girls married by age 20 and about 50 percent parenting by age 20.

Boys appeared to initiate sex earlier than girls with median age at first sex at 18 for boys and 19 for girls. Whereas boys' sexual partners were most often their own age or slightly younger, girls partners were often significantly older than themselves. Such age disparities have implications for power and decision-making within sexual relationships. Both the survey and the in-depth interviews revealed that adolescent sex is, indeed, quite sporadic and often infrequent. Fully one quarter of the sexually experienced young people in the survey last had sex over one year ago. A far greater proportion of boys had ever used a condom and/or used one during the last intercourse, compared to girls, a pattern that remained even after taking married adolescents out of the analysis. Girls' and boys' accounts of the process of sexual negotiation were quite different. Boys often described sexual negotiation that appeared to be quite consensual, or resulted after giving the girl a gift. On the other hand, girls' descriptions of sexual negotiation portrayed the considerable pressure that boys put on girls to have sex, including insistence and physical force. While boys were usually satisfied with their sexual experiences, girls expressed considerable regret and unhappiness regarding these early experiences.

Other studies of sexual coercion have underscored the difficulties of measuring coercion. Following on recommendations made from earlier studies, the survey of young people elicited information on coercion using behaviourally specific questions, rather than relatively open and ambiguous questions used in other surveys such as, “Have you ever been forced?” In this survey, young people were asked about being threatened into having sex, being subjected to insistence or not taking ‘no’ for an answer, being locked in a room, physically forced, or raped. The exchange of money and gifts was not included in the measurement of sexual coercion. In-depth interviews with adolescents suggested that the exchange of token gifts was often a feature in the dating process, with offering or accepting gifts as code for romantic interest in someone. This is contrary to suggestions that the exchange of money and gifts reflects the economic need of girls and is tantamount to sex that is coerced for the sake of survival.

This is the first representative, population-based study of sexual coercion on the African continent. Other studies on the continent have been conducted among selective samples and many have not paid close attention to the wording of questions on coercion. This study revealed a number of similarities in the pattern of coercion in Africa, compared to the West. Overall, six percent of the girls in the sample had experienced coerced sex. Most of the literature on coercion considers only sexually experienced girls and women – not all girls - as at risk of coercion. When estimating the prevalence of coercion, most studies put only sexually experienced girls in the denominator. Using this denominator, eleven percent of sexually experienced girls had experienced coercion, which is similar to other population-based surveys of young people conducted in the West. Consistent with other research on sexual coercion, most instances of coercion, as reported in both the qualitative and quantitative studies, were at the hands of boyfriends. Further, most of the perpetrators were significantly older than the girls, with a mean age difference of between five and ten years. As with global research on sexual coercion, this study found that coerced girls seemed to have experienced sexual initiation at earlier ages

than non-coerced girls, and that more had an experience with STIs compared to non-coerced girls.

The Cox Proportional Hazard model was used to model time-to-coercion data, given that the data set presumably had a large number of censored cases, or, in other words, girls who had not yet experienced coercion. A hazard model was calculated on three levels: among all girls in the sample – whether sexually experienced or not, among only sexually experienced girls, and among married girls.

Among all girls, factors that were associated with the experience of coercion were having a mother with low education, living without parents, never having worked for pay, holding the attitude that men should make decisions about sex, and residence in Nyeri District (as opposed to Nyahururu District). The beneficial effect of mother's education has been demonstrated in a number of other studies, particularly those to do with child survivorship, fertility, and health. This study suggests that the benefits of mother's education extend into the adolescent years, with girls of mothers with higher education seemingly able to ward off sexual coercion to a greater extent than girls of mothers with less education. There are several possible explanations for this association. One possible explanation is that mothers with more education might equip girls to better handle boyfriends and not acquiesce to male pressure. Those who live without parents appear to be more vulnerable, experiencing higher rates of coercion compared to those who live with at least one parent. This would seem consistent with the qualitative data that suggest that parents may act as a deterrent to sexual activity, with most sex taking place secretly, away from parents. Removing the parental barrier to sex, may make the experience of sex, as well as coercive acts, more likely. Having held a paying job appears to decrease the likelihood of experiencing sexual coercion. Increasingly attention is being paid to the positive effects of safe and appropriate paid work on adolescents' self-esteem and self-determination. This study suggests that, indeed, paid work may have positive effects beyond financial self-sufficiency.

Among the sexually experienced girls, factors that were associated with the experience of coercion were having a larger number of partners, having sex at an earlier age, having a mother with low education, never having worked for pay, and residence in Nyeri District. The interpretation of these associations is not immediately clear. The number of lifetime partners is measured at the time of survey, not at the time of coercion. Having a greater number of partners could precede the coercive experience, making girls more susceptible to coercion by exposing them to a greater number of boys with various strategies for negotiating sex. On the other hand, the experience of coercion may result in girls engaging in more risk-taking behaviour and having more sexual partners, a pattern that has been suggested by other researchers. Similarly, girls who start having sex earlier may be more susceptible to coercion because of their young age and inexperience, while the early first sex, itself, may have been a result of coercion. Review of the data suggests that many girls have initiated sex early because of the experience of coercion. While this is a suggestive sequence of events, longitudinal data of adolescents are needed to tease out these pathways more precisely. Finally, among married adolescent girls, having been coerced by one's husband is associated with violence within the marriage: having been hit by the husband.

## **8.2 Limitations of the research**

Research and data collection procedures were designed to collect data of the highest quality. The sampling strategy used for the survey was designed to yield data that was representative of young people aged 10 to 26, including both married and unmarried adolescents. An initial household listing was conducted in all households in the two municipalities after which eligible young people were selected at random to take part in the study. Interviewers paid three visits on the households in order to obtain the interview. Much emphasis was put on supervision of interviewers and quality of data. All questionnaires went through three rounds of quality control by supervisors, coordinators, and the data editor. Incomplete questionnaires or inconsistent responses were sent back to the field for clarification and the coordinator

conducted spot checks on survey respondents to ensure that they had actually been visited. Unlike many other adolescent surveys that interview only unmarried adolescents, this survey interviewed both the married and unmarried, giving a complete and representative picture of the lives of young people in Kenya.

Despite the considerable attention to sampling design and data quality issues, there are a number of limitations to the study that one should be aware of. Like other large surveys such as the DHS surveys, this was a household-based survey drawing a representative sample from residential *households* in the study area. As such, young people who do not live in households had no chance of being sampled and were systematically excluded from the study. This would include young people in prison or in remand homes, young people who live on the street, and those that board in institutions such as in secondary schools. It is possible that such an exclusion biased the sample toward more “mainstream” and perhaps advantaged young people. Those in remand homes, prison, or living on the street are likely to be from poorer households and could be less conventional than those who were interviewed from the households. In fact, the household listing revealed that there are fewer eligible males in the households than eligible females, by a ratio of 1 to 1.4 . This deficit of males in households could reflect either that they are living in circumstances other than households or that they have migrated to Nairobi, probably in search of work.

A second limitation of the study relates to the interpretation of findings, in particular in suggesting causal relationships. The key area of interest in this study was the experience of sexual coercion among young women aged 10 to 26. Multivariate analysis sought to suggest relationships between the experience of sexual coercion and other individual or household level variables such as gender attitudes, experience of STIs, work experience and schooling. However, this was a cross sectional survey, where adolescents were interviewed at one point in time. So, unlike longitudinal studies, the timing and sequencing of events could not be fixed for some variables, meaning that causal relationships cannot be suggested through this data. For example, should I have found that girls who experienced coercion were more likely to

hold conservative views on the roles of women in society, it would not have been possible to say that conservative attitudes increases the likelihood of coercion. This is because the attitudinal measure was taken at the time of survey, not the time of coercion, making it unclear whether the young person held the attitude prior to the coercive experience or whether the attitude was a result of coercion.

### **8.3 Policy and programme implications**

Programming for adolescents is in its first generation in sub-Saharan Africa, with the first youth-targeted RH programs beginning in the early 1980s. In the context of programming for adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa, five popular approaches have emerged: youth centres, peer education programs, school-based family life education/sex education programs, “youth friendly” clinical services, and youth targeted media campaigns (Senderowitz, 1997, Senderowitz, 1999, Erulkar, 2002).

Findings from the present study carry a number of programmatic and policy implications. These are related to the absence of gender-specific programming for adolescents; the absence of programs and policies regarding married adolescents; the lack of recognition of the diversity of adolescents and how that impacts upon sexual and reproductive decisions; and the lack of programmatic attention to sexual coercion as well as ambiguous policies regarding coercion and rape.

#### *8.3.1 Gender-specific programming for adolescents*

To date, the vast majority of programs for young people in sub-Saharan Africa are targeted for both boys and girls, with no gender-specificity in terms of content. The few program evaluations that have been carried out in peer education programs and youth centres, find that programs are reaching a far greater number of boys than girls (Erulkar and Mensch, 1997, Erulkar et. al, 2001, Glover et. al., 1998, Phiri et al, 1997, Oyediran, et al, 1997). Reasons for this could be because of relatively greater demands on girls’ time in performing domestic duties, leaving little time to participate in such programs; greater restrictions on girls’ movements, including

where and with whom they ‘hang out’; stigma attached to programs, especially those run by family planning organizations; or lack of activities and programmatic content that is appealing to girls.

This study revealed the considerable differences between the lives of adolescent boys and girls. Not only was the context of sexual relations different between the sexes, but time use and the timing and nature of adolescent transitions differ. Such differences underscore the need for gender-specific programming, both in terms of program design and in terms of message content. For example, girls spend a considerable amount of time performing domestic duties compared to boys. Such burdens may make them more difficult to reach with programs, and less mobile outside the domestic sphere than boys. Similarly, a significant proportion of girls are mothers during the young adult years. This suggests that girls may need programmatic content geared to their status as parents, rather than the abstinence messages that tend to dominate adolescent programs.

### *8.3.2 Programs for married adolescents*

The study revealed that a significant proportion of young people are married during the adolescent years. Forty percent of adolescent girls are married by age 20 while about 8 percent of boys are married. However, virtually all studies of adolescents in Africa only include the unmarried and youth programs are not designed with the married in mind. This research and programming agenda for young people effectively leaves out a significant proportion of young people, especially girls. Married adolescents have important service needs that are probably not being addressed by programs. Some programmers argue that young people who are married gain adult status and can take advantage of programs for adults. However, young people’s use of adult programs has not been demonstrated. Moreover, young people who marry early might be more disadvantaged than young people who are not married and who remain in school. For example, the study showed that condom use by married girls is much lower than condom use by unmarried girls, a pattern which probably reflects diminished bargaining power within marriage to use condoms.



### *8.3.3 Programmatic attention to the diversity of adolescents*

Current programming for young people tends to make assumptions about who young people are, what they do, and how they live. For example, programmers' tend to categorize young people as either in-school or out-of-school and make the assumption that they are living in nuclear family situations with two resident parents. The present research demonstrated that the in-school / out-of-school dichotomy is too simplistic to adequately capture the diversity of young people. For example, such conceptualisations fail to take into account the working status of young people, which might have tremendous impact on their self-esteem and welfare.

Some countries devote a considerable resources for programs in schools, in particular secondary school. However, demographic data from many African countries as well as data from this study reflect low school attendance and only a minority of young people going to secondary school. Such programs are likely only to reach a small fraction of young people, and those young people who are relatively advantaged.

Much attention and effort has been devoted to programs to encourage young people to talk to their parents about sex. Not only is this traditionally taboo among many ethnic groups, such as the Kikuyu in Kenya, but many adolescents in Africa do not even live with their parents. For example, this study found that a significant proportion of young people do not live with their parents and, when they do, they are often in female-headed households. For boys, the absence of a same-sex parent with whom to discuss sex, makes sex education within the household extremely challenging. Within Kenyan culture, it is extremely difficult for a mother to talk to her son about sex.

Such programmatic decisions reveal that existing research is not being taken into account at the design stage. Additional attention needs to be paid to existing research on adolescents when making decisions on programming. In this context, it is likely

that programmers need additional skills in translating research findings into programs for adolescents.

#### *8.3.4 Programmatic and policy attention to non-consensual sex*

This study revealed that a significant proportion of sexual activity among adolescents is non-consensual. The study focused on the experiences of adolescent girls. It is likely that adolescent boys also experience coerced sex, though probably to a lesser degree than girls. Currently, RH programs for young people tend to emphasize a message of abstinence. Some program assessments have suggested that the abstinence message is, at times, so strong, that providers and peer educators are often judgmental of those who have had sex or are even considering having sex (Erulkar and Mensch, 1997, Erulkar et al, 2001). The abstinence messages in these programs is often directed at girls and advise them to ‘just say no’ to boys’ suggestions of sex (*see, for example IEC materials for youth developed by Zimbabwe National Family Planning Program*). However, this study revealed that a significant number of girls do not have the choice whether or not to have sex, making the ‘just say no’ message irrelevant. Further, the in-depth interviews revealed that even where girls are not coerced, they are put under a great deal of pressure by boys, some of whom are considerably older than themselves. Asking girls – often very young girls – to ‘just say no’ in such a situation is unrealistic. Girls in the qualitative study often lamented at their own naïveté regarding boys’ intentions and the promises that boys make them. Messages for young people need to be explicit and reality based. This includes education on coercion and rape. Girls need to be aware that coercion is common between boyfriends and girlfriends. Boys need to understand what constitutes rape and coercion, and that this behaviour is not acceptable when negotiating sex.

In addition, messages for young people need to include information on legal and human rights surrounding sexual violence. Many of the girls in the study did not report the experience of rape and blamed themselves for the occurrence. This is perhaps because they did not know it is illegal and/or perhaps they realize that there is rarely action taken even if they do report it. Messages should raise awareness on

what constitutes rape, the fact that it is illegal under Kenyan law, and what recourse a girl has in such a case. In Kenya, the Federation for Women Lawyers (FIDA) is increasingly active in advocating for women's rights, particularly in cases of domestic abuse and rape. Linkages could be made between the very active FIDA program and adolescent RH programs in the country.

In Kenya, rape is often looked upon as a normal and forgivable occurrence when boys and men cannot control themselves. This was underscored by the St. Kizito tragedy in Meru, Kenya in 1991. Here, 19 secondary schoolgirls were killed and 71 others were raped in their school dormitory by fellow male students, prompted by a protest over school fees. The deputy principal at the school was quoted as saying, "The boys never meant any harm against the girls. They just wanted to rape" (Perlez, 1991). FIDA's programs are making progress in bringing issues of rape and domestic violence to public attention. Additional efforts need to be made in protecting girls and women against sexual violence and advocating for stronger laws that are enforced. Such efforts should be decentralized to more effectively reach rural areas.

Finally, the study underscores the importance of extending development opportunities to girls and women. Hazard models showed that young women with educated mothers and who had worked for pay were less likely to have been coerced compared to those who had mothers with low education and who had not worked for pay. Such findings underscore the fact that efforts to expand girls' educational opportunities and increase young women's labour force participation could have powerful effects on the overall well-being of young women and their children.

#### **8.4 Priorities for future research**

This research suggests a number of areas for additional research. Research efforts should continue to focus on the contextual factors associated with adolescent sex as well as the timing and nature of adolescent transitions. Such research will contribute to a more informed and appropriate program agenda for young people in developing countries. Moreover, dissemination of research findings – especially to programmers and in-country professionals – needs to be strengthened. At the moment, access to high quality research on adolescents is often limited to the elite research community and findings are often expressed in a way that is inaccessible to programmers and the press. Researchers should attempt to write research results in layman’s language and disseminate it to the grassroots, where it can be translated into programs.

The relationship between positive livelihoods for adolescents and reproductive health outcomes should be further explored. Recently, scattered studies have suggested that paid work that is appropriate, safe, and well-timed for adolescents may have positive effects on the lives of young people, including their reproductive health. This study suggested that paid work may be protective against experiences of coercion. Additional research should be devoted to answering the question as to whether, and if so how, livelihoods for young people may be associated with improved reproductive health and protection against HIV infection.

Until recently, issues such as non-consensual sex and sexual violence had largely been absent from sexual behaviour research. This effectively ignored the sexual experience of a considerable number of girls and women, globally. Sexual behaviour research must not ignore non-consensual sex, and, at the same time, be mindful of the fact that data on coercion and other forms of sexual violence can be sensitive and difficult to collect. Researchers should experiment with various ways of collecting data on sensitive sexual behaviours, including coercion. Further, research should be conducted in a number of different contexts and countries, in order to contribute to the understanding of sexual coercion and help the public health community combat it.

**APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEWER ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE**

**ADOLESCENT HEALTH INFORMATION AND SERVICES: ENDLINE SURVEY  
The Population Council/FPAK**

**ADOLESCENT QUESTIONNAIRE  
GIRLS VERSION**

<b>IDENTIFICATION</b>	<b>CODES</b>
DISTRICT      1=NYERI   2=NYANDARUA	1=NYERI 2=NYANDARUA
DIVISION.....	.....
LOCATION.....	.....
SUB LOCATION.....	.....
ENUMERATION AREA NUMBER.....	.....
FOY AREA NUMBER .....	.....
HOUSEHOLD / STRUCTURE NUMBER.....	.....
SERIAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE.....	.....
LINE NUMBER OF ADOLESCENT .....	.....
NAME OF INTERVIEWER.....	.....

<b>INTERVIEW VISITS</b>	1	2	3	<b>FINAL VISIT</b>
DATE	.....	.....	.....	DAY..... MONTH..... YEAR.....
INTERVIEWER NAME	.....	.....	.....	RESULT.....
RESULT CODE	.....	.....	.....	TOTAL NUMBER OF VISITS
NEXT VISIT: DATE	.....	.....		.....
TIME	.....	.....		.....

**RESULT CODES**  
 1=COMPLETED                      4=AWAY AT BOARDING SCHOOL      7=PARTLY COMPLETED  
 2=NOT AT HOME                      5=POSTPONED                          8=INCAPACITATED  
 3=AWAY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD    6=REFUSED                              9=OTHER (SPECIFY)

<b>LANGUAGE USED IN INTERVIEW</b> 1=ENGLISH 2=KISWAHILI 3=KIKUYU 4=OTHER (SPECIFY)	.....
SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE AND DATE .....	.....
DATA EDITOR SIGNATURE AND DATE.....	.....
COORDINATOR SIGNATURE AND DATE .....	.....
DATA ENTRY SIGNATURE AND DATE .....	.....

**INTRODUCTION / INFORMED CONSENT**

Hello. Thank you for taking your time to talk to me My name is ..... and I am working in a collaborative project between Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya. These are youth-serving organizations. I will be asking you questions about yourself and your experiences as you grow up. This is not a test. We are only interested in finding out what youth in Kenya experience as they grow up. We are asking these questions to young people such as you all over Kenya. The purpose of asking these questions is to learn more about the youth program and the people who use it. The information we collect will be used to improve services for young people in this area and elsewhere in Kenya also.

Your experiences are important to us. We want you to be honest and truthful in answering our questions. Your parent/guardian has given me permission to talk to you. At the same time, your parent/guardian has not seen this questionnaire and does not know the questions I will be asking you. Any information that you provide will be considered private and confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study. Any report from this study will not use your name or any other information that may identify you. Your parent/guardian, family members or anyone in the community will not see the questionnaire I will fill out or know any answers you give to my questions.

We will be asking you personal questions about your life. I have asked many young people these questions and know that there are many different problems and experiences that young people like you face. Also, I was your age not so long ago, and I know the kinds of things young people experience these days. Nothing you say will shock me. In fact, I have gone through many of the experiences we will be talking about. It is important to me that you are truthful and feel comfortable. Your views are important to us. You are encouraged to answer as many questions as possible, and remember that your participation is voluntary and, if you are too uncomfortable with a question, you may not answer it if you wish.

All the information you will provide will be considered private and confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this study. Your name will not appear anywhere on this questionnaire. Any report from this study will not use your name or any other information that may identify you. I will first ask you my questions. It will take about 1 hour or 1 ½ hours. After that, if you have any questions for me, we can discuss things that concern you.

If you have any problems, please feel free to contact the study coordinator, Fredrick Nyagah at FPAK Nyeri, P.O. Box, 226 Telephone 0171-2146, Nyeri.

01. Do you agree to participate in the study?

- 0= No (END INTERVIEW)
- 1= Yes

02. Do you mind if my supervisor returns to make sure I did my work correctly?

- 0= No
- 1= Yes

03. Sometime in the future, an interviewer may return to ask you additional questions. Is this acceptable to you?

- 0= No
- 1= Yes

**SECTION I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

101. RECORD THE TIME ..... HOUR. .... MINUTES

102. Presence of others at this point? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=NO ONE PRESENT
- 2=CHILDREN UNDER 12
- 3=HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND/FIANCE
- 4=OTHER MALES
- 5=OTHER FEMALES

103. First I would like to ask some questions about yourself and what you are currently doing. In what month and year were you born?

.....  
MONTH 98=DON'T KNOW MONTH                      YEAR 98=DON'T KNOW YEAR

104. How old are you? (COMPARE AND CORRECT 103 AND/OR 104 IF INCONSISTENT)

..... AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS                      98=DON'T KNOW

105. Have you ever been married?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

106. What is your religion?

- 1=CATHOLIC
- 2=PROTESTANT/OTHER CHRISTIAN
- 3=MUSLIM
- 4=AFRICAN TRADITIONAL
- 5=NO RELIGION
- 6=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

107. What is your tribe?

- 1=KIKUYU
- 2=LUO
- 3=LUHYA
- 4=KAMBA
- 5=KALENJIN
- 6=MASAI
- 7=MIJIKENDA
- 8=KISII
- 9=MERU
- 10=EMBU
- 11=SOMALI
- 12=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

**SECTION II: EDUCATION**

201. Have you ever attended school? (PROBE FOR TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED. IF VOCATIONAL, NON-FORMAL OR MADRASSA SCHOOL CODE "NO;" ONLY POST NURSERY FORMAL SCHOOLS ARE BEING CONSIDERED HERE)

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q203)

202. What is the main reason you never attended school?

- 1=FAMILY COULD NOT PAY SCHOOL FEES.
- 2=PHYSICALLY OR MENTALLY DISABLED
- 3=TOO SICKLY
- 4=NOT ACADEMICALLY SUITED FOR SCHOOL
- 5=TOO MANY DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES
- 6=SCHOOL TOO FAR
- 7=FAMILY SEES NO ECONOMIC BENEFIT
- 8=PARENT DO NOT APPROVE OF SCHOOL
- 9=NO SCHOOL PLACES AVAILABLE
- 10=POOR SCHOOL QUALITY
- 11=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
- 98=DON'T KNOW

**GO TO Q216**

203. Are you currently enrolled in school?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q208)

204. At what age did you leave school?

- .....
- AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS
- 98=DON'T KNOW

205. What is the main reason you are no longer enrolled in school?

- 1=FAMILY COULD NOT PAY SCHOOL FEES
- 2=PHYSICALLY OR MENTALLY DISABLED
- 3=TOO SICKLY
- 4=POOR PERFORMANCE
- 5=LACK OF INTEREST
- 6=PREGNANCY/HAD CHILD
- 7=GOT MARRIED
- 8=TOO MANY DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES
- 9=SCHOOL TOO FAR
- 10=FAMILY SEES NO ECONOMIC BENEFIT
- 11=COMPLETED PRIMARY OR SECONDARY
- 12=EXPELLED
- 13=POOR SCHOOL QUALITY
- 14=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

206. What is the highest class you have reached?

- 1=STD 1
- 2=STD 2
- 3=STD 3
- 4=STD 4
- 5=STD 5
- 6=STD 6
- 7=STD 7
- 8=STD 8
- 9=FORM 1
- 10=FORM 2
- 11=FORM 3
- 12=FORM 4
- 13=UNIV, YR 1
- 14=UNIV, YR 2
- 15=UNIV, YR 3
- 16=UNIV. YR 4

207. What is the highest certificate/diploma/degree you have obtained? (FORMAL SCHOOLING ONLY)

- .....
- CERTIFICATE / DIPLOMA / DEGREE (CIRCLE ONE)

**GO TO Q209**

208. In what Standard/Form are you currently enrolled?

- |         |         |           |               |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------------|
| 1=STD 1 | 5=STD 5 | 9=FORM 1  | 13=UNIV, YR 1 |
| 2=STD 2 | 6=STD 6 | 10=FORM 2 | 14=UNIV, YR 2 |
| 3=STD 3 | 7=STD 7 | 11=FORM 3 | 15=UNIV, YR 3 |
| 4=STD 4 | 8=STD 8 | 12=FORM 4 | 16=UNIV, YR 4 |

209. What type of school are you currently attending or did you last attend? Is it a public (government or harambee) school, or is it private or religious?

- 1=PUBLIC, FORMERLY GOVERNMENT
- 2=PUBLIC, FORMERLY HARAMBEE
- 3=PRIVATE, ENTREPRENEURIAL
- 4=PRIVATE, RELIGIOUS
- 5=PRIVATE, NGO SPONSORED
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

210. Is the school you are currently attending or last attended an all-girls school or is it mixed?

- 1=ALL GIRLS
- 2=MIXED

211. For the school you are currently attending or last attended are/were you a boarder or a day student?

- 1=BOARDER
- 2=DAY STUDENT

212. For your last full term, what was your position in the class?

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

213. Out of how many?

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

214. Did you take the KCPE?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q216)
- 1=YES

215. What was your score?

..... 96=HAVEN'T RECEIVED YET      98=DON'T KNOW

216. Have you ever received any vocational or apprentice training? This includes training you can get from a village polytechnic such as carpentry or dressmaking.

- 0=NO (GO TO Q301)
- 1=YES

217. What type of vocational training have you received?(PROBE "ANY OTHER TRAINING?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                          |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1=DRESS MAKING/TAILORING | 8=AUTO MECHANIC         |
| 2=COOKING                | 9=PLUMBING              |
| 3=CARPENTRY/WOODWORK     | 10=COMPUTER TRAINING    |
| 4=WEAVING                | 11=HAIRDRESSING         |
| 5=MASONRY                | 12=TYPING/SECRETARIAL   |
| 6=METAL WORK             | 13=ACCOUNTING           |
| 7=ELECTRICIAN            | 14=OTHER (SPECIFY)..... |



**SECTION III: FAMILY BACKGROUND**

301. *Item deleted*

302. Now I want to ask you some questions about your family, in particular about the mother who gave birth to you and your natural father. When you were born, how many children did your mother have other than yourself?

.....NUMBER OF CHILDREN                      98=DON'T KNOW

303. Is your mother alive?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q305)
- 9=DON'T KNOW (GO TO Q307)

304. How old were you when your mother died?

.....AGE                                              98=DON'T KNOW

**GO TO Q307**

305. Does your mother contribute to your upkeep, such as paying for your food and clothing or paying for your school fees?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW

306. Does your mother live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes live with you and sometimes live somewhere else?

- 0=LIVES WITH ME
- 1=LIVES ELSEWHERE
- 2=SOMETIMES LIVES WITH ME, SOMETIMES LIVES SOMEWHERE ELSE

307. What was the highest level of education your mother completed? (**FORMAL SCHOOL ONLY**)

- |                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1=NO EDUCATION         | 5=COMPLETE SECONDARY |
| 2=INCOMPLETE PRIMARY   | 6=HIGHER (A levels)  |
| 3=COMPLETE PRIMARY     | 7=UNIVERSITY         |
| 4=INCOMPLETE SECONDARY | 8=DON'T KNOW         |

308. How many brothers do you have with the same mother?

.....  
NUMBER OF BROTHERS                      98=DON'T KNOW

309. How many sisters do you have with the same mother not including yourself??

.....  
NUMBER OF SISTERS                      98=DON'T KNOW

310. Is your father alive?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q312)
- 8=DON'T KNOW (GO TO Q314)

311. How old were you when your father died?

.....  
AGE                                              98=DON'T KNOW

**GO TO Q314**

312. Does your father contribute to your upkeep, such as buying food and clothing or paying school fees?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW

313. Does your father live with you, live elsewhere, or sometimes lives with you and sometimes lives somewhere else?

- 0=LIVES WITH ME
- 1=LIVES ELSEWHERE
- 2=SOMETIMES LIVES WITH ME, SOMETIMES LIVES SOMEWHERE ELSE

314. What was the highest level of education your father completed? (FORMAL SCHOOL ONLY)

- 1=NO EDUCATION
- 2=INCOMPLETE PRIMARY
- 3=COMPLETE PRIMARY
- 4=INCOMPLETE SECONDARY
- 5=COMPLETE SECONDARY
- 6=HIGHER (A levels)
- 7=UNIVERSITY
- 8=DON'T KNOW

315. How many brothers do you have with the same father?

.....  
NUMBER OF BROTHERS                      98=DON'T KNOW

316. How many sisters do you have with the same father not including yourself?

.....  
NUMBER OF SISTERS                      98=DON'T KNOW

317. Who, other than your parents, contributes to your upkeep, such as buying food or clothing or paying school fees? (PROBE 'ANYONE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

- 0=NO ONE
- 1=SELF
- 2=SISTER
- 3=BROTHER
- 4=STEPMOTHER
- 5=STEPFATHER
- 6=GRANDPARENT
- 7=AUNT
- 8=UNCLE
- 9=COUSIN OR OTHER RELATIVE
- 10=HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND/FIANCE
- 11=TEACHER
- 12=NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
- 13=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

318. How many people in total contribute to your upkeep, including your parents?

.....  
NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS              98=DON'T KNOW

<b>319. CHECK Q303 &amp; Q310: PARENTS ALIVE</b>	
Both parents alive	One or both parents dead or don't know
<b>CONTINUE WITH Q320</b>	<b>GO TO Q401</b>

320. Are your mother and father currently married to each other?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

**SECTION IV: ATTITUDES, EXPECTATIONS AND DESIRES**

401. Check Q201 & Q203: <b>Education and School Status</b> . Choose the appropriate column		
<p><b>Currently Enrolled (Q203=YES)</b></p> <p>If you could stay in school as long as you wanted, how far would you like to go</p> <p>.....</p> <p><b>USE CODES BELOW</b></p>	<p><b>Attended School but No Longer Enrolled (Q201 = YES Q203 =NO)</b></p> <p>If you could have stayed in school as long as you wanted, how far would you have liked to go?</p> <p>.....</p> <p><b>USE CODES BELOW</b></p>	<p><b>Never enrolled In School (Q201 = NO)</b></p> <p>If you could have gone to school and stayed as long as you wanted, how far would you have liked to go?</p> <p>.....</p> <p><b>USE CODES BELOW</b></p>

- |         |         |          |           |               |
|---------|---------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| 1=STD 1 | 4=STD 4 | 7=STD 7  | 10=FORM 2 | 13=UNIVERSITY |
| 2=STD 2 | 5=STD 5 | 8=STD 8  | 11=FORM 3 | 98=DON'T KNOW |
| 3=STD 3 | 6=STD 6 | 9=FORM 1 | 12=FORM 4 |               |

402-416. I am interested in your opinion about the roles of men and women in work and family life. I will read a series of statements and after each one I would like to know whether you agree or disagree with the statement

	1=AGREE	2=DISAGREE	3=NO OPINION
402. All women should be wives and mothers	1	2	3
403. Boys should be asked to spend as much time as girls on household duties	1	2	3
404. When money is scarce and the family cannot afford to send all children to school, boys should be sent before girls	1	2	3
405. Households should be headed by men	1	2	3
406. Girls should be allowed to decide when they want to marry	1	2	3
407. Both parents need to earn cash to support the family	1	2	3
408. Children suffer when mothers work away from home.	1	2	3
409. Girls should be allowed to select their own husband.	1	2	3
410. Men should be allowed to have more than one wife	1	2	3
411. Husbands should share housework responsibilities with their wives.	1	2	3
412. Women should have the same opportunities as men to hold leadership positions in government.	1	2	3
413. It is okay for men or boys to force girls or women to play sex.	1	2	3
414. Men alone should decide when a couple should play sex	1	2	3
415. Men alone should decide whether or not a couple should use family planning methods such as pills and condoms	1	2	3
416. It is okay for a man to beat or hit his wife from time to time	1	2	3

417-424. *Items deleted*

**SECTION V: ADOLESCENT TIME USE**

501. Ask the respondent how he/she spent time the last day that he/she was in school (if he/she is enrolled) or the last weekday – not Saturday or Sunday – (if he/she is not enrolled). Start with what time he/she got up and proceed with each activity throughout the day. Do not read the activities but query about each hour of the day. Indicate up to two activities per hour, that is, there should be two items marked in each column. Mark an "X" for each ½ hour. Put an "X" in the box if the activity took ½ hour and "XX" in the box if the activity took a full hour. Upon completion of the entire interview, go back and add up the total amount for each activity by counting "X's". Put the number of "X's" in the box marked total immediately to the right of the name of the activity. NOTE: When all activity totals are added together, it should equal 40 "X's" or 20 hours.

ACTIVITY	TOTAL X'S	5.00 A.M	6.00 AM	7.00 A.M.	8.00 A.M.	9.00 A.M.	10.00 A.M.	11.00 A.M.	12.00 AM	1.00 PM	2.00 PM	3.00 PM	4.00 PM	5.00 PM	6.00 PM	7.00 PM	8.00 PM	9.00 PM	10.00 PM	11.00 PM	12.00 PM	
A. IN SCHOOL																						
B. DOING HOMEWORK																						
C. PERSONAL CARE (BATHING, DRESSING, EATING)																						
D. DOMESTIC DUTIES IN HOME (FOOD PREP., COOKING, CLEANING, WASHING CLOTHES)																						
E. DOMESTIC DUTIES OUTSIDE THE HOME (GOING TO THE MARKET, FETCHING WATER, WASHING CLOTHES OUTSIDE THE HOME)																						
F. CARE OF CHILDREN, SICK, ELDERLY																						
G. HOME CONSTRUCTION, REPAIR, MAINTENANCE																						
H. HELPING WITH FAMILY FARM OR BUSINESS																						
I. EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE FAMILY (INCLUDING WAGE WORK)																						
J. IN TRANSIT (OTHER THAN DOMESTIC DUTIES)																						
K. SOCIAL AND RECREATION (INCLUDES PLAY, FAMILY GATHERINGS, GOSSIP, RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES, PARTIES, MEETINGS, TV, RADIO)																						
L. REST AND SLEEP																						
TOTAL X's																						

**CHECK Q203 CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL**

**ENROLLED IN SCHOOL  
CONTINUE BELOW**

**NOT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL  
GO TO Q506**

502. Do you belong to any extra-curricular clubs organized by your school?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q504)
- 1=YES

503. What clubs do you belong to? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=DEBATING CLUB
- 2=DRAMA CLUB
- 3=RELIGIOUS CLUB
- 4=POETRY/LITERATURE CLUB
- 5=LEADERSHIP CLUB
- 6=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

504. Do you participate in any extra-curricular sports teams organized by your school?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q506)
- 1=YES

505. To what teams do you belong? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=NETBALL
- 2=FOOTBALL
- 3=TRACK EVENTS
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

506. Do you belong to any club(s) or organization(s) (other than at school)?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q508)
- 1=YES

507. What youth clubs do you belong to? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                      |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1=CHURCH YOUTH GROUP | 5=POETRY/LITERATURE CLUB |
| 2=YOUTH DRAMA CLUB   | 6=YOUNG FARMERS CLUB     |
| 3=DEBATING CLUB      | 7=LEADERSHIP CLUB        |
| 4=DRAMA CLUB         | 8=OTHER (SPECIFY).....   |

508. Do you participate in any extra-curricular sports teams organized (other than at school)?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q515)
- 1=YES

509. To what teams do you belong?

- 1=NETBALL
- 2=FOOTBALL
- 3=TRACK EVENTS
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

510. *Item deleted*

511. *Item deleted*

515. Have you ever visited a centre that is specifically targeted for youth?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q518)
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW (GO TO Q518)

516. What is the name of that centre?

.....

98= DON'T KNOW

517. Over the past three months, how many times have you visited that centre?

.....

98=CAN'T REMEMBER

518. Have you ever visited a clinic that is specifically targeted for youth?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q601)
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW (GO TO Q601)

519. What was the name of the clinic?

.....

98=DON'T KNOW

520. Over the past three months, how many times have you visited that clinic?

.....

98=CAN'T REMEMBER

**SECTION VI: COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AND MEDIA EXPOSURE**

601. I would like to discuss what young people, such as yourselves and your friends, talk about. Young people may talk to different people about different things that concern them. They may talk to family members, friends, teachers or counselors. I am going to read a list of topics that young people may talk about. I would like you to tell me whether you have discussed this topic in the last three months and, if so, with whom you have discussed the topic.

1=MOTHER	7=FEMALE FRIEND	13=ADULT COUNSELLOR AT YOUTH CENTRE
2=FATHER	8=MALE FRIEND	14=PEER COUNSELOR AT YOUTH CENTRE
3=BROTHER	9=BOYFRIEND	15=ADULT COUNSELLOR OUTSIDE YOUTH CENTRE
4=SISTER	10=TEACHER	16=PEER COUSELLOR OUTSIDE YOUTH CENTRE
5=OTHER MALE RELATIVE	11=NURSE/DOCTOR	17=FOY
6=OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE	12=PASTOR	18= HUSBAND OR WIFE
		19=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

TOPIC	Have you discussed....in the last three months		(IF YES) With whom did you discuss? (USE CODES, MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
601A. BODY CHANGES DURING PUBERTY	1=YES	2= NO	
601B. MENSTRUATION	1=YES	2= NO	
601C. SEXUAL URGES	1=YES	2= NO	
601D. RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OPPOSITE SEX	1=YES	2= NO	
601E. WHETHER OR NOT TO HAVE SEX	1=YES	2= NO	
601F. PRESSURES TO HAVE SEX	1=YES	2= NO	
601G. UNWANTED PREGNANCY	1=YES	2= NO	
601H. ABORTION	1=YES	2= NO	
601I. STDs OR HIV/AIDS	1=YES	2= NO	
601J. CONDOMS	1=YES	2= NO	
601K. CONTRACEPTIVE PILLS	1=YES	2= NO	
601L. WHERE TO GET CONDOMS OR PILLS	1=YES	2= NO	
601M. DRUGS AND ALCOHOL	1=YES	2= NO	

602. Now I would like to talk about where young people get information on different topics that are important to them. Young people get information from different people, from the media, or from institutions. I am going to read a list of topics. I would like you to tell me whether you have learned anything about these topics in the last three months. And, if so, from where you obtained this information.

1=MOTHER	10=TEACHER	20=PEER CENTER
2=FATHER	11=PASTOR	21=ADULT COUNSELLOR AT YOUTH CENTRE
3=BROTHER	12=NEWSPAPER	22=PEER COUNSELLOR AT YOUTH CENTRE
4=SISTER	13=BOOKS/MAGAZINES	23=ADULT COUNSELLOR OUTSIDE OF YOUTH CENTER
5=OTHER MALE RELATIVE	15=TELEVISION	24=PEER COUNSELLOR OUTSIDE OF YOUTH CENTER
6=OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE	16=BOOKLET/PAMPHLET	25=FOY
7=FEMALE FRIEND	17=COMIC	26=HUSBAND OR WIFE
8=MALE FRIEND	18=POSTER	27=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
9=BOYFRIEND	19=NURSE/DOCTOR	

TOPIC	Have you gotten information in the last three months?		(IF YES) From where did you get information? (USE CODES, MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
602A. BODY CHANGES DURING PUBERTY	1=YES	2=NO	
602B. MENSTRUATION	1=YES	2=NO	
602C. SEXUAL URGES	1=YES	2=NO	
602D. RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OPPOSITE SEX	1=YES	2=NO	
602E. WHETHER OR NOT TO HAVE SEX	1=YES	2=NO	
602F. PRESSURES TO HAVE SEX	1=YES	2=NO	
602G. UNWANTED PREGNANCY	1=YES	2=NO	
602H. ABORTION	1=YES	2=NO	
602I. STDs OR HIV/AIDS	1=YES	2=NO	
602J. CONDOMS	1=YES	2=NO	
602K. CONTRACEPTIVE PILLS	1=YES	2=NO	
602L. WHERE TO GET CONDOMS OR PILLS	1=YES	2=NO	
602M. DRUGS AND ALCOHOL	1=YES	2=NO	

603. Have you ever discussed issues that concern you with an adult counselor or peer counsellor?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q701)
- 1=YES

604. During what month and year did you first see this counselor?

.....  
 MONTH 98=DON'T KNOW MONTH                      YEAR 98=DON'T KNOW YEAR

605. What was the title/designation or name of this counsellor?

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

**SECTION VII:    DRUG, ALCOHOL USE, AND DELINQUENCY**

701. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about cigarettes, alcohol and drugs. Remember that everything we talk about will be confidential – meaning that I will not tell anyone in this community what we have said. This includes parents, friends, family members, members of the community or teachers. It is most important to me that you are honest when you answer my questions. Have you ever smoked a cigarette?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q704)
- 1=YES

702. How old were you when you first tried a cigarette?

.....98=DON'T KNOW

703. During the past month, how many cigarettes or packs of cigarettes have you smoked per day? Give me the average number per day.

- 1=NONE
- 2=1-5 CIGARETTES PER DAY
- 3=ABOUT ½ PACK PER DAY
- 4=1 PACK PER DAY
- 5=ABOUT 1 ½ -PACKS PER DAY
- 6=TWO OR MORE PACKS PER DAY

704. Have you ever drunk alcohol?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q708)
- 1=YES

705. How old were you when you first tried alcohol?

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

706. During the last month, on how many days did you drink any alcohol, including beer, muratina, or chang'aa?

.....98=DON'T KNOW

707. During the last year, how many times have you gotten drunk?

- 1=NONE
- 2=1-10 TIMES
- 3=11-25 TIMES
- 4=26-50 TIMES
- 5=MORE THAN 50 TIMES
- 8=DON'T KNOW

708. Have you ever smoked bhang or hashish?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q711)
- 1=YES

709. How old were you the first time you smoked bhang or hashish?

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

710. During the last month, on how many occasions did you smoke bhang or hashish?

- 1=NONE
- 2=1-2 OCCASIONS
- 3=3-10 OCCASIONS
- 4=11-19 OCCASIONS
- 5=20-39 OCCASIONS
- 6=40 OR MORE OCCASIONS

711. Have you ever used other drugs?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q713)
- 1=YES

712. What other drugs have you used? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=GLUE
- 2=PETROL
- 3=MIRAA
- 4=MANDRAX TABLETS
- 5=COCAINE
- 6=OTHER (SPECIFY).....



713. During the last year, how many times have you sneaked out of your compound without telling your parent(s)/guardian?

- 1=NEVER
- 2=ONCE
- 3=TWICE
- 4=MORE THAN TWICE
- 5=DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARENT/GUARDIAN

714. During the last year, how many times have you taken something from a store, kiosk or vendor without paying?

- 1=NEVER
- 2=ONCE
- 3=TWICE
- 4=MORE THAN TWICE

<b>715. CURRENTLY ATTENDING SCHOOL: CHECK Q203</b>	
<b>CURRENTLY ATTENDING CONTINUE BELOW</b>	<b>NOT CURRENTLY ATTENDING GO TO Q 801</b>

716. During the last year, how many times have you skipped a day of school without permission?

- 1=NEVER
- 2=ONCE
- 3=TWICE
- 4=MORE THAN TWICE

**SECTION VIII: PUBERTY AND CIRCUMCISION**

801. *Item deleted*

802. Do you get a monthly period?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q805)

803. Have you been told what to expect when you get your monthly period?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q808)
- 1=YES

804. From whom did you get this information? (PROBE "ANYONE ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

- |                |                          |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1=TEACHER      | 5=AUNT                   |
| 2=MOTHER       | 6=FRIEND                 |
| 3=ELDER SISTER | 7=FRIENDS OF YOUTH (FOY) |
| 4=GRANDMOTHER  | 8=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....  |

**GO TO Q808**

805. At what age did you get your first monthly period?

.....98=DON'T KNOW

806. Before you got your monthly period for the first time, were you told what to expect?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q808)
- 1=YES

807. From whom did you get this information? (PROBE, "ANYONE ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

- 1=TEACHER
- 2=MOTHER
- 3=ELDER SISTER
- 4=GRANDMOTHER
- 5=AUNT
- 6=FRIEND
- 7=FRIENDS OF YOUTH (FOY)
- 8=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

808. Have you ever been circumcised?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q901)
- 1=YES

809. During what month and year were you circumcised?

.....  
MONTH 98 = DON'T KNOW MONTH      YEAR 98=DON'T KNOW YEAR

810. Who performed the circumcision?

- 1=DOCTOR
- 2=NURSE
- 3=TRADITIONAL MIDWIFE
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
- 8=DON'T KNOW

**SECTION IX:      SEXUAL HARASSMENT, COERCION, RAPE**

**CHECK Q105: EVER MARRIED**

**IF NEVER MARRIED CONTINUE BELOW**

**IF EVER MARRIED, GO TO Q1101**

901. Now I want to talk about your experiences in this community and at school as you grow up. Remember that everything you tell me will be confidential. This means that no one in this community, including your parents or teachers will know what we have discussed or what you have told me. Has anyone ever suggested, whether verbally or physically, that they want to play sex with you?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q919)
- 1=YES

902. How long ago did this happen? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=WITHIN THE LAST WEEK
- 2=1-4 WEEKS AGO
- 3=2-6 MONTHS AGO
- 4=7-12 MONTHS AGO
- 5=OVER ONE YEAR AGO

903. How old were you when this happened? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

.....  
AGE IN YEARS      98=DON'T KNOW

904. How many times in the past one year has this happened to you?

.....98=DON'T KNOW

905. The last time this happened, who was this person who suggested that he wanted to play sex with you? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=FATHER
- 2=BROTHER
- 3=BOYFRIEND
- 4=RELATIVE OTHER THAN FATHER OR BROTHER
- 5=TEACHER
- 6=EMPLOYER
- 7=STRANGER
- 8=STUDENT AT MY SCHOOL
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

906. How old was this person at the time he suggested that he wanted to play sex with you? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME THIS HAPPENED, RECORD EXACT AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS OR ASK THE RESPONDENT TO ESTIMATE THE AGE RANGE OF THE PERSON AND TICK THE APPROPRIATE AGE RANGE.)

EXACT AGE.....

OR

- 11-15 ".....
- 16-20 ".....
- 21-25 ".....
- 26-35 ".....
- 36-45 ".....
- 45+ ".....
- 98= DOES NOT KNOW AGE

907. Where did this occur? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=AT HOME
- 2=AT SCHOOL
- 3=ON THE WAY TO OR FROM SCHOOL
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

908. At that time, did you also want to play sex with the boy or man, did you not want to play sex, or were you undecided?

- 1=WANTED TO PLAY SEX
- 2=DID NOT WANT TO PLAY SEX
- 3=WAS UNDECIDED WHETHER OR NOT I WANTED TO PLAY SEX

909. At that time, did the boy or man sweet talk you?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

910. At that time, did the boy or man touch you in any way?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q912)
- 1=YES

911. Where did he touch you?

.....

912. At that time, did the man or boy try to physically force you to play sex?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

913. At that time, did the man or boy threaten you in any way?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

914. At that time, did the person promise you any type of reward or gift?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q916)
- 1=YES

915. What type of reward were you given or promised? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

- 1=MONEY
- 2=SCHOOL FEES
- 3=FOOD
- 4=CLOTHING
- 5=HIGHER MARKS
- 6=BOOKS
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

916. What happened the last time this happened to you – did you play sex or not play sex?

- 1=PLAYED SEX
- 2=DID NOT PLAY SEX

917. Did you seek anyone's assistance or advice?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q919)
- 1=YES

918. Whose assistance or advice did you seek?

- 1=A TEACHER/HEAD TEACHER
- 2=PARENT
- 3=FRIEND
- 4=SIBLING
- 5=OTHER RELATIVE
- 6=NURSE/DOCTOR
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
- 8=FRIEND OF YOUTH / FOY

919. Have you ever suggested whether verbally or physically, to a boy or man that you want to play sex?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1001)
- 1=YES

920. How long ago did this last happen? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=WITHIN THE LAST WEEK
- 2=1-4 WEEKS AGO
- 3=2-6 MONTHS AGO
- 4=7-12 MONTHS AGO
- 5=OVER ONE YEAR AGO

921. The last time you suggested you wanted to play sex, who was the person you suggested this to? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=FATHER
- 2=BROTHER
- 3=BOYFRIEND
- 4=RELATIVE OTHER THAN FATHER OR BROTHER
- 5=TEACHER
- 6=EMPLOYER
- 7=STRANGER
- 8=STUDENT AT MY SCHOOL
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

922. How old was this person at the time you suggested that you wanted to play sex with him? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME. RECORD EXACT AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS OR ASK THE RESPONDENT TO ESTIMATE THE AGE RANGE OF THE PERSON AND TICK THE APPROPRIATE AGE RANGE.)

- EXACT AGE.....
- OR
- 11-15 ".....
- 16-20 ".....
- 21-25 ".....
- 26-35 ".....
- 36-45 ".....
- 45+ ".....
- 98= DOES NOT KNOW AGE

923. Where did this occur? (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT TIME)

- 1=AT HOME
- 2=AT SCHOOL
- 3=ON THE WAY TO OR FROM SCHOOL
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

924. At that time, did he also want to play sex, did he not want to play sex, or was he undecided?

- 1=WANTED TO PLAY SEX
- 2=DID NOT WANT TO PLAY SEX
- 3=WAS UNDECIDED
- 9=DON'T KNOW

925. At that time, did you sweet talk the boy/man?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

926. At that time, did you touch the boy or man in any way?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q928)
- 1=YES

927. Where did you touch him?

.....

928. At that time, did you try to force the boy or man to play sex?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

929. At that time, did you threaten the boy or man in any way?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

930. At that time, did you promise him any type of reward or gift?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q932)
- 1=YES

931. What type of reward did you give or promise? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

- 1=MONEY
- 2=SCHOOL FEES
- 3=FOOD
- 4=CLOTHING
- 5=HIGHER MARKS
- 6=BOOKS
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

932. What happened this last time you suggested you wanted to play sex – did you play sex or not play sex?

- 1=PLAYED SEX
- 2=DID NOT PLAY SEX

**SECTION X: BOYFRIENDS AND FRIENDS**

1001. Now I would like to talk about relationships with boys. Have you ever lived with a man?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1006)
- 1=YES

1002. In what month and year did you start living with your boyfriend?

.....  
 MONTH  
 98=DON'T KNOW MONTH

.....  
 YEAR  
 98=DON'T KNOW YEAR

1003. How old were you when you started living with him?

.....  
 AGE              98=DON'T KNOW

1004. How old was he when you first started living with him? (RECORD EXACT AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS OR ASK THE RESPONDENT TO ESTIMATE THE AGE RANGE OF THE PERSON AND TICK THE APPROPRIATE AGE RANGE)

EXACT AGE.....  
 OR  
 11-15 " .....              21-25 " .....              36-45 " .....  
 16-20 " .....              26-35 " .....              45+ " .....      98= DOES NOT KNOW AGE

1005. Are you currently living with a man, or are you no longer living together?

1=LIVING TOGETHER  
 2=NO LONGER LIVING TOGETHER

1006. Have you ever had a boyfriend? (PROBE, "A BOY WITH WHOM YOU HAD A ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP – OR, YOU WERE "MORE THAN JUST FRIENDS.")

0=NO (GO TO Q1015)  
 1=YES

1007. Does your boyfriend have another girlfriend besides yourself? (IF MORE THAN ONE BOYFRIEND, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT/NEWEST)

0=NO  
 1=YES  
 8=DON'T KNOW

1008-1010. I want to talk about the boyfriends that you have had in the past and that you currently have. Let's start with your most recent boyfriend. (ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT ALL BOYFRIENDS THE RESPONDENT HAS HAD, STARTING WITH THE MOST RECENT AND WORKING BACKWARDS.)

Boyfriend' name (starting with most recent)(Use initials) (OPTIONAL)	1008. How old were you when you first had this boyfriend? (AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS)	1009. How old was he when he first became your boyfriend?	1010. For how many months has he been/was he your boyfriend (RECORD THE TIME IN MONTHS)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

1011-1014. *Items deleted*

1015. Now, I would like to ask you about your best female friend. Has she ever had sex?

1=YES  
 2=NO  
 8=DON'T KNOW

1016. Is the friend you just told me about married or unmarried?

- 1=MARRIED
- 2=UNMARRIED
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1017. Do you have any unmarried elder sisters living in your household?

- 1=YES
- 2=NO (GO TO Q1019)

1018. I want to talk about your elder sister that is closest to you in age and is unmarried and living in your household. Has she ever had sex?

- 1=YES
- 2=NO
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1019. Have your female friends or relatives ever tried to influence or pressure you to have sex?

- 1=YES
- 2=NO
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1020. Have your male friends or relatives ever tried to influence or pressure you have to have sex?

- 1=YES
- 2=NO
- 8=DON'T KNOW

**SECTION XI:     BIRTHS**

1101. Now I would like to ask you about any babies you may have had. Have you ever given birth?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q1103)

1102. Have you ever given birth to a boy or girl who was born alive but later died? (IF NO, PROBE: ANY BABY WHO CRIED OR SHOWED SIGNS OF LIFE BUT SURVIVED ONLY A FEW HOURS OR DAYS?)

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1201)
- 1=YES

1103. What age were you when you became pregnant for the first time?

- ..... 99=DON'T KNOW

1104. What was your relationship with the man who made you pregnant? (IF MORE THAN ONE PREGNANCY, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST PREGNANCY)

- 1=FIANCE
- 2=BOYFRIEND
- 3=TEACHER
- 4=STRANGER
- 5=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1105. Were you enrolled in school when you first got pregnant?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1107)
- 1=YES

1106. Did you leave school because you got pregnant?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

1107. At the time you got pregnant, were you using anything or trying in any way to delay or avoid pregnancy?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1109)
- 1=YES

1108. What did you use or do? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                   |                              |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1=RHYTHM          | 6=FOAMING TABLET/JELLY/CREAM |
| 2=SAFE DAYS       | 7=CONDOM                     |
| 3=PILL            | 8=NORPLANT®                  |
| 4=IUD             | 9=WITHDRAWAL                 |
| 5=INJECTABLE/DEPO | 10=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....     |

1109. How many children have you given birth to?

.....98=DON'T KNOW

1110. *Item deleted*

**SECTION XII: PATTERNS OF HEALTH SEEKING BEHAVIOUR**

I want to talk to you about health services. There are many different kinds of health services. One may go for services when he or she has malaria or needs diagnosis or treatment for a problem. A young lady may also go for health services when she is expecting a baby. A young lady or man may go for family planning methods such as condoms or pills. There are many places one can get health services. These include hospitals, health centers, private clinics, and chemists.

1201. Now, in the last one year, have you visited a government hospital or health centre?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1210)
- 1=YES

1202. What was the name of this hospital or health centre? (PROBE FOR THE MOST COMPLETE NAME OF THE FACILITY VISITED)

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

1208. *Item deleted*

1209. *Item deleted*

1210. Now, in the last one year, have you visited a private clinic

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1219)
- 1=YES

1211. What was the name of this clinic? (PROBE FOR THE MOST COMPLETE NAME OF THE FACILITY OR PROVIDER VISITED)

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

1217. *Item deleted*

1218. *Item deleted*



1219. In the last one year, have you visited a chemist?

0=NO (GO TO Q1228)  
1=YES

1220. What was the name of the chemist? (PROBE FOR THE MOST COMPLETE NAME OF THE FACILITY VISITED)

..... 98=DON'T KNOW

1226. *Item deleted*

1227. *Item deleted*

1228. In the last one year, have you visited a traditional healer?

0=NO (GO TO Q1236)  
1=YES

1234. *Item deleted*

1235. *Item deleted*

1236. In the last one year, have you visited a Village Health Worker or family planning field agent (CBD)?

0=NO (GO TO Q1244)  
1=YES

1242. *Item deleted*

1243. *Item deleted*

1244. I want to talk to you about your views of different people who can give you health services. These include doctors, nurses, chemists and traditional healers. I would like you to tell me how much you would trust these people with your secrets and how friendly you think they are. Let's talk about who you would trust with your secrets. Do you believe a ..... is trustworthy or not trustworthy? (READ EACH TYPE OF SERVICES PROVIDERS LISTED)

1245. Do you believe that a ..... is friendly or not friendly? (READ EACH SERVICE PROVIDER LISTED)

	1=TRUSTWORTHY	2=NOT TRUSTWORTHY	8=DK
1244A. PRIVATE DOCTOR	1	2	8
1244B. NURSE AT GOVT HC	1	2	8
1244C. NURSE AT FAMILY PLANNING CLINIC	1	2	8
1244D. TRADITIONAL HEALER	1	2	8
1244E. CHEMIST	1	2	8
1244F. FAMILY PLANNING FIELD AGENT/CBD	1	2	8
	1=FRIENDLY	2=NOT FRIENDLY	8=DK
1245A. PRIVATE DOCTOR	1	2	8
1245B. NURSE AT GOVT CLINIC	1	2	8
1245C. NURSE AT FAMILY PLANNING CLINIC	1	2	8
1245D. TRADITIONAL HEALER	1	2	8
1245E. CHEMIST	1	2	8
1245F. FAMILY PLANNING FIELD AGENT/CBD	1	2	8

1246. Have you ever obtained condoms?

0=NO (GO TO Q1248)  
1=YES

1247. From where did you obtain them? (IF MORE THAN ONE TIME, ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME)

- |                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1=FRIEND         | 8=TRADITIONAL HEALER        |
| 2=PARENT         | 9=HOSPITAL                  |
| 3=OTHER RELATIVE | 10=PRIVATE CLINIC           |
| 4=PEER COUNSELOR | 11=DISPENSARY               |
| 5=CBD AGENT/CHW  | 12=FRIENDS OF YOUTH OR FOYs |
| 6=CHEMIST        | 13=OTHER (SPECIFY).....     |
| 7=KIOSK          |                             |

1248. Have you ever obtained contraceptive pills?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1250)
- 1=YES

1249. From where did you obtain them? (IF MORE THAN ONE TIME ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME)

- |                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1=FRIEND         | 8=TRADITIONAL HEALER        |
| 2=PARENT         | 9=HOSPITAL                  |
| 3=OTHER RELATIVE | 10=PRIVATE CLINIC           |
| 4=PEER COUNSELOR | 11=DISPENSARY               |
| 5=CBD AGENT/CHW  | 12=FRIENDS OF YOUTH OR FOYs |
| 6=CHEMIST        | 13=OTHER (SPECIFY).....     |
| 7=KIOSK          |                             |

1250. Have you ever had pain or unusual discharge in the private parts?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1301)
- 1=YES

1251. Did you seek medical attention for this pain or discharge?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1301)
- 1=YES

1252. Where did you first seek medical attention?

- |                                   |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1=GOV'T HOSPITAL OR HEALTH CENTRE | 5=VILLAGE HEALTH WORKER OR CBD AGENT |
| 2=PRIVATE CLINIC                  | 6=FRIEND                             |
| 3=CHEMIST                         | 7=FRIENDS OF YOUTH OR FOYs           |
| 4=TRADITIONAL HEALER              | 8=OTHER (SPECIFY).....               |

1253. Was the pain or discharge diagnosed?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

1254. Was the pain or discharge treated?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

**SECTION XIII: REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND CONTRACEPTION**

1301. Now, when a girl matures, she starts to get monthly periods. She will have the monthly period for 3-7 days, then it stops, then, after some weeks, she will get the monthly period again. This cycle of getting the period, then not getting it, then getting it again is called the monthly cycle. Have you heard of the monthly cycle?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1303)
- 1=YES

1302. When during the monthly cycle is pregnancy most likely to occur? (READ CHOICES)

- 1=RIGHT BEFORE THE PERIOD BEGINS
- 2=DURING THE PERIOD
- 3=RIGHT AFTER THE PERIOD
- 4=ABOUT 2 WEEKS BEFORE THE PERIOD BEGINS
- 5=ANYTIME DURING THE MONTH
- 6=DON'T KNOW
- 8=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1303. Can a boy who has had wet dreams and has sex make a girl pregnant?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1304. How is AIDS transmitted? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=SEXUAL INTERCOURSE
- 2=INJECTIONS WITH UNSTERILISED NEEDLES
- 3=CIRCUMCISION
- 4=DURING PREGNANCY
- 5=DURING CHILDBIRTH
- 6=THROUGH BREAST MILK
- 7=TRANSFUSION OF INFECTED BLOOD
- 8=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
- 9=DON'T KNOW

1305. Can people protect themselves from getting AIDS?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1307)
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW (GO TO Q1307)

1306. How can people protect themselves from getting AIDS? (PROBE, "ANYTHING ELSE?" CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=DO NOT PLAY SEX AT ALL
- 2=LIMIT NUMBER OF SEXUAL PARTNERS
- 3=USE CONDOMS DURING SEX
- 4=STERILIZE SYRINGES/NEEDLES
- 5=AVOID PROSTITUTES
- 6=DON'T KNOW
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1307-1309. Now I would like to talk to you about family planning – the various methods a couple can use to delay or avoid a pregnancy. Which ways or methods have you heard about?

(FOR QUESTIONS 1307, CIRCLE "1" FOR EACH METHOD MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY. THEN MOVE DOWN THE COLUMN, READING THE NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF EACH METHOD NOT MENTIONED. CIRCLE "2" IF METHOD IS RECOGNIZED AND "3" IF NOT RECOGNIZED. ASK QUESTION 1308 AND 1309 ONLY FOR METHODS RECOGNIZED, WHEN QUESTION 1307 = 1 OR 2. IF YES TO 1308, ASK THE RESPONDENT TO NAME THE SOURCE WHERE HE/SHE OBTAINED THE METHOD)

List of Methods	1307. Have you ever heard of (METHOD)	1308. Have you or your partner ever used (METHOD)	1309. The last time you used this method, from where did you obtain it
PILL – Women can take a pill every day.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
IUCD – Women can have a loop or coil placed inside them by a doctor or nurse.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
INJECTABLE/DEPO Women can have an injection which stops them from becoming pregnant for several months.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
FOAM TABLETS/JELLY/CREAM – Women can place foam tablets, sponge, jelly or cream inside them before sex.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
CONDOM – Men can use a rubber sheath while playing sex.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
NORPLANT® - Women can have some small rods put under the skin in their arm.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
EMERGENCY CONTRACEPTION/ MORNING AFTER PILL. A lady takes pills or has an IUCD put in within 72 hours of unprotected sex.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	.....
NATURAL F.P. A lady takes her temperature everyday or checks mucus to tell the days she is likely to get pregnant.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	
SAFE DAYS – A lady can count the number of days since her last period to tell when she is most likely to get pregnant.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	
WITHDRAWAL – Men can be careful and pull out before climax.	YES/SPONTANEOUS 1 YES/PROBED 2 NO 3	YES NO DK	

1310. I am now going to read some statements to you about family planning methods and diseases that are transmitted by playing sex. As I read each statement, tell me if you think it is true or false.

	1=TRUE	2=FALSE	8=DK
A. When playing sex, if the man pulls out before he ejaculates, he cannot make the woman pregnant.	1	2	8
B. A man or a boy cannot make a girl pregnant the first time they play sex together	1	2	8
C. A girl cannot get pregnant if she has sex while standing up	1	2	8
D. Contraceptive pills can cause a girl to be infertile later on in life	1	2	8
E. A condom can get lost inside a woman's body	1	2	8
F. A man can always tell when a woman has a sexually transmitted disease	1	2	8
G. If signs of sexually transmitted disease disappear, it means the person no longer has the disease	1	2	8
H. A healthy looking person can be infected with the AIDS virus	1	2	8
I. Condoms have small holes that allow the HIV virus to pass through	1	2	8
J. Condoms are not effective in preventing HIV transmission	1	2	8
K. There is now a cure for AIDS	1	2	8
L. You can get AIDS from mosquito, flea or bedbug bites	1	2	8

1311-1313. *Items deleted*

**SECTION XIV: HOUSEHOLD FACILITIES/SES**

1401. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your household where you live. What is the MAIN source of water your household uses for dishwashing and hand washing during most of the year?

- 1=WATER PIPED INTO THE HOUSE/COMPOUND/PLOT
- 2=PUBLIC TAP
- 3=WELL WITHOUT PUMP
- 4=WELL WITH PUMP
- 5=SURFACE WATER FROM LAKE OR POND
- 6=SURFACE WATER FROM RIVER OR STREAM
- 7=PURCHASED WATER IN CANS
- 8=RAINWATER
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1402. How long does it take to go there, get water, and come back?

..... MINUTES 96=WATER SOURCE ON PREMISES

1403. Does your household get drinking water from the same source?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q1405)

1404. What is the source of drinking water for the household?

- 1=WATER PIPED INTO THE HOUSE/COMPOUND/PLOT
- 2=PUBLIC TAP
- 3=WELL WITHOUT PUMP
- 4=WELL WITH PUMP
- 5=SURFACE WATER FROM LAKE OR POND
- 6=SURFACE WATER FROM RIVER OR STREAM
- 7=PURCHASED WATER IN CANS
- 8=RAINWATER
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1405. What kind of toilet facility does your household have? (CONFIRM BY VIEWING THE FACILITY)

- 1=OWN FLUSH
- 2=SHARED FLUSH TOILET
- 3=TRADITIONAL PIT LATRINE/TOILET
- 4=VENTILATED IMPROVED PIT TOILET
- 5=NO MODERN FACILITY/BUSH/FIELD
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY)

1406. Does your household have: (READ EACH ITEM. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=ELECTRICITY
- 2=RADIO
- 3=TELEVISION
- 4=REFRIGERATOR

1407. How many rooms in your household are used for sleeping?

.....NUMBER OF ROOMS

1408. What is the main material of the roof?

- 1=GRASS/THATCH
- 2=SEMI PERMANENT/CORRUGATED IRON (MABATI)
- 3=PERMANENT/TILES
- 4=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1409. Does anyone in your household own: (READ EACH ITEM. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=A BICYCLE
- 2=LAND
- 3=CATTLE, GOATS OR SHEEP
- 4=MARKET STALL/KIOSK/PROFESSIONAL SHOP

1410. RECORD THE NUMBER OF USUAL HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS.

..... NUMBER OF USUAL RESIDENTS.

**SECTION XV: SELF ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE**

This section of the questionnaire is to be filled by the youth him or herself. You will explain the questionnaire to him/her, review all the questions that are asked, review how you expect the questionnaire to be filled out, and then assist him/her in finding a private place to answer the questions. Give him/her an envelope in which to seal her questionnaire when she has completed it. By no means, should you see what the respondent is filling in on the questionnaire.

Now I will give you a paper with questions that are a bit personal. I will explain the questions to you but ask you to fill them out in private, so that I cannot see your answers. Do not put your name on the paper. After you have finished answering the questions, seal the paper in this envelope and return it to me. I am not allowed to open this envelope and will not see the answers that you give me. Remember that everything you answer is confidential. This means that your parents, other family members, or community members will not find out how you have answered the questions. Your name is not written anywhere here. What is most important is that you feel comfortable and you answer the questions truthfully. Do you understand? Is that okay?

Now I will review the questions out loud with you. If you do not understand any of the questions or if you have trouble reading the questions, please ask me for assistance. But please do not tell me how you have answered the questions. [GIVE THE RESPONDENT THE QUESTIONNAIRE.] Now let me read, one by one, the questions while you follow along on the paper. [READ THE QUESTIONS SLOWLY AND CLEARLY. ASK IF THE RESPONDENT UNDERSTAND THE QUESTIONS. GIVE ANY CLARIFICATIONS THAT ARE NEEDED. DEMONSTRATE HOW TO CIRCLE THE RESPONSES ON A SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE] I want you to circle the choice that corresponds to the answer to each question. [GIVE THE RESPONDENT A PENCIL TO FILL IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. ASSIST HIM/HER IN FINDING A PRIVATE PLACE TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS.

**SECTION XVI: REVIEW OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND CONTRACEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE**

*Items moved to end of questionnaire*

**SECTION XVI: EXPOSURE TO FRIENDS OF YOUTH**

1601. A survey very similar to this was conducted 3 years ago, in 1997. Were you interviewed at that time?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

1602. Have you ever heard of a person in your community who gives information to the young people on issues related to growing up?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1604)
- 1=YES

1603. Who is this person? (PROBE, 'ANYONE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=FRIENDS OF YOUTH OR FOYs (GO TO Q 1605)
- 2=TEACHER
- 3=HEALTH WORKER
- 4=COMMUNITY BASED DISTRIBUTION AGENTS
- 5=PARENTS
- 6=PREACHER
- 7=OTHER RELATIVE
- 8=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

1604. Have you ever heard of friends of youth or FOYs?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1654)
- 1=YES

1605. How did you first hear about friends of youth or FOYs?

- 1=TEACHER
- 2= PARENT(S)
- 3=OTHER RELATIVE(S)
- 4=FRIEND(S)
- 5=OTHER NON RELATIVE(S)
- 6=OUTREACH BY FOYs
- 7=FROM A CLINIC/HEALTH CENTER
- 8=CHURCH
- 9=FPAK STAFF
- 10=RADIO
- 11=NEWSPAPER
- 12=TELEVISION
- 13=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1606. Have you ever met or had a session with friends of youth or FOYs?

- 0=NO. (GO TO Q 1650)
- 1=YES.

1607. What is the name of this person? (PROBE 'ANYONE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><u>MAJENGO</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1=ZACHARIA KWEYU</li> <li>2=HADIJA WAIRIMU</li> <li>3=GEORGE MWANGI</li> <li>4=JOHN MAINA</li> <li>5=PETER MWANGI</li> <li>6=MARY WAIRIMU</li> <li>7=JAMES KAMARA</li> <li>8=LYDIA WAMBUI</li> <li>9=BEATRICE WANGECHI</li> </ul> <p><u>CHORONGI</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10=ROSALIA WANGARI</li> <li>11=JANE WAMBUI</li> <li>12=LUCY KIRIGO</li> <li>13=JANET WAIRIMU</li> <li>14=ANNE MUTHONI</li> </ul> | <p><u>KARIA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15=JOYCE WANJIRU</li> <li>16=JULIA WANJIRU</li> </ul> <p><u>KAMAKWA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>17=LILLIAN WANJUGU</li> <li>18=TERESA WAIRIMU</li> <li>19=PRISCILLA WANJIRU</li> <li>20=LYDIA WAIRIMU</li> <li>21=JOHN MUGO</li> <li>22=PATRICK WAINAINA</li> <li>23=LUCY WANJIRU</li> <li>24=ALICE WAIRIMU</li> <li>25=RICHARD MATHENGE</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>96=OTHER (SPECIFY).....</li> <li>98=DON'T KNOW</li> </ul> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1608. How did you first meet with the friends of youth or FOYs? (PROBE 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=SESSION AT SCHOOL
- 2=SESSION AT CHURCH
- 3=GROUP EDUCATION (OUTSIDE SCHOOL/CHURCH)
- 4= INDIVIDUAL COUNSELLING
- 5=RECREATION / SPORTS
- 6=REFERRAL TO A HEALTH CENTRE
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

1609. When did you first meet with the friends of youth or the FOYs?

.....  
 MONTH 98=DON'T KNOW      YEAR 98=DON'T KNOW

1610. When did you last meet with the friends of youth or FOYs?

.....  
 MONTH 98=DON'T KNOW      YEAR 98=DON'T KNOW

1611. In total how many times have you met with friends of youth or FOYs?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

1612. For the times you have been in contact with friends of youth or FOYs, has it been on an individual basis or group setting?

- 1=INDIVIDUAL SETTING (GO TO Q1614)
- 2=GROUP SETTING
- 3=BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP SETTING

1613. Were the group sessions all girls meetings or mixed boys and girls?

- 1=GIRLS ONLY
- 2=MIXED BOYS AND GIRLS
- 3=BOTH GIRLS ONLY AND MIXED

1614. Where have you mostly met friends of youth or FOYs? (PROBE, 'ANYWHERE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=HOME
- 2=CHURCH
- 3=SCHOOL
- 4=SPORTS DAY
- 5=OUTREACH PROGRAM
- 6=HEALTH CENTRE/CLINIC
- 7=YMCA
- 8=FPAK
- 9=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

1615. Have you ever seen friends of youth or FOYs on an individual basis with a question or a problem?

- 0=NO.
- 1=YES

1616-1630. I want you to think back on all the topics the friends of youth or FOYs have discussed with you or taught you. Please tell me all the topics that they have taught you or discussed with you (PROBE "ANYTHING ELSE" AND CIRCLE ALL THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS SPONTANEOUSLY, FOR TOPICS NOT MENTIONED, ASK, "HAS THE FRIEND OF YOUTH OR FOY EVER TALKED TO YOU ABOUT ..... " IF YES TO ANY OF THE TOPICS, CIRCLE 2=YES, PROBED. OTHERWISE CIRCLE 0=NO.)

TOPIC	0=NO	1=YES, SPONTANEOUS	2=YES, PROBED
1616. VALUES, or goals and expectations of families, communities and individuals.	0	1	2
1617. DECISION MAKING or how to make important decisions in life	0	1	2
1618. PUBERTY AND BODY CHANGES or changes to expect as one grows up	0	1	2
1619. HYGIENE how to stay clean and what to do when you have your period	0	1	2
1620. BOY – GIRL RELATIONSHIPS.	0	1	2
1621. RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS, PEERS, ETC.	0	1	2
1622. GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES	0	1	2
1623. PREGNANCY, how a girl can get pregnant and how to prevent pregnancy	0	1	2
1624. SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE, or diseases that one gets by having sex	0	1	2
1625. HIV / AIDS	0	1	2
1626. RAPE, INCEST AND PRESSURE TO HAVE SEX	0	1	2
1627. DRUGS, including cigarettes, alcohol, bhang and miraa	0	1	2
1628. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE such as how to set goals, different kinds of careers, and challenges of parenting	0	1	2
1629. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND LEGAL RIGHTS, including laws and charters that protect children, young people or the general public	0	1	2
1630. OTHER (SPECIFY).....	0	1	2



1631-46. I want to talk about your time with the FOY. Remember I will not be sharing your opinions with the FOY .  
 Everything you tell me will be strictly confidential. (IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT CONTACT WITH THE FOY.)

1631. Did you find the FOY to be knowledgeable or not knowledgeable?	1=KNOWLEDGEABLE	2=NOT KNOWLEDGEABLE	
1632. Did you find the FOYs understanding or not understanding?	1=UNDERSTANDING	2=NOT UNDERSTANDING	
1633. Did you find the FOYs judgmental or not judgmental?	1=JUDGEMENTAL	2=NOT JUDGEMENTAL	
1634. Did you find the FOYs sympathetic or not sympathetic?	1=SYMPATHETIC	2=NOT SYMPATHETIC	
1635. Did the FOYs treat you in a friendly or not friendly manner?	1=FRIENDLY	2= NOT FRIENDLY	
1636. Did you think that the FOYs did or did not have respect for what you had to say and your experiences?	1=HAD RESPECT	2=DID NOT HAVE RESPECT	7=NA
1637. Did you find the FOYs embarrassed or not embarrassed?	1=EMBARRASSED	2=NOT EMBARRASSED	
1638 Did you ask the FOYs everything that you had wanted to ask?	1=YES	0=NO	7=NA
1639. Did you understand everything the FOYs said?	1=YES	0=NO	
1640. Did the FOYs ask if you had any more questions?	1=YES	0=NO	
1641. Did you discuss all the issues that you wanted to or not discuss issues at all with FOYs?	1=DISCUSSED ALL ISSUES	2=DIDN'T DISCUSS ALL ISSUES	
1642. Was the time you spent with FOYs enough or do you wish you had more time?	1=ENOUGH TIME	2=LIKED MORE TIME	
1643. Do you think that the FOYs will keep everything that you said confidential or not confidential?	1=CONFIDENTIAL	2=NOT CONFIDENTIAL	7=NA
1644. Do you think that FOYs will tell your parents or not tell your parents what you discussed?	1=WILL TELL PARENTS	2=WILL NOT TELL PARENTS	7=NA
1645. Do you think FOYs will tell your friends or not tell your friends what you discussed?	1=WILL TELL FRIENDS	2=WILL NOT TELL FRIENDS	7=NA
1646. If you needed information in the future , would you come to this FOY again?	1=YES	0=NO WHY?.....	

1647. Is the FOY you are referring to a male or a female?

- 1=MALE
- 2=FEMALE

1648. Are you referring to an all girls' group, a mixed boys and girls group, or an individual encounter?

- 1=ALL GIRLS
- 2=MIXED BOYS AND GIRLS
- 3=INDIVIDUAL ENCOUNTER

1649. How would you prefer to meet with the FOY – in an all girls group, a mixed boys and girls group, or on an individual basis?

- 1=ALL GIRLS
- 2=MIXED BOYS AND GIRLS
- 3=INDIVIDUAL ENCOUNTER

1650. Do your parents approve or disapprove of friends of youth or the FOYs?

- 1=APPROVE
- 2=DISAPPROVE
- 3=ONE APPROVES, THE OTHER DOESN'T APPROVE
- 8=DON'T KNOW

**CHECK Q 203: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE**

**IF RESPONDENT IS CURRENTLY IN SCHOOL,  
CONTINUE BELOW**

**IF RESPONDENT IS OUT OF SCHOOL,  
GO TO Q1652**

1651. Do your teachers approve or disapprove of friends of youth or FOYs?

- 1=APPROVE
- 2=DISAPPROVE
- 3=SOME APPROVE, SOME DON'T
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1652. Do your friends approve or disapprove of friends of youth or FOYs?

- 1=APPROVE
- 2=DISAPPROVE
- 3=SOME APPROVE, SOME DON'T
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1653. Do your church leaders approve or disapprove of the friends of youth or FOYs?

- 1=APPROVE
- 2=DISAPPROVE
- 3=SOME APPROVE, SOME DON'T
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1654 Have you ever seen or read these booklets? (**SHOW BOOKLETS. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY**)

- 0=NO (**GO TO Q1701**)
- 1=ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCES AND LIFESTYLES IN CENTRAL PROVINCE
- 2=WERE YOU EVER NINE?
- 3=ENJOY
- 4=PLAY THE GAME RIGHT

1655 Where have you seen them? (**PROBE 'ANYWHERE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY**)

- 1=WITH FOY / DURING SESSION
- 2=WITH PARENTS
- 3=WITH FRIENDS
- 4=AT SCHOOL
- 5=AT THE CLINIC/HEALTH CENTRE
- 6=AT FPAK CLINIC
- 7=OTHER (**SPECIFY**) .....

1656. Do you or anyone in your family have a copy of this booklet?

- 0=NO (**GO TO Q1658**)
- 1=YES

1657. Where did you get your copy of this booklet? (**CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY**)

- 1=FOY
- 2= PARENTS
- 3=FRIENDS
- 4=TEACHER
- 5=FROM THE CLINIC/HEALTH CENTRE
- 6=FPAK CLINIC
- 7=OTHER (**SPECIFY**) .....

1658. What did you learn from the booklet(s)? (PROBE 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 0=SEEN ONLY, NEVER READ
- 1=YOUTH DON'T DISCUSS WITH PARENTS
- 2=PARENTS SHOULD TALK TO CHILDREN
- 3=PARENTS FEEL FLE SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN SCHOOL
- 4=DRUG ABUSE
- 5=GOOD DECISIONS-MAKING
- 6= PRESSURE TO HAVE SEX
- 7= EARLY SEXUAL ACTIVITY
- 8=BOYFRIENDS ARE OFTEN MUCH OLDER THAN GIRLS
- 9= YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE HAD SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES
- 10=WAYS OF SAYING NO TO SEX
- 11=IMPORTANT TO WAIT UNTIL READY FOR SEX
- 12=HOW PREGNANCY OCCURS
- 13=HOW TO PROTECT FROM PREGNANCY
- 14=HOW TO AVOID AIDS
- 15=THE RISKS OF SEX
- 16=ALTERNATIVES TO SEX
- 17=WHY YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE SEX
- 18=HOW TO PREVENT SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES
- 19=OTHER (SPECIFY).....
- 20=CAN'T REMEMBER

**SECTION XVII: EXPOSURE TO HEALTH SERVICE UNDER PROJECT**

1701. Have you ever heard of a coupon that friends of youth/FOYs give to young people for the clinic or hospital?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1703)
- 1=YES

1702. Have you ever received a coupon for the clinic or hospital from a friend of youth/FOY?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES (GO TO Q1704)

1703. Have you ever been referred to a clinic or hospital by a friend of youth/FOYs?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1738)
- 1=YES

1704. What are the reasons that made you go to the clinic or hospital? (PROBE 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                                                                                        |                                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1=INFORMATION ON FAMILY PLANNING                                                       | 9=SUPPLY OF CONDOMS                    |
| 2=INFORMATION ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH                                                   | 10=PRENATAL CARE                       |
| 3=INFORMATION ON HIV/ AIDS                                                             | 11=POST NATAL CARE                     |
| 4=MISSED PERIOD OR SUSPECTED PREGNANCY                                                 | 12=CARE OF OWN CHILD                   |
| 5=OTHER MENSTRUAL PROBLEMS                                                             | 13=ACCOMPANYING SOMEONE                |
| 6=ABNORMAL OR BLOODY DISCHARGE/LOWER ABDOMINAL PAIN/WOUNDS OR ITCHING IN PRIVATE PARTS | 14=OTHER REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH (SPECIFY) |
| 7=CIRCUMCISION                                                                         | .....                                  |
| 8=FAMILY PLANNING SUPPLIES                                                             | 15=NON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH             |

1705 Which clinic did you go to? (PROBE, 'ANYWHERE ELSE?' WRITE ALL CLINICS MENTIONED)

..... NAME(S) OF CLINIC

1706. Was the problem diagnosed?  
 0=NO  
 1=YES  
 7=NA (INFORMATION OR SCREENING ONLY)

1707. Was the problem treated?  
 0=NO  
 1=YES  
 7=NA (INFORMATION OR SCREENING ONLY)

1708. How many return visits did you make for this particular problem or issue?  
 ..... NUMBER OF VISITS

1709. How much money did you pay when you last visited the clinic?  
 ..... AMOUNT IN SHILLINGS

1710 Were you referred to another clinic or for a lab test?  
 0=NO (GO TO Q1712)  
 1=YES

1711 Where were you referred?  
 ..... NAME OF PLACE

1712-20 I want you to think about what you discussed with the person at the clinic. Please tell me all the topics the person at the clinic discussed with you. (PROBE "ANYTHING ELSE" AND CIRCLE ALL THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS SPONTANEOUSLY, FOR TOPICS NOT MENTIONED, ASK, "DID THE PERSON AT THE CLINIC TALK TO YOU ABOUT ..... " IF YES TO ANY OF THE TOPICS, CIRCLE "2=YES, PROBED". OTHERWISE CIRCLE "0-NO." IF MORE THAN ONE VISIT, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT VISIT)

	RESPONSE
1712. Did you discuss <b>FAMILY PLANNING METHODS</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1713 .Did you discuss <b>EMERGENCY CONTRACEPTION</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1714. Did you discuss <b>HOW TO USE CONDOMS</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1715. Did you discuss <b>SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1716. Did you discuss <b>NOTIFYING A PARTNER IF ONE HAS AN SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1717. Did you discuss <b>HIV/AIDS</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1718. Did you discuss <b>HIV COUNSELING AND TESTING</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1719. Did you discuss <b>RAPE OR SEXUAL ABUSE</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED
1720. Did you discuss <b>RISKY BEHAVIOR SUCH AS HAVING MANY PARTNERS OR NOT USING A CONDOM</b> or not?	0=NO 1=YES SPONTANEOUS 2=YES PROBED

1721-36. I want to talk about your time with the nurse or doctor at the clinic. Remember I will not be sharing your opinions with the nurse or doctor. Everything you tell me will be strictly confidential. **(IF MORE THAN ONE INSTANCE, ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT VISIT)**

1721. Did you find the nurse or doctor to be knowledgeable or not knowledgeable?	1=KNOWLEDGEABLE	2=NOT KNOWLEDGEABLE	
1722. Did you find the nurse or doctor understanding or not understanding?	1=UNDERSTANDING	2=NOT UNDERSTANDING	
1723. Did you find the nurse or doctor judgmental or not judgmental?	1=JUDGEMENTAL	2=NOT JUDGEMENTAL	
1724. Did you find the nurse or doctor sympathetic or not sympathetic?	1=SYMPATHETIC	2=NOT SYMPATHETIC	
1725. Did the nurse or doctor treat you in a friendly or not friendly manner?	1=FRIENDLY	2= NOT FRIENDLY	
1726. Did you think that the Nurse or doctor did or did not have respect for what you had to say and your experiences?	1=HAD RESPECT	2=DID NOT HAVE RESPECT	7=NA
1727. Did you find the nurse or doctor embarrassed or not embarrassed?	1=EMBARASSED	2=NOT EMBARRASED	
1728. Did you ask the nurse or doctor everything that you had wanted to ask?	1=YES	0=NO	7=NA
1729. Did you understand everything the nurse or doctor said?	1=YES	0=NO	
1730. Did the Nurse or doctor ask if you had any more questions?	1=YES	0=NO	
1731. Did you discuss all the issues that you wanted to or not discuss all the issues with nurse or doctor?	1=DISCUSSED ALL ISSUES	2=DIDN'T DISCUSS ALL ISSUES	
1732. Was the time you spent with the nurse or doctor enough or do you wish you had more time?	1=ENOUGH TIME	2=LIKED MORE TIME	
1733. Do you think that the nurse or doctor will keep everything that you said confidential or not confidential?	1=CONFIDENTIAL	2=NOT CONFIDENTIAL	7=NA
1734. Do you think that nurse or doctor will tell your parents or not tell your parents what you discussed?	1=WILL TELL PARENTS	2=WILL NOT TELL PARENTS	7=NA
1735. Do you think the nurse or doctor will tell your friends or not tell your friends what you discussed?	1=WILL TELL FRIENDS	2=WILL NOT TELL FRIENDS	7=NA
1736. If you needed services in the future, would you come to this nurse or doctor again?	1=YES	0=NO WHY?.....	

1737. Is the doctor/nurse you are referring to a male or a female?

- 1=MALE
- 2=FEMALE

1738. Do you know of anyone else who has received a coupon from friends of youth/FOYs or was referred to the clinic by FOYs?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1740)
- 1=YES

1739. Who was this person? (PROBE, 'ANYONE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=SCHOOL MATE
- 2=FRIEND
- 3=BROTHER/ SISTER
- 4=OTHER RELATIVE
- 5=OTHER NON RELATIVE (SPECIFY) .....

1740-59. I am going to read a list of clinics where young people might go. I want you to tell me whether you have visited any of these clinics in the last **three years**. If you have visited I would like you to tell me **the reason why you visited** and **the reason why you chose this clinic**, and not another clinic.

LIST OF SERVICE DELIVERY POINTS	A. Visited in the last three years?	B. Reasons for visit (MORE THAN ONE CODE ALLOWED)	C. Main reason for choosing this clinic and not another clinic
1740. KIAMWATHI MEDICAL CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1741. FPAK CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1742. NYERI PROVINCIAL GENERAL HOSPITAL	0=NO 1=YES		
1743. CHALO MEDICAL CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1744. NYERI NURSING HOME	0=NO 1=YES		
1745. MEDICARE CENTER (DR. MACHARIA)	0=NO 1=YES		
1746. DR THUO'S CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1747. CHANIA CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1748. TOWN HEALTH CENTER	0=NO 1=YES		
1749. MATURA MEDICAL CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1750. GALANA PHARMACY LTD.	0=NO 1=YES		
1751. PLAZA MEDICAL LAB SERVICES	0=NO 1=YES		
1752. COUNSELOR (LUCY SIMIYU OR DR. MACHARIA OR DR. MUTISO)	0=NO 1=YES		
1753. MUKARO CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1754. HOPE MEDICAL CENTER	0=NO 1=YES		
1755. COMMUNITY BASED DISTRIBUTION AGENT	0=NO 1=YES		
1756. NYAHURURU DISTRICT HOSPITAL	0=NO 1=YES		
1757. KANAN MEDICAL CENTER	0=NO 1=YES		
1758. DR. IRUNGU MWANGI'S CLINIC	0=NO 1=YES		
1759. NYERI MEDICAL CENTER	0=NO 1=YES		

**B CODES: REASON FOR VISIT TO CLINIC**

- 1=INFORMATION ON FAMILY PLANNING
- 2=INFORMATION ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH
- 3=INFORMATION ON HIV AIDS
- 4=MISSED PERIOD OR SUSPECTED PREGNANCY
- 5=OTHER MENSTRUAL PROBLEMS
- 6=ABNORMAL OR BLOODY DISCHARGE/LOWER ABDOMINAL PAIN/WOUNDS OR ITCHING IN PRIVATE PARTS
- 7=CIRCUMCISION
- 8=FAMILY PLANNING SUPPLIES

- 9=SUPPLY OF CONDOMS
- 10=PRENATAL CARE
- 11=POST NATAL CARE
- 12=CARE OF OWN CHILD
- 13=ACCOMPANYING/VISITING SOMEONE (DO NOT ASK 'C')
- 14=OTHER REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH (SPECIFY)
- 15=NON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

**C CODES: REASON FOR CHOOSING THE CLINIC**

- 1=CLOSE TO HOME, WORK OR SCHOOL.
- 2=CONVENIENT HOURS / SHORT WAITING TIME
- 3=FRIENDLY STAFF/ PROVIDERS
- 4=COMPETANT STAFF / PROVIDERS
- 5=NO OTHER CLINIC IN THE VICINITY
- 6=FEW PEOPLE KNOW YOU / ANONYMITY
- 7=THIS CLINIC IS FOR YOUTH

- 8=YOUR FRIENDS GO THERE
- 9=FOY RECOMMENDED THE CLINIC
- 10=OTHER PERSON RECOMMENDED CLINIC
- 11=FREE OR CHEAP SERVICES
- 12=REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICE AVAILABLE
- 13=GOOD FACILITIES / CLEAN
- 14=OTHER (SPECIFY)

1760. Are you aware of a youth clinic at Provincial General Hospital?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1767)
- 1=YES

1761. How did you first hear about the youth clinic at the Provincial General Hospital.?

- 1=TEACHER
- 2= PARENT(S)
- 3=OTHER RELATIVE(S)
- 4=FRIEND(S)
- 5=OTHER NON RELATIVE(S)
- 6=OUTREACH BY FRIEND OF YOUTH OR FOYs
- 7=FROM A CLINIC/HEALTH CENTRE
- 8=FPAK STAFF
- 9=RADIO
- 10=NEWSPAPER
- 11=TELEVISION
- 12=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1762. Have you been to the youth clinic at the Provincial General Hospital?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1767)
- 1=YES

1763. What was the main reason you went there?

- 1=INFORMATION ON FAMILY PLANNING
- 2=INFORMATION ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH
- 3=INFORMATION ON HIV/AIDS
- 4=MISSED PERIOD OR SUSPECTED PREGNANCY
- 5=OTHER MENSTRUAL PROBLEMS
- 6=ABNORMAL OR BLOODY DISCHARGE/LOWER ABDOMINAL PAIN/WOUNDS OR ITCHING IN PRIVATE PARTS
- 7=CIRCUMCISION
- 8=FAMILY PLANNING SUPPLIES
- 9=SUPPLY OF CONDOMS
- 10=PRENATAL CARE
- 11=POST NATAL CARE
- 12=CARE OF OWN CHILD
- 13=ACCOMPANYING SOMEONE (GO TO 1767)
- 14=OTHER REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH (SPECIFY).....
- 15=NON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

1764. Was your problem diagnosed?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 7=NA (INFORMATION OR SCREENING ONLY)

1765. Was your problem treated?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 7=NA (INFORMATION OR SCREENING ONLY)

1766. How many return visits did you make for the problem?

..... NUMBER

1767. Now, let's talk about people who might want to go for health services but do not, for one reason or another. Have you ever wanted to get condoms but did not?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1769)
- 1=YES

1768. Why did you not get condoms when you wanted to? (PROBE 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=NO ACCESS TO CONDOMS/SOURCE TOO FAR
- 2=INCONVENIENT HOURS
- 3=PARTNER AGAINST CONDOMS
- 4=UNFRIENDLY STAFF/PROVIDER
- 5=EXPENSIVE/NO MONEY
- 6=LACK OF PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY
- 7=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1769. Did you ever suspect you had a sexually transmitted disease but didn't go to the clinic?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q 1771)
- 1=YES

1770. Why did you not go to the clinic? (PROBE 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1=CLINIC TOO FAR
- 2=INCONVENIENT HOURS / LONG WAITING TIMES
- 3=UNFRIENDLY STAFF / PROVIDERS
- 4=LACK OF PRIVACY / CONFIDENTIALITY
- 5=MANY PEOPLE KNOW ME THERE
- 6=HAD MEDICINE AT HOME
- 7=EXPENSIVE/NO MONEY
- 8=BOUGHT MEDICINE LOCALLY (EG. BUS STOP)
- 9=DIDN'T KNOW WHERE TO GO
- 10=SYMPTOMS WENT AWAY
- 11=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1771. The last time you had sex, did you use a condom?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 2=NEVER HAD SEX (GO TO Q1774)

1772. Thinking about the last FIVE times you had sex, how many times did you use a condom?

..... TIMES

1773. How often do you use condoms when having sex?

- 1=ALWAYS
- 2=USUALLY
- 3=SOMETIMES / OCASSIONALLY
- 4=RARELY

1774-1789. I want you to think about a situation where you needed services related to family planning, sexually transmitted diseases, or HIV / AIDS. I will read a list of characteristics of clinics where young people may go for these services and I want you to tell me if it is 'very important' that the clinic has this characteristic, 'important' that the clinic has this characteristic, or 'not so important' that the clinic has this characteristic. (DO NOT READ 'DON'T KNOW')

CHARACTERISTIC	1=VERY IMPORTANT	2=IMPORTANT	3=NOT SO IMPORTANT	8=DK
1774. The staff is friendly	1	2	3	8
1775. The staff is not judgmental	1	2	3	8
1776. The clinic is close to home, work or school	1	2	3	8
1777. The hours are convenient	1	2	3	8
1778. Few people at the center / clinic will recognize you	1	2	3	8
1779. Your parents or other adults will not see you there	1	2	3	8
1780. The center / clinic is specifically for young people of your age	1	2	3	8
1781. Other young people are working at the center/clinic or involved in the center / clinic activities.	1	2	3	8
1782. The clinic / center is for girls only	1	2	3	8
1783. The services are low cost or free	1	2	3	8
1784. All the services are available at the clinic and you do not have to go to another clinic for tests or drugs.	1	2	3	8
1785. You can get services quickly	1	2	3	8
1786. The nurse takes time with you and is not rushed	1	2	3	8
1787. The nurse is a female, not a male	1	2	3	8
1788. The nurse is young.	1	2	3	8
1789. There are peer educators at the center / clinic	1	2	3	8



**SECTION XVIII. WORK AND LIVELIHOODS**

1801. Some people take up different kinds of work for which they are either paid in cash or paid in kind – in kind, meaning, paid with such things as food, clothes, seeds, or housing. Others work in businesses such as selling vegetables, selling mitumba, running a kiosk or making handicrafts. Have you ever done any work for which you were paid in cash or in kind?

0=NO (GO TO Q1820)  
1=YES

1802. How old were you the first time you did any work for pay – whether cash or kind?

..... YEARS                      98=DON'T KNOW

1803. Please tell me all the work you have done for pay - starting with the most recent work. Also tell me the month and year you started this work, how long you continued in this work and whether you were working for a family member, self employed or working for someone else. **(THE SAME JOB WORKED PERIODICALLY – SUCH AS DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS - SHOULD BE LISTED ON SEPARATE LINES. USE THE BACK OF THIS SHEET IF NECESSARY)**

JOBS WORKED FOR CASH OR KIND, STARTING WITH MOST RECENT AND WORKING BACKWARD	MONTH STARTED JOB	YEAR STARTED JOB	NO OF MONTHS IN JOB ( IF LESS THAN 1 MONTH, USE DECIMALS – E.G. 1 WEEK=0.25)	1=WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 2=WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 3=SELF EMPLOYMENT
1				1=WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 2=WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 3=SELF EMPLOYMENT
2				1=WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 2=WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 3=SELF EMPLOYMENT
3				1=WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 2=WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 3=SELF EMPLOYMENT
4				1=WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 2=WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 3=SELF EMPLOYMENT

1804. **DO NOT ASK. WRITE THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT JOBS MENTIONED.**

..... NUMBER OF JOBS

1805. Have you done any of this work in the last **twelve months**?

0=NO (GO TO Q1810)  
1=YES

1806. From the jobs you mentioned, which one(s) have you done in the last twelve months? **(WRITE LINE NUMBER OF JOBS LISTED IN Q1803)**

.....

1807. Have you done any of this work in the last **one month**?

0=NO (GO TO Q1810)  
1=YES

1808. From the jobs you mentioned, which one(s) have you done in the last one month? **(WRITE LINE NUMBER OF JOBS LISTED IN Q1803)**

.....

1809. How many hours did you work **last week**?

.....HOURS                      998=DON'T KNOW

1810. Are/were you paid in cash for doing this work or are/were you paid in kind – meaning, paid with food, clothes, seeds, or housing, etc? **(IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT THE CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB)**

- 1=CASH
- 2=KIND (SPECIFY)..... **(GO TO Q1812)**
- 3=BOTH CASH AND KIND (SPECIFY).....

1811. How much per week do/did you earn at your current or most recent paid work?

..... SHILLINGS PER WEEK

1812. Is/was the job done at home, away from home or sometimes at home and sometimes away? **(IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT THE CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB)**

- 1=HOME
- 2=AWAY
- 3=BOTH

1813. Does the amount of work you do vary according to the season – that is, do you do more work in some seasons of the year and less in others? **(IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT THE CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB)**

- 0=DOES NOT VARY BY SEASON
- 1=VARIES BY SEASON

1814. Do you usually work throughout the year, do you work seasonally, only once in a while, or only during school holidays?

- 1=THROUGHOUT THE YEAR
- 2=SEASONALLY
- 3=ONCE IN A WHILE (NOT ASSOCIATED WITH SCHOOL HOLIDAYS)
- 4=ONLY DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

1815. Who do you use the money/in-kind payment on? **(PROBE, 'ANYONE ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)**

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1=SUPPORT PARENTS     | 5=SUPPORT SPOUSE       |
| 2=SUPPORT SIBLINGS    | 6=SUPPORT FRIENDS      |
| 3=SUPPORT MY CHILDREN | 7=SAVE FOR FUTURE      |
| 4=SUPPORT MYSELF      | 8=SUPPORT BOYFRIEND    |
|                       | 9=OTHER (SPECIFY)..... |

**CHECK Q 1810 –IF IN KIND, GO TO Q1820**

1816. What do you usually use your money for? **(PROBE, 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)**

- |                          |                                               |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1=FOOD FOR SELF          | 7=SCHOOL BOOKS, UNIFORMS, SUPPLIES FOR SELF   |
| 2=FOOD FOR FAMILY        | 8=SCHOOL BOOKS, UNIFORMS, SUPPLIES FOR FAMILY |
| 3=CLOTHING FOR SELF      | 9=TOILETRIES                                  |
| 4=CLOTHING FOR FAMILY    | 10=MEDICINE, HEALTH CARE                      |
| 5=SCHOOL FEES FOR SELF   | 11=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....                      |
| 6=SCHOOL FEES FOR FAMILY |                                               |

1817. Do you keep all the money you earn for yourself, do you give it all to others, or do you give some of it to others and keep some for yourself?

- 1=KEEP ALL FOR MYSELF **(GO TO Q1820)**
- 2=KEEP SOME FOR MYSELF, GIVE SOME TO OTHERS
- 3=GIVE ALL TO OTHERS

1818. Who do you give your money to? **(PROBE ANYONE ELSE? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)**

- |                |                          |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1=SPOUSE       | 6=OTHER RELATIVES        |
| 2=MOTHER       | 7=BOYFRIEND              |
| 3=FATHER       | 8=IN-LAWS                |
| 4=SIBLINGS     | 9=FRIENDS                |
| 5=OWN CHILDREN | 10=CHURCH                |
|                | 11=OTHER (SPECIFY) ..... |

1819. Approximately how much of your earnings is used by or given to others? Would you say less than a quarter of your earnings, a quarter to a half, half to three quarters, or more than three quarters of your earnings?

- 1=LESS THAN 1/4
- 2= ¼ UP TO ½
- 3= ½ UP TO ¾
- 4= ¾ OR MORE
- 5=ALL

1820. If you have money you want to keep - and don't want to spend immediately - what do you do with it? (PROBE, 'ANYTHING ELSE?' CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 0=NEVER HAVE UNSPENT MONEY (GO TO Q1822)
- 1=KEEP IN SAFE PLACE AT HOME
- 2=GIVE IT TO SOMEONE ELSE TO KEEP SAFE (SPECIFY TO WHOM) .....
- 3=BANK OR POST BANK
- 4=COOPERATIVE
- 5=ROSCA
- 6=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

1821. Thinking of the place where you keep your money, do you think your money is very safe, somewhat safe, or not very safe?

- 1=VERY SAFE
- 2=SOMEWHAT SAFE
- 3=NOT VERY SAFE

1822. Some people do work for which they are not paid, such as work at home, work on a family farm, or family business or in the family compound. Have you done work for which you were not paid in the last week?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1827)
- 1=YES

1823. What kinds of work have you done in the last week for which you did not receive pay? (PROBE, 'ANYTHING ELSE?' WRITE ALL JOBS MENTIONED)

.....

.....

.....

.....

1824. DO NOT ASK. WRITE THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT JOBS MENTIONED.

..... NUMBER OF JOBS

1825. How many hours did you do unpaid work last week?

.....HOURS            998=DON'T KNOW

1826. How many hours did you do unpaid work yesterday/during the last weekday? (ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT WEEKDAY – MONDAY TO FRIDAY – NOT ABOUT SATURDAY OR SUNDAY)

.....HOURS            998=DON'T KNOW

1827. Are you currently looking for paid work?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q1901)
- 1=YES

1828. How actively are you looking for paid work: very actively, moderately actively, or not very actively?

- 1=VERY ACTIVELY
- 2=MODERATELY ACTIVELY
- 3=NOT VERY ACTIVELY

**XIX. CONNECTEDNESS AND SAFETY**

1901. Who usually lives in your household? For every person mentioned, record their age, sex, relationship to the respondent, and whether they are related by blood, marriage, or unrelated. **(PROBE FOR PEOPLE THAT USUALLY LIVE IN THE HOUSEHOLD - NOT JUST FAMILY MEMBERS)**

NAME (OPTIONAL)	AGE	SEX	RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT (USE CODES)	NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP
1		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED
2		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED
3		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED
4		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED
5		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED
6		1=MALE 2=FEMALE		1=RELATED BY BLOOD 2=RELATED BY MARRIAGE 3=NOT RELATED

- 0=Self
- 4=Brother or sister-in-law
- 8= Employee/Servant
- 1=Father or mother
- 5=Son Or Daughter
- 9= Other Non-Relative
- 2=Spouse
- 6=Father or mother-In-Law
- 10=Other (SPECIFY).....
- 3=Brother or sister
- 7=Other Relative

1902-1912. Now, I want to talk about your surroundings and how you live. I will read a series of statements about friends and your estate/village. For each of the statements please tell me whether you mostly agree or mostly disagree.

	1=AGREE	2=DISAGREE	8=DON'T KNOW
1902. You have many friends in your estate/village	1	2	8
1903. You feel safe walking around in your estate/village during the early morning	1	2	8
1904. You feel comfortable walking by yourself after dark in your estate/village	1	2	8
1905. Most of your friends live in your estate/village	1	2	8
1906. The adults in your estate/village help one another when they are in trouble.	1	2	8
1907. There is a lot of crime in your estate/village.	1	2	8
1908. You know of girls in your estate/village who have been raped	1	2	8
1909. In your estate/village boys or men tease you, whistle at you or otherwise call attention to you as you go about your things..	1	2	8
1910. You would be happier if you lived in another estate/village	1	2	8
1911. People in your estate/village trust one another	1	2	8
1912. There is a place other than your house, your friend's house or school, where you meet your female friends.	1	2	8

**CHECK Q203: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE**  
**IF CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL**  
**CONTINUE BELOW**

**IF NOT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL**  
**GO TO Q1923**

1913-22. I will now read a series of statements about the school you are attending. For each statement, please tell me whether you mostly agree or mostly disagree.

	1=AGREE	2=DISAGREE	8=DON'T KNOW
1913. The teachers at your school care about students	1	2	8
1914. Teachers at your school prefer boys to girls.	1	2	8
1915. Teachers at your school prefer girls to boys.	1	2	8
1916. There is a teacher at your school that you can talk to if you have a problem	1	2	8
1917. You sometimes feel scared walking to and from your school.	1	2	8
1918. Boys at your school sometimes tease you in a way you don't like	1	2	8
1919. Most of your friends attend your school.	1	2	8
1920. You participate in many school activities outside of class	1	2	8
1921. You would be happier if you attended another school	1	2	8
1922. There is a lot of fighting and violence among students at your school	1	2	8

1923- 1930 I would like to talk about the three individuals in your life that you feel very close to. For each one, please tell me their relationship to you, their sex, their age, and whether they live with you. Now, who are these three people who are close to you. Let's start with the person who is closest to you... **(WRITE DETAILS OF INDIVIDUALS IN BOXES MARKED A, B, AND C.)** Now, let's talk about ..... **(FIRST PERSON MENTIONED) (ASK ALL THE QUESTIONS FOR THE FIRST PERSON, THE SECOND, AND FINALLY THE THIRD)**

	A. CLOSEST INDIVID		B. 2 <sup>ND</sup> CLOSEST INDIVID		C. 3 <sup>RD</sup> CLOSEST INDIVID	
	Rel. to Resp		Rel. to Resp		Rel. to Resp	
	Sex 1=M 2=F		Sex 1=M 2=F		Sex 1=M 2=F	
	Age		Age		Age	
	Lives w/ 0=N 1=Y		Lives w/ 0=N 1=Y		Lives w/ 0=N 1=Y	
	0=NO	1=YES	0=NO	1=YES	0=NO	1=YES
1923. Do you talk about your future goals?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1924. Do you talk about financial problems?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1925. Do you talk about people who tease you or bother you?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1926. Do you talk about sexually transmitted diseases?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1927. Do you talk about condoms?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1928. <b>ASK UNMARRIED:</b> Do you talk about the kind of spouse you would like? <b>ASK MARRIED:</b> Do you talk about problems in your marriage?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1929. Can you tell him/her your deepest secret?	0	1	0	1	0	1
1930. You trust him/her in every way.	0	1	0	1	0	1

1931- 1938. I will read a list of experiences that adolescent boys and girls may have as they grow up. I would like you to tell me if this has happened to you and some other details about what happened at that time. (READ THE LIST ONE BY ONE. IF RESPONDENT HAS EXPERIENCED AN ITEM, ASK QUESTIONS A TO H)

	A Has this ever happened to you?	B. How many times has this happened to you? [If unsure, ask for approx. number]	C. How old were you the first time this happened?	D. How old were you the last time this happened?	E. How many times has this happened?	F. Who was the person who did this to you? [If more than one person, ask about the most recent person]	G. How old was this person at that time? [If unsure, ask for approximate age, If more than one person, ask about the most recent]	H. After this happened, did you tell anyone about it?	I. Who did you tell? (PROBE, 'ANYONE ELSE?' MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED.)
1931. Has anyone ever touched a part of your body in a way you did not like?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1932. Has anyone ever sweet talked you into having sex?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1933. Has anyone ever tricked you into having sex?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1934. Has anyone ever threatened you to make you have sex?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1935. Has anyone ever insisted – or, not taken 'no' for an answer – to have sex with you?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1936. Has anyone ever locked you in a room to make you have sex?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1937. Has someone physically forced you to have sex?	1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)							1=YES 2=NO (GO TO NEXT ITEM)	
1938. Has anyone ever raped you?	1=YES 2=NO							1=YES 2=NO	

1939. I would like to get an idea of how far you have traveled from here during your lifetime. Have you ever been to another town besides Nyeri/Nyahururu?

0=NO (GO TO Q1947)  
1=YES

1940. Have you ever been to another district besides Nyeri District / Nyahururu or Laikipia District?

0=NO (GO TO Q1947)  
1=YES

1941. How many times, in the last one month, have you been to another district?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

1942. Have you ever been to another province other than Central Province?

0=NO (GO TO Q1945)  
1=YES

1943. How many times, in the last one year, have you been to another province?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

1944. Have you been to another country other than Kenya?

0=NO  
1=YES

1945. Have you lived outside of Nyeri Municipality/Nyahururu Municipality in the last three years?

0=NO (GO TO Q1947)  
1=YES

1946. In the last three years, how much time have you lived outside the Municipality?

..... NO OF MONTHS

1947-57. Now I am going to read a list of places and activities that many young people do. I would like to know how many times you have been to or done each of them during the past week. How many times during the past one week have you... (READ THE LIST.)

Activity	Number of times in the past week (IF RESPONDENT HAS DONE SOMETHING HABITUALLY, CODE 96)
1947. Gone to a hotel, restaurant, or café	
1948. Gone to a market or shopping center	
1949. Gone to socialize or chat with friends	
1950. Played football, netball or any other sports	
1951. Gone to a bank	
1952. Listened to the radio	
1953. Watched television	
1954. Read a newspaper	
1955. Gone to the post office	
1956. Gone to visit a friend a kilometer or more away from your house	
1957. Boarded a bus or matatu alone	

1958. How important is religion in your life? Is it very important, important, not very important, or not important at all.

- 1=VERY IMPORTANT
- 2=IMPORTANT
- 3=NOT VERY IMPORTANT
- 4=NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL

1959. How many times have you been to church/temple/mosque in the last one-week?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

1960. How many times in the last one week have you prayed?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

1961. I would like to ask you your opinion on certain matters connected with marriage. At what age should a girl get married?

.....YEARS

1962. At what age should a boy get married?

.....YEARS

1963. Is it better for a young woman to choose her husband, or for others (such as family members) to choose a husband for her?

- 1=BETTER FOR OTHERS TO CHOOSE
- 2=BETTER FOR YOUNG WOMAN TO CHOOSE FOR HERSELF
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1964. Is it better for a young man to choose his wife, or for others (such as family members) to choose a wife for him?

- 1=BETTER FOR OTHERS TO CHOOSE
- 2=BETTER FOR YOUNG MAN TO CHOOSE FOR HIMSELF
- 8=DON'T KNOW

1965. What do you think are the most important things for a woman to look for in a man, when choosing a husband? (PROBE, ANYTHING ELSE? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1=IS RICH                           | 8=HAS STRONG/FORCEFUL PERSONALITY |
| 2=IS EDUCATED                       | 9=IS GOOD NATURED/TREATS HER WELL |
| 3=HAS A GOOD JOB                    | 10=GOOD MORALS/BEHAVIOR           |
| 4=COMES FROM GOOD/RESPECTED FAMILY  | 11=FAITHFUL                       |
| 5=LOVES AND UNDERSTANDS HER         | 12=HIV NEGATIVE                   |
| 6=IS PHYSICALLY STRONG              | 13=HIS FAITH                      |
| 7=IS PHYSICALLY ATTRACTIVE/HANDSOME | 14=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....          |
|                                     | 98=DON'T KNOW                     |

1966. What do you think are the most important things for a man to look for in a woman, when choosing a wife? (PROBE, ANYTHING ELSE? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- |                                      |                                   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1=IS RICH                            | 8=HAS STRONG/FORCEFUL PERSONALITY |
| 2=IS EDUCATED                        | 9=IS GOOD NATURED/TREATS HER WELL |
| 3=HAS A GOOD JOB                     | 10=GOOD MORALS/BEHAVIOR           |
| 4=COMES FROM GOOD/RESPECTED FAMILY   | 11=FAITHFUL                       |
| 5=LOVES AND UNDERSTANDS HIM          | 12=HIV NEGATIVE                   |
| 6=IS PHYSICALLY STRONG               | 13=HER FAITH                      |
| 7=IS PHYSICALLY ATTRACTIVE/BEAUTIFUL | 14=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....          |
|                                      | 98=DON'T KNOW                     |

1967. Do you think it is best that a husband and wife both have the same level of education, that the husband have more education than the wife, or that the wife have more education than the husband.

- 1=SAME EDUCATION
- 2=HUSBAND SHOULD HAVE MORE
- 3=WIFE SHOULD HAVE MORE
- 4=DOESN'T MATTER
- 8=DON'T KNOW



**CHECK Q105: EVER MARRIED**

**IF EVER MARRIED  
CONTINUE BELOW**

**IF NEVER MARRIED  
GO TO Q2101**

**SECTION XX: MARRIAGE**

2001. Now, I would like to talk about marriage. In what month and year did you first get married?

.....MONTH                              .....YEAR  
98=DON'T KNOW MONTH                  98=DON'T KNOW YEAR

2002. How old were you when you got married?

.....YEARS

2003. How old was your husband when you got married?

.....YEARS                              98=DON'T KNOW

2004. Thinking about the time you got married, was it too early, too late, or about right?

1=TOO EARLY  
2=TOO LATE  
3=ABOUT RIGHT

2005. Were you attending school at the time you got married?

0=NO  
1=YES

2006. Did you leave school in order to get married?

0=NO  
1=YES

2007. What was the highest level of formal education you had completed at the time you got married?

1=STD 1	5=STD 5	9=FORM 1	13=UNIV, YR 1
2=STD 2	6=STD 6	10=FORM 2	14=UNIV, YR 2
3=STD 3	7=STD 7	11=FORM 3	15=UNIV, YR 3
4=STD 4	8=STD 8	12=FORM 4	16=UNIV. YR 4

2009. Did you work for pay before you got married?

0=NO  
1=YES

2010. Did you work for pay after you got married?

0=NO  
1=YES

0=NO  
1=YES

2011. Did your husband work for pay before you got married?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 8=DON'T KNOW

2012. Did your husband work for pay after you got married?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2013. Did you choose your husband or was your husband chosen for you by your parents?

- 1=CHOOSE SPOUSE MYSELF
- 2=PARENTS CHOSE SPOUSE
- 3=OTHER (SPECIFY) .....

2014. How did you first meet your husband?

- |                                        |                                 |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1=LIVED IN SAME PLACE                  | 5=MET THROUGH FRIENDS           |
| 2=WORKED TOGETHER                      | 6=MET THROUGH PARENTS/RELATIVES |
| 3=STUDIED TOGETHER/WENT TO SAME SCHOOL | 7=MET THROUGH CHURCH            |
| 4=MET DURING LEISURE ACTIVITY          | 8=OTHER (SPECIFY).....          |

2015. For how long were you friends before you married your husband?

- 1=LESS THAN 6 MONTHS
- 2=6 MONTHS UP TO 1 YEAR
- 3=1 UP TO 2 YEARS
- 4=3 UP TO 4 YEARS
- 5= 5+

2016. Was dowry part of your marriage?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q2018)
- 1=YES

2017. Was dowry paid?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

<b>CHECK Q1101: EVER PREGNANT</b>	
<b>IF EVER PREGNANT CONTINUE BELOW</b>	<b>IF NEVER PREGNANT GO TO Q 2023</b>

2018. Have you ever had a baby with your husband?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q2023)
- 1=YES

2019. How many babies have you had with your husband?

..... NUMBER OF CHILDREN

2020. Did you conceive the baby before or after the marriage? (IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD WITH THE HUSBAND, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST CHILD WITH THE HUSBAND)

- 1=BEFORE
- 2=AFTER (GO TO Q2023)

2021. Did you give birth before or after the marriage? (IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD WITH THE HUSBAND, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST CHILD WITH THE HUSBAND)

- 1=BEFORE
- 2=AFTER

2022. Did the pregnancy play a part in deciding to get married?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2023. Have you ever felt pressured to have a baby with your husband?

- 0=NO (GO TO Q2025)
- 1=YES

2024. Who pressured you?

- 1=HUSBAND
- 2=PARENTS
- 3=PARENTS IN LAW
- 4=SIBLINGS
- 5=OTHER RELATIVES
- 6=OTHER (SPECIFY).....

2025. Have you ever had a baby with someone other than your husband?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2026. Are you currently married, or are you separated, divorced or widowed?

- 1=CURRENTLY MARRIED
- 2=SEPARATED
- 3=DIVORCED
- 4=WIDOWED

2027-36. Now I would like to know who mostly makes decisions about the following matters in your household – you, your husband, both of you, your in-laws or your parents. (IF NO LONGER MARRIED, ASK ABOUT DECISION MAKING DURING THE MARRIAGE)

	1=SELF	2=SPOUSE	3=BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE	4=IN LAWS	5=PARENTS	7=N/A
2027. Household budget	1	2	3	4	5	7
2028. Whether or not the woman works for pay	1	2	3	4	5	7
2029. Whether or not to have a/another baby	1	2	3	4	5	7
2030. Education of children in the family	1	2	3	4	5	7
2031. Whether or not to use contraception/family planning	1	2	3	4	5	7
2032. Seeking health care for a sick child	1	2	3	4	5	7
2033. How to use family land – i.e. whether to cultivate, whether to build, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2034. Inheritance of property	1	2	3	4	5	7
2035. Whether or not to use condoms	1	2	3	4	5	7
2036. Whether or not to have sex	1	2	3	4	5	7

2037. Do you think a wife should be able to refuse sex with her husband when she doesn't want it?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2038. Do you think a husband should be able to refuse sex with his wife when he doesn't want it?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2039. Within your marriage, are you able to refuse your husband sex when you don't want it?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES

2040. Within your marriage, are you able to insist on your husband using a condom when you're having sex with him?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 2=NEVER WANTED TO USE CONDOM

2041. Within your marriage, are you able to prevent your husband from drinking?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 2=PARTNER DOESN'T DRINK
- 3=NEVER TRIED TO PREVENT DRINKING

2042. Does your husband have other partners?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 2=DON'T KNOW

2043. Do you think your husband has been faithful?

- 0=NO
- 1=YES
- 2=DON'T KNOW

2044. How many times in the last three months has your husband hit you?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

2045. How many times in the last three months have you hit your husband?

..... NUMBER OF TIMES

2046. How often do you see your parents?

.....  
997=NOT APPLICABLE / NO PARENTS (GO TO Q2048)

2047. Is this more, less or about the same than before you got married?

- 1=MORE
- 2=LESS
- 3=ABOUT THE SAME

2048. How often do you see your siblings?

.....  
997=NOT APPLICABLE / NO SIBLINGS (GO TO Q2050)

2049. Is this more, less or about the same than before you got married?

- 1=MORE
- 2=LESS
- 3=ABOUT THE SAME

2050. How often do you see your close friends?

.....

2051. Is this more, less or about the same than before you got married?

- 1=MORE
- 2=LESS
- 3=ABOUT THE SAME

2052. What do you like most about married life?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2053. What do you like least about married life?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2054. What is the biggest change in your life since you got married?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2055. If you knew what you know now about married life, what would you have done differently?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION XXI: REVIEW OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND CONTRACEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE**

2101. Review the respondents' answers to the knowledge questions in section XIII. Tell him or her the correct answers or all the possible answers. These are as follows:

- 1302. 4 = ABOUT TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE PERIOD BEGINS
- 1303. 1 = YES
- 1304. CHOICES 1-7 ARE ALL WAYS IN WHICH AIDS CAN BE TRANSMITTED
- 1305. 1 = YES
- 1306. CHOICES 1-5 ARE ALL WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE CAN PROTECT THEMSELVES AGAINST AIDS.
- 1310A. FALSE
- 1310B. FALSE
- 1310C. FALSE
- 1310D. FALSE
- 1310E. FALSE
- 1310F. FALSE
- 1310G. FALSE
- 1310H. TRUE
- 1310I. FALSE
- 1310J. FALSE
- 1310K. FALSE
- 1310L. FALSE

2102. Thank you for answering my questions. Now are there any questions you would like to ask me? (Record all the questions asked below and the responses that you gave)

QUESTIONS ASKED BY RESPONDENT	RESPONSE GIVEN
1	
2	

INTERVIEW NOTES	SUPERVISOR NOTES
1	
2	

2103. RECORD THE TIME ..... HOUR. .... MINUTES

## APPENDIX TWO: SELF ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

### GIRLS' QUESTIONNAIRE.

**INSTRUCTIONS:** Thank you for participating in this survey for youth in Kenya. All the answers that you give will be confidential. Please answer all the questions. If you do not understand any question, ask the interviewer for assistance. Circle the number that corresponds to your answer or provide dates, where appropriate.

**MAELEZO:** Asante kwa kushiriki katika huu utafiti wa vijana wa Kenya. Majibu yote utakoyatoa ni siri. Tafadhali jibu maswali yote. Kama huelewi swali lolote, muulize anayekuhaji usaidizi. Weka mviringo katika nambari inayoambatana na jawabu lako au uandike tarehe mahali panapofaa.

1. How old were you when you first had sex?  
Ulikuwa na umri gani ulipofanya mapenzi kwa mara ya kwanza?
  - a. AGE.....
  - b. NEVER HAD SEX
  
2. During what month and year did you first have sex?  
Ilikuwa mwezi na mwaka gani ulipofanya mapenzi kwa mara ya kwanza?
  - a. MONTH:..... YEAR:.....
  - b. NEVER HAD SEX
  
3. Who was the first person you had sex with?  
Ni nani uliyefanya naye mapenzi kwa mara ya kwanza?
  - a. BOYFRIEND
  - b. OTHER FRIEND
  - c. FATHER
  - d. OTHER RELATIVE
  - e. TEACHER
  - f. STRANGER
  - g. OTHER PERSON KNOWN TO ME
  - h. NEVER HAD SEX
  
4. How old was the person with whom you had sex the first time?  
Huyo mtu wakati huo alikuwa na miaka mingapi?
  - a. AGE.....
  - b. NEVER HAD SEX

5. The first time you had sex, did you want to have sex, were you forced to have sex, were you tricked or sweet talked, threatened, or convinced with money or gifts?

**Je mara ya kwanza ulipofanya mapenzi, ulitaka kufanya mapenzi, ulilazimishwa kufanya mapenzi, ulidanganywa au kushurutishwa, au kubembeleza kwa zawadi au peza?**

- a. I WANTED TO HAVE SEX
- b. I WAS FORCED TO HAVE SEX
- c. I WAS TRICKED INTO HAVING SEX
- d. I WAS SWEET TALKED INTO HAVING SEX
- e. I WAS THREATENED INTO HAVING SEX
- f. I WAS CONVINCED TO HAVE SEX WITH MONEY/GIFTS
- g. NEVER HAD SEX

6. For all the times you have had sex, have you ever been forced to have sex, tricked or sweet talked, threatened, or convinced with money or gifts?

**Katika zile mara tofauti ambazo umefanya mapenzi, je ushawahi kulazimishwa, kudanganywa, kushurutishwa au kubembeleza kwa pesa au zawadi?**

- a. NO
- b. YES, I HAVE BEEN FORCED TO HAVE SEX
- c. YES, I HAVE BEEN TRICKED INTO HAVING SEX
- d. YES, I HAVE BEEN SWEET TALKED INTO HAVING SEX
- e. YES, I HAVE BEEN THREATENED INTO HAVING SEX
- f. YES, I HAVE BEEN CONVINCED TO HAVE SEX WITH MONEY/GIFTS
- g. NEVER HAD SEX

7. How many different people have you had sex with?

**Umewahi kufanya mapenzi na watu wangapi tofauti?**

- a. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT PEOPLE:.....
- b. NEVER HAD SEX

8. When did you last have sex?

**Ulifanya mapenzi lini kwa mara ya mwisho?**

- a. WITHIN THE LAST WEEK
- b. 1-4 WEEKS AGO
- c. 2-6 MONTHS AGO
- d. 6-12 MONTH AGO
- e. MORE THAN ONE YEAR AGO
- f. NEVER HAD SEX



9. Have you or your partner ever used condoms?  
**Je, wewe au mliyefanya naye mapenzi, mshawahi kutumia mipira (condoms)?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
10. The last time you had sex, did you or your partner use condoms?  
**Je, mlitumia mipira (condoms) mara ya mwisho mlipofanya mapenzi?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
  - c. NEVER HAD SEX
11. Have you ever used contraceptive pills?  
**Je, ushawahi kutumia vidonge au tembe za kuzuia mimba?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
12. Are you currently using contraceptive pills?  
**Je, kwa sasa unatumia vidonge au tembe za kuzuia mimba?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
13. Have you ever used the morning after pill?  
**Je, ushawahi kutumia vidonge au tembe za kuzuia mimba masaa machache baada ya kufanya mapenzi ili kuzuia mimba?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
14. Have you ever been pregnant?  
**Je, ushawahi kupata mimba?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO
15. Have you ever had an abortion?  
**Je, ushawahi kutoa mimba?**
- a. YES
  - b. NO

16. Have you ever had a sexually transmitted disease?

**Je, ushawahi kupata ugonjwa wa zinaa?**

- a. YES
- b. NO

17. What was the name of the disease?

**Ulikuwa ugonjwa gani?**

- a. NAME OF THE DISEASE:.....
- b. NEVER HAD A SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE

18. Did you go for treatment?

**Je, ulienda kwa matibabu?**

- a. YES
- b. NO
- c. NEVER HAD A SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE

19. Where did you go for treatment?

**Ulienda wapi kwa matibabu?**

- a. ....
- b. NEVER HAD A SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE

**THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS. PLEASE SEAL THIS FORM IN THE ENVELOPE AND RETURN IT TO THE INTERVIEWER.**

**ASANTE KWA KUJIBU MASWALI. TAFADHALI WEKA FOMU HII KWENYE BAHASHA NA UMPATIE ALIYEKUHOJI.**

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## IN DEPTH INTERVIEW DISCUSSION GUIDE

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### **Introduction**

#### **I. Warm up**

- Age
- Living arrangements (natural mother, father, siblings, birth order, other relatives, friends)
- School attendance and attainment
- School currently attending/last attended
- Future aspirations

#### **II. Roles of men and women, division of labour between sexes, decision-making, power relations (current and ideal)**

- In family (current / ideal)
- Responsibility of men toward children they father
- In school / workplace / church (current / ideal)
- Relationships with the opposite sex (current / ideal)

#### **III. Sexual behaviour (thoughts, kissing, caressing, intercourse)**

- Decision-making and influences?
- Negotiation?
- Experience with family planning - what, if any, negotiations surrounded usage

#### **Possible probes:**

- Did you know or suspect beforehand it would happen? How did you know?
- Did you discuss with anyone beforehand? With whom? What did you discuss?
- What happened at that time?
- How did you feel when that happened? How did you feel about the other person?
- Did you talk with anyone about it? What about friends? What about family? What about teachers?
- What did you say? What did they say?
- Have you thought about having sex, kissing a boy/girl etc. What have you thought?
- Has anyone suggested sex to you?

APPENDIX FOUR: SPEARMAN'S RHO CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Appendix Table 4a: Spearman's Rho correlation coefficients for independent variables considered for model comparing ever coerced girls with all never coerced girls (n=1619)

	Ever coerced	Age	District	Currently attending school	Educ. attainment	Mother's educ	Lives alone	Ever worked	Men decide sex
Ever coerced	1.000	.150**	-.048	-.147**	.067**	-.090**	.071**	.058*	.050*
Age	.150**	1.000	.021	-.742**	.577**	-.211**	.069**	.553**	-.022
District	.048	-.021	1.000	-.045	-.077**	-.073**	.019	.034	.077**
Currently attending school	-.147**	-.742**	.045	1.000	-.444**	.166**	-.241**	-.600**	-.045
Educ attainment	.067**	.577**	.077**	-.444**	1.000	.093**	.099**	.269**	-.123**
Mother's educ	-.090**	-.211**	.073*	.166**	.093**	1.000	.008	-.136**	-.049
Lives alone	.071**	.069**	-.019	-.241**	.099**	.008	1.000	.248**	.013
Ever worked	.058*	.553**	-.034	-.600**	.269**	-.136**	.248**	1.000	.075**
Men decide on sex	.050*	-.022	-.077**	-.045	-.123**	-.049	.013	.075**	1.000

\*\* Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

**Appendix Table 4b. Spearman's Rho correlation coefficients for independent variables considered for model comparing ever coerced girls with all never coerced sexually experienced girls (n=881)**

	Ever Coerced	Age	Socio economic status	Lives Alone	Mother's education	District	Marital status	Years of Education	School status	School Performance	Men decide on sex	Age at First Sex	Years Since 1st sex	Age diff with 1st partner	Number of Partners	Ever Pregnant	Ever use of FP	Condom 1st sex	Symptom of STI
Ever Coerced	1.000	-.002	.000	.109	-.079	-.085	-.063	-.001	-.006	-.052	-.054	-.116	.051	-.134	.149	-.056	.001	.136	.145
Age	-.002	1.000	.004	-.094	-.165	-.003	.321	.290	-.297	-.055	.126	.391	.570	.010	.105	.357	.267	-.110	-.016
SES	.000	.004	1.000	-.024	.194	-.040	-.111	.286	.078	.024	.137	.124	-.104	.097	-.113	-.140	-.033	.039	-.067
Lives alone	.109**	-.094**	-.024	1.000	.048	.000	-.600	.080	-.044	-.038	-.006	-.041	-.022	.038	.132	-.308	-.102	.263	.112
Mother's educ	-.079*	-.165**	.194**	.048	1.000	-.044	-.122	.236	.069	.063	.068	.017	-.171	.072	-.056	-.172	-.063	-.027	-.013
District	-.085*	-.003	-.040	.000	-.044	1.000	-.013	-.065	.005	-.019	-.066	-.119	.105	.064	.193	-.041	-.007	-.020	.020
Marital status	-.063	.321**	-.111**	-.600**	-.122**	-.013	1.000	-.087	-.235	.008	-.032	.105	.220	-.150	-.052	.500	.286	-.275	-.042
Years of Educ	-.001	.290**	.286**	.080*	.236**	-.065	-.087*	1.000	-.065	.086	.169	.464	-.050	.088	-.044	-.081	.099	.023	-.052
School status	-.006	-.297**	.078*	-.044	.069*	.005	-.235**	-.065	1.000	.008	-.005	-.205	-.245	.098	-.073	-.283	-.328	.092	-.057
School Perform	-.052	-.055	.024	-.038	.063	-.019	.008	.086**	.008	1.000	.032	.025	-.084	.019	-.136	-.035	-.014	.027	-.014
Men decide on sex	-.054	.126**	.137**	-.006	.068*	-.066*	-.032	.169**	-.005	.032	1.000	.098	.062	.002	-.061	-.037	.019	-.044	-.074
Age at First Sex	-.116**	.391**	.124**	-.041	.017	-.119**	.105**	.464**	-.205**	.025	.098**	1.000	-.376	.134	-.287	.005	.056	-.113	-.138
Years Since 1st Sex	.051	.570**	-.104**	-.022	-.171	.105**	.220**	-.050	-.245**	-.084	.062	-.376**	1.000	-.156	.397	.367	.272	-.008	.110
Age Diff with 1st Partner	-.134**	.010	.097**	.038	.072*	.064	-.150**	.088*	.098**	.019	.002	.134**	-.156**	1.000	.076	-.182	-.108	-.015	-.014
Number Partners	.149**	.105**	-.113**	.132**	-.056	.193**	-.052	-.044	-.073*	-.136**	-.061	-.287**	.397**	.076*	1.000	.026	.120	.167	.199
Ever pregnant	-.056	.357**	-.140**	-.308**	-.172**	-.041	.500**	-.081*	-.283**	-.035	-.037	.005	.367**	-.182**	.026	1.000	.335	-.215	.006
Ever Use of FP	.001	.267**	-.033	-.102**	-.063	-.007	.286**	.099**	-.328**	-.014	.019	.056	.272**	-.108**	.120**	.335**	1.000	.111	.078
Condom Lst sex	.136**	-.110**	.039	.263**	-.027	-.020	-.275**	.023	.092**	.027	-.044	-.113**	-.008	-.015	.167**	-.215**	.111**	1.000	.169
Symptoms STI	.145**	-.016	-.067*	.112**	-.013	.020	-.042	-.052	-.057	-.014	-.074*	-.138**	.110**	-.014	.199**	.006	.078*	.169**	1.000

\*\* Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed) ; \* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

**Appendix Table 4c. Spearman's Rho correlation coefficients for independent variables considered for model comparing girls coerced by their husbands with all never coerced married girls (n=601)**

	Ever coerced by husband	District	Hit by Husband	Currently working	Ever worked	Dowry
Ever coerced by husband	1.000	-.084	.099	-.067	-.104	.072
District	-.084*	1.000	.069	.158	.042	-.128
Hit by Husband	.099*	.069	1.000	-.018	-.004	-.055
Currently working	-.067	.158**	-.018	1.000	.471	.029
Ever worked	-.104*	.042	-.004	.471**	1.000	-.004
Dowry	.072	-.128**	-.055	.029	-.004	1.000

\* Correlation is significant at the .05 level \*\* Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

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