

Early Pregnancy

Perceptions and Perspectives of Maasai Secondary School Students in
Northern Tanzania

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- Introduction -

Introduction to Report

This report discusses research that has been carried out in the months of July, August and September 2012 in the Longido District, Northern Tanzania. The first half of the internship took place as part of the UCU in Africa program of University College Utrecht and was subsequently extended for another 6 weeks outside the scope of this program. During this time the perceptions and perspectives of secondary school students concerning early pregnancy have been explored. In this report, we will firstly give an introductory overview of the internship host organization, Sauti Moja, and of the UCU internship. This is followed by a literature review concerning the area of research. Furthermore a detailed outline of the research project is provided. The results are presented, followed by an analysis and discussion. In the appendix, supporting documentation is provided.

The report is a result of an internship at Sauti Moja most directly, and of the UCU in Africa program more broadly. We found great support at our host organization, and sufficient independence where necessary as well. However, the UCU in Africa program has made a great introduction to field research, without which this report would not have taken shape as it has now.

Sauti Moja Tanzania

Sauti Moja is a Canadian charity organization that is working in Kenya and Tanzania. The name Sauti Moja comes from Swahili and means ‘one voice’. Sauti Moja strives to improve lives of indigenous people in Africa, especially the women and children living under the most difficult conditions. The organization works with Maasai communities and has a broad focus on sexual and reproductive health issues and education, opting for an integral approach addressing several key aspects. Through its community-based approach and adaptive character, it aims to create new opportunities for marginalized individuals and families, and to ensure sustainable livelihoods among pastoralist communities in Tanzania and Kenya.

Sauti Moja Tanzania is based in Longido and addresses issues of the Maasai population, who form the dominant ethnic group in this region. The area is arid to semi-arid and ranges from the slopes of Kilimanjaro to Lake Natron. The conditions are not conducive to agriculture, and as a result of this environment the dominant mode of living is semi-nomadic pastoralism. Before Sauti Moja Tz became the main partner of Sauti Moja Canada in Tanzania, the organization cooperated with LOOCIP, Longido Community Integrated Project. LOOCIP was founded in 2003 by a group of local Maasai, and launched in 2006. When this partnership was discontinued, part of the organization split off to form Sauti Moja Tanzania in June 2010. While this is a

Tanzanian NGO, Sauti Moja Canada holds an important structural role in governing the organization, to establish well-functioning cooperation between the Sauti Moja branches in Canada, Tanzania, and Marsabit in Kenya.

Sauti Moja Tz continues to work to aid Maasai communities through the following projects, which together address a range of interrelated problems posed on the community. Firstly, Sauti Moja carries out Community Conversations. In this project the organization tries to mobilize the community to deal with problems of HIV/AIDS. The pastoral Maasai are considered vulnerable to disease, and the high infection rates have serious consequences for people in the region. Through the Community Conversations Sauti Moja is facilitating frequent, regular meetings with a core group of leaders and community members over a long period of time. In this way they try to build understanding about the disease and to support people in development of plans for prevention, testing, treatment, and care. Sauti Moja Tz's second project is concerned with Early Childhood Development. To start aiding in the provision of education at the very beginning, we set up Longido Early Childhood Education (LECHE) classrooms. These classrooms are paired with a nutrition project, which provides all the children with noon meals and keeps track of their nutritional status in order to help malnourished children. The pre-school activities are an important tool to prepare children better for entry into primary school, especially since they learn Swahili there, which might mitigate the effects of the language barrier many Maasai children run into when entering formal education. Child Mothers & Girls' Education is the final project that is carried out. This project addresses the problems of early pregnancy and education for girls. Sauti Moja's project helps with the reintegration of these girls after they have dropped out of school due to pregnancy. The Child Mother's & Girl's Education program is a good solution for the issue of early pregnancy limiting educational options, because it is sensitive to the full range of underlying causes and has organized a broad range of projects to help the girls. The organization provides a safe place to stay for three weeks immediately following the dropping out, during which time a Support Worker provides counseling, meets with their families, facilitates access to health care, and provides sexual and reproductive health education. Sauti Moja supports healthy pregnancies by ensuring that each of the girls in the program has access to good medical services. Furthermore, the aspect of family mediation is important, to encourage them that ongoing school opportunities are available. After delivery Sauti Moja provides scholarship support for private schools to ensure the girls' return to formal education. Taken together, Sauti Moja is involved in improving lives of people in the most important domains of health and education. Since they look at these problems together and do not focus on a single issue they address the main problems of the local community through an integrated, locally based approach, which is critical in making these projects a success.

UCU Internship and Continued Internship

The internship that is part of the UCU in Africa program occupies a six-week period. However, the internship will be continued after this time under supervision of Sauti Moja without further

involvement of University College Utrecht. The research project designed by the interns in collaboration with Sauti Moja is geared towards this extended timeframe. To facilitate this divide in reporting the research has been categorized into four distinct phases, which may show temporal overlap in reality, but can be presented separately for the sake of being able to send a mid-way research report to University College Utrecht. Only the first phase of the research is included in the previous report to UCU whereas this report will comprise the results of all phases.

Important to note with regard to this research project is that it truly consists of two components, not only 'research,' but also 'project.' Rather than designing internship activities primarily focusing on research, especially phase one is rather an awareness and resilience building activity for participants with some opportunities for gathering data for the facilitators/researchers. This is in line with Sauti Moja's philosophy to create lasting relationships, community participation and strive for mutual understanding. It is not merely a research exercise but a project that has something to offer to its participants. The internship project serves yet another purpose as well, and that is that of evaluating Sauti Moja's Child Mother's program. It will provide insights into the issue of early pregnancy, child mothers' return to school, and challenges associated with this. These findings might strengthen the program and offer solutions to regularly encountered problems.

- Literature Review -

In this literature review we will discuss the body of literature that has been written about the Maasai, focussing on those works that are concerned with formal education, sexuality and reproduction. We start by analyzing the relation between Maasai sociocultural values and attendance of the formal education system, especially of girls. Following, we look at sexuality from a sociocultural perspective, focusing on the age group our research is concerned with. After this we go into the use of contraceptives and the role of reproduction. The factors discussed here together render girls attending formal education vulnerable to early pregnancy. Many work mutually reinforcing and aggravate each other's consequences. Combined, this literature forms the theoretical background against which our research project has been designed and against which we will interpret our results.

Maasai and Formal Education

The Maasai are a marginalized group in Tanzania that has limited access to services, including educational services. An important factor in this is discrimination, but also their geographical position. Many Maasai communities live in isolated rural areas that are very dispersed. The Maasai living in Longido district are no exception to this (Nelson et al., 2009). Therefore, many children have to cover large distances to reach school, which seriously limits their possibilities. They face various dangers on this journey and might be unable to attend school on time or on a daily basis (Sommer, 2010). Moreover, the educational services that are available to rural Maasai children are often of poor quality. Facilities are limited, with for example insufficient teaching materials, a lack of desks and chairs or buildings (O-Saki and Agu, 2002). In rural areas there is also often a lack of teachers. While these problems are not uncommon in Tanzania as a whole, an extra challenge Maasai children struggle with is that of language barriers. Many children that enroll in school have insufficient knowledge of Swahili or English, the official teaching languages, and there are very few teachers who speak Maa.

A second group of factors posing a potential restraint on Masaai girls' obtainment of formal education is caused by a lack of economic means. The Maasai, being a marginalized part of a relatively poor population, often have insufficient direct funds to send all of their children to school. The family may not have the money to pay for a child's school fees, or to buy the books and the uniform. Moreover, a family may lack indirect economic means to allow a child to attend school, meaning they cannot miss the child's labor. The not being able to miss a child can be due to actual labor produced by the child in the homestead but can also refer to child providing labor for other families by means of creating or fulfilling favors to other families for its own (Coast, 2000).

Especially important when it comes to low levels of successful education among girls (but also boys) are a host of sociocultural factors related to an individual's process of maturing. For many youths formal education interferes with the ceremonies and expected behaviors associated with their age (Talle, 1988). Maasai girls face an extra challenge, as they do not only have to bridge the gap between expectations of Maasai culture and the formal education system, but are also assuming a new gender role in a patriarchic and gerontocratic society (Coast, 2007; Hodgson, 1996; Sommer, 2010; Talle, 1988). They are in the process of asserting their rights in the context of a social order in which both their gender and their age leave them to a marginalized position (Hodgson, 1996). Women's position can be seen as the result of a process of disenfranchisement and introduction of a hierarchical conception of public and private space introduced by colonialism and continued and reasserted throughout independence (Talle, 1988; 1999). Girls' typical role in society can lead to a lack of parental support for girls wishing to obtain an education. Parents might not see the need or the benefit of girls' education, since their perceived role is in the household and the family's reproduction. Beside this, parents who do see the benefit in a girls' education might still choose to send the boy to school instead of a girl in case of limited economic resources, because of a perceived higher chance of success (Sommer, 2010). Marriage to a suitable partner might also be perceived to as a more realistic strategy to obtain livelihood security for a daughter (Archambault, 2011). This is not an unfounded claim, as research (O-Saki and Agu 2002; Sommer 2010, 2011) has shown that girls have a difficult position in the classroom. Already in primary school children are treated differently based on gender. They face discrimination in the classroom in various ways. For example, (especially male) teachers perceive boys as being more intellectually active, leading to a bias in attention they give them. Beside this, manhood, for example in teachers' homes. This leaves them more vulnerable to sexual abuse. These problems regularly cause girls to drop out of school (O-Saki and Agu, 2002). Girls' problems remain prevalent in later in primary school and in high school. Girls' school dropout tends to increase after the onset of puberty. According to Sommers, "the documented reasons for dropout are numerous, ranging from increased household responsibilities, family preference for educating sons when limited funds are available for school fees, pressure to get married, premarital pregnancy, and parental concerns about school safety" (Sommer 2010: 522-523).

Sexuality among Maasai

There are cultural factors subscribing sexuality and sexual relations for Maasai that contribute to the likeliness of early pregnancy to occur. Social relations, including sexual relations, are regulated through the age-set system that systematically divides men in different age groups. Age groups are formed of boys who are circumcised and initiated into the warrior-stage or moranhood around the same time, and finally form a definite age group upon their initiation into elders. While all males move through the defined stages of boy, moran, and elder as they age, women do not follow such clear categories. It is claimed that this forms the ideological

grounding for women's perceived inferiority, as they never grow into morally mature beings (Talle, 1988). However, their lives follow more or less similar stages of girl, young mother (following marriage after circumcision) and older woman with grown up children. There is an intricate cultural logic that sanctions sexual relationships between some groups and prohibits others (Talle, 1988). Especially important in the context of early pregnancy is the relation between moran and young, uncircumcised girls. The moran are not allowed to be married, yet they are expected to show high sexual activity as they are regarded as the epitome of masculine prowess combined with frivolous playfulness. Their designated partners for sexual relationships are young girls who are not yet fully mature (Talle, 1998; Coast 2001; 2007). In turn, these young girls are expected to start having sexual intercourse before they reach puberty or 'start to grow' in order to mature. There are many cultural practices and institutions that regulate and facilitate these sexual encounters. Perhaps the most salient is the *esoto*. As Talle describes it, "the moran and the girls meet to sing, dance, and have sex in houses (*esoto*) of the homesteads specifically assigned for this purpose, or at shady places in the bush" (1998: 141-142). The expectation of both moran and young girls to engage in these sexual behaviors lead to considerable pressure on both lest they object. For example, a moran who does not have intercourse with many girls may be called *olosinoni* "that is a person who has no luck with (or interest in) the opposite sex" (Talle 1988: 143) According to Talle such a person has no bright destiny (1988). Girls on the other hand may find that they are pressured or even forced by older female family members to have sex with moran (Talle,1998).Those are supposed to fulfill the task of ensuring that the girl builds up sufficient sexual experience (Talle, 1994). This experience is necessary in the sense that a virgin bride is considered a shameful thing, as she is considered a child. This means that her new husband cannot have sex with her, since the first penetration is the task of the young warriors (Talle, 1994).Moreover, in polygynous societies there is always a basis for conflict, as gender ratios are typically fifty-fifty, and the occupation of several women by one man could lead to other men being left empty-handed. Among Maasai this risk is mitigated by delaying the men's age of marriage (creating a larger pool of nubile women, see Talle, 1988) and the condoning of sexual networking and pre- and extra-marital sex.

Use of Contraceptives among Maasai

Some cultural conceptions of sexual intercourse among Maasai form a severe impediment to the use of contraceptives or methods of contraception, especially condoms. According to Coast, "condom access is extremely poor in rural Maasailand" (2007: 391). However, availability might not be the main problem. According to the cultural logic underlying sexual relations, the exchange of semen is of paramount importance for Maasai (Coast, 2007). Especially for young girls, sperm is said to be necessary to grow healthily and to develop physically, mainly to grow breasts and hips (Coast, 2007; Talle, 1998). While girls are said to gain from the transaction of sperm, the moran who provide this accordingly grow weaker (Talle, 1988). Thus, it is not in the interest of either the woman or the man to block the exchange of semen, as for him it would be a

'waste' of energy and strength and for her it would cause deprivation of a desirable and useful substance.

Reproduction and Implications of Pregnancy

The occurrence of pregnancy is generally regarded a blessing, or a very positive event among Maasai. Children are perceived as highly desirable and valued by society (Coast, 2001). Fertility, or being able to produce children, is required to grow into a morally mature person and to become a full member of society (Talle, 1988). Moreover, children are elements of wealth and power and there is desire to have as many children as possible (Coast, 2007) The birth of a new child is therefore a positive event that adds value to the mother and her family. Not surprisingly, for these reason early pregnancy in itself causes little social stigma (Coast, 2000). Talle explains that in spite of the fact that a Maasai girl's sexual activity begins long before her circumcision, she is not supposed to become pregnant before this operation (1988). Usually a Maasai girl is prevented from falling pregnant before clitorrectomy by having the operation take place before her first menstruation (Talle, 1988). However, this method is not always applied accurately enough and occasionally girls do conceive before they should. Pregnant girls or young unwed mothers can still be considered for marriage by a man other than the father of the child (Hodgson, 1996). "Should a girl become pregnant before her circumcision, she is operated upon and married away immediately, not necessarily to the one who impregnated her" (Talle 1998: 141) Thus, a girl that falls pregnant early faces little reproach from her community, and the potential social consequences are hardly present as an inhibiting factor. However, it seems that with the advance of discourse on human rights, rights based on the Tanzanian law, and an emphasis on education this is changing as girls experience more pressure and opportunities to attend school (Archambault, 2011).

- Research Outline -

Research Objectives

1. Explore perception of causes and consequences of pregnancy amongst secondary school students
2. Identify factors contributing to pregnancy among girls attending secondary school;
3. Explore challenges child mothers must overcome to return to formal education;

Internship Research Project

Phase 1: General Perceptions and Perspectives on Early Pregnancy

Girls' Focus Group Discussions

To gather information concerning the perception amongst secondary school students of the causes and consequences of early pregnancy we conduct a series of meetings exploring this topic. This project is part of a program evaluation carried out for Sauti Moja. However, the methods used are accommodating participatory action and therefore this project is at the same time an opportunity for awareness and resilience building. We form two groups of approximately six Maasai girls currently enrolled in form 4, one group at Longido Secondary School and one group at Engarenaibor Secondary School. The girls' groups will be meeting once a week for five weeks consecutively. During the meetings we will make use of the problem tree, a participatory tool that will enable us to systematically gather the results of the discussion, as well as improve the participants' insight in the issue by visualizing it. Moreover, the problem tree might serve later to present the issue in a clear and easily understandable way, which can be used for educational purposes or awareness raising. The four sessions will comprise of the following activities:

1. Introduction & Getting to know each other

The first meeting firstly serves as an opportunity for us to introduce our research and the purpose and proceedings of the meetings to the participating girls, and for the girls to introduce themselves. We present the problem tree and how it will be used. The girls are asked to start thinking about the issues that will be raised and to be prepared to share their thoughts. We also take the time to introduce ourselves on a more personal level and create room for any questions or remarks the girls might have about our research or anything else. We address issues of confidentiality and research ethics. We provide a full briefing to all participants about the consequences of participation, addressing both potential risks and benefits. Afterward we will try to meet very briefly with the girls individually to obtain an overview of their personal

background and family situation. This first meeting is geared towards promoting mutual understanding and creating a group atmosphere conducive to open discussion.

2. Problem Tree: consequences

During the second meeting we proceed with the problem tree, a participatory tool used to visualize the problem of early pregnancy and its consequences and causes. We start with listing suggested consequences, asking each girl to present at least one unique thought on this topic. The consequences that are brought up elicit a semi-structured group discussion. Finally, the girls are asked to start thinking about the theme of the next meeting.

3. Problem Tree: roots

In the third meeting we delve deeper into the causes of early pregnancy, visualized by the roots of the problem tree. This meeting is structured similar to the second, focusing on listing causes and discussing them in a semi-structured manner.

4. Gender integrated discussion

The fourth week the girls are joined by boys' focus groups from their school. The boys have met a week in advance and have been presented with the girls' completed problem tree. They have had a chance to provide their perspective on the issues raised and to formulate their own perception of causes and consequences of early pregnancy. During this meeting they share their ideas with the girls' groups, who in turn will respond in order to engage in a discussion. This meeting provides an opportunity for boys and girls to learn from each other and together explore this issue and become more aware of different possible approaches.

5. Perception of returning child mothers & Force field analysis

The final session concludes this series of meetings by raising awareness on how to manage avoiding early pregnancy. We use another participatory tool, called force field analysis, to raise awareness among the girls of preventative measures against early pregnancy and to identify factors contributing to girls' resilience. While during the meetings we have been exploring factors that create vulnerability, in this last session we hope to facilitate an open discussion on how girls can negotiate their sexual lives and obtain agency in sexual relations. The meeting will also contain a brief discussion of the perceived possibilities for returning early mothers and the girls' perspective on challenges surrounding this. Finally an explanation of Sauti Moja's Child Mother program is provided.

Boys' Focus Group Discussions

As mentioned above, next to this series of meetings with girls' groups, we conduct a single focus group session at both Longido Secondary School and Engarenaibor Secondary School with approximately six Maasai boys currently enrolled in form 4. During these sessions we present

the problem tree made by the girls' group at the schools respectively and ask the boys for their perspectives and opinions on this. The purpose of these meetings is to gain an insight in secondary school boys' perception of the issue of early pregnancy, but it will also serve as an opportunity for them to learn about this and expand their knowledge. Thus, the boys' meeting also has a strong awareness-raising component. These meetings are also be a preparation for the fourth meeting, in which the boys' groups join the girls' focus groups for a gender integrated discussion. The boys' groups do not meet as frequently as the girls' groups, since the boys are generally involved in or affected by early pregnancy significantly less than girls. Therefore the girls are the primary focus of this project, whereas the boys are included to raise awareness levels and obtain a more holistic perspective.

Phase 2: Child Mothers' Perspectives

Individual Interviews / Home visits

After phase 1 we have established an idea of the perceptions and perspectives of randomly selected secondary school students. Phase 2 of the research focuses on the perspectives and perception of early pregnancy in secondary school of girls that have actually experienced pregnancy. During this phase we will turn towards the girls who are participating in Sauti Moja's Child Mother program, which consists of girls currently sponsored by Sauti Moja or for who Sauti Moja has helped to find sponsorship at another organization. The girls in the Sauti Moja Child Mother program either have one or two children, and some are currently pregnant. They can be divided into four rough categories: child mothers that have re-entered secondary school and completed formal education successfully, child mothers that have re-entered secondary school and failed to successfully complete formal education, child mothers that are currently attending secondary school, and child mother that never re-entered formal education. For the second phase of the research project a group of eleven child mothers who are currently in school are selected. Of these girls, most have already returned to school and some are waiting for a sponsor to be able to go back to school. We firstly conduct home visits during which individual interviews with the girls take place, in order to explore their perspectives on the causes and consequences of early pregnancy. The opinions of girls who experienced early pregnancy themselves are collected to put the results of the focus group discussion into perspective and check them against reality. During the interviews the girls are first asked to share their story with us, starting at their pregnancy. We will invite them to given an account of all events following and related to their pregnancy, to gain insight in the consequences of early motherhood. Following, we present the causes of early pregnancy that were the outcome of the focus group discussions with the child mothers and ask them to add to them and to rank them. This renders a systematic impression of child mothers' ideas about causes of pregnancy, and forms the lead-up to a possible disclosure of a child mother's personal story regarding the cause of her pregnancy, which serves to further verify the accuracy of suggested causes.

Focus Group Discussions

The eight selected child mothers come together for a workshop hosted by Sauti Moja, This occasion is used to conduct a focus group discussion with these girls, as well as a focus group discussion with one parent of each girl, who will be present for this workshop as well. The discussion with the parents is conducted first, and serves to verify and complement the information provided by the child mothers. Therefore, this discussion will provide more insights on causes and consequences of early pregnancy.

1. A Parent's Perspective on Early Pregnancy

During this discussion with parents of child mothers we touch on the consequences early pregnancy has for the girls and their families. We inquire after parents' perspectives on the causal factors as well.

Key informant interviews

Beside these focus group discussions, in the second phase of our research we conduct interviews with key informants. With help from the Sauti Moja staff we have identified a number of people in the Longido area that have important experience with early pregnancy, and who we expect to be able to give us insights about this topic. They consist of NGO workers that have been active in promoting prevention of early pregnancy or have made an effort to assist child mothers, and of secondary school employees who have a role in dealing with early pregnancy among students.

Phase 3: Reintegration into Formal Education

Focus Group Discussions

We continue exploring child mothers' perspectives on early pregnancy by turning our attention to the reintegration into formal education. We aim to compose an image of the challenges child mothers face when they wish to resume education, and what hardships they encounter once they are attending formal education again. Since parents have a crucial role in a child's education, we first direct the inquiry to them, during the second part of the focus group discussion initiated during phase 2. Following this, on the same day of the Sauti Moja workshop, a focus group discussion takes place including the eight child mothers who participated in the home visits.

2. The Role of Parents in Reintegration in Formal Education

This discussion directly follows *A Parent's Perspective on Early Pregnancy* and explores parents' opinions on continued education of child mothers. It aims to identify the role parents have taken in enabling or obstructing their child's return to school and their current assessment of their past actions. Parents will also be asked what challenges their child's reintegration in formal education has posed and continues to pose to them and the rest of the family.

3. Child Mothers' Return to School – Challenges and Solutions

During this meeting eight child mother's come together to discuss the challenges they encountered in their reintegration into formal education. We first reconstruct the difficulties that may have arisen during the process of returning to school, and following explore the challenges they currently continue to face in pursuing education.

- Results -

The following section will list the results of the research project as conducted for Sauti Moja. Firstly, it will deal with the first phase and show the results of the focus groups conducted at the secondary schools as presented in the research report to UCU. Secondly, it will provide the results of the individual interviews with child mothers. Thirdly, it will talk about the results of the meeting with the child mothers and their parents.

First Phase Results – Focus Group Discussions

This section will list the results from the focus groups that were conducted in the first phase of the research. The participants were asked to write down as many consequences and causes they could think of on pieces of paper. These consequences and causes have been grouped according to theme and are ordered according to frequency, with the highest frequency of occurrence first and the lowest frequency of occurrence last, and are listed below. The list with consequences will be provided first and is divided between the two secondary schools of Longido Secondary School and Engarenaibor Secondary School, which are abbreviated as LSS and ESS respectively. Apart from listing the factors written down per focus group, both consequences and causes will be grouped accumulatively according to the variables of secondary school, for both consequences and causes, and gender, for causes only. Following the listing of the consequences and causes as written down by the informants, this section will provide a list of the frequency of occurrence of the general themes coming forward from the discussion on each topic. This part also includes the accumulative results in frequency of occurrence of the variables secondary school and gender. Lastly, this section will include the results to the question of which one the consequences and causes written down and subsequently displayed on the poster, the participants deemed the most important.

Listed according to frequency of appearance

Consequences

Grouped according to school

LSS Girls (4 participants)

- Lack of education x3
- Poverty x3
- Health risks x3
- Rejection by the family and by society x2
- Early marriage x1
- Mental distress x1

Other:

- Subsequent unexpected pregnancies

ESS Girls (3 participants)

- Rejection by the family and by society x7

- Early marriage x3
- Low standards of life x3
- Health risks x2
- Not meeting your life plans x2

Accumulated

All (7 participants)

- Rejection by the family and by society x8
- Low standards of life x6
- Health risks x6
- Early marriage x4
- Lack of education x3
- No meeting your life plans x2

Other:

- Subsequent unexpected pregnancies

Causes

Separate - grouped according to school and gender

LSS girls (5 participants)

- Poverty x6
- Ignorance x4
- Puberty x3
- Bad groups x3
- (Lack of) Parental influence x1

LSS boys (4 participants)

- Poverty x4
- Ignorance x4
- Bad groups x4
- (Lack of) Parental influence x3
- Puberty x1
- Cultural traditions x1

ESS girls (5 participants)

- Poverty x4
- Ignorance and lack of education x3
- Bad groups x2
- (Lack of) Parental influence x2
- Early engaging in sex x1
- Cultural traditions x1
- No consequences for boys x1

ESS boys (5 participants)

- Poverty x6
- Bad groups x2
- (Lack of) Parental influence x2
- Lack of education x1
- Cultural traditions x1
- Puberty x1

Accumulated – grouped according to school

LSS (9 participants)

- Poverty x10
- Ignorance x8
- Bad groups x6
- Puberty x4
- (Lack of) Parents influence x5
- Cultural traditions x1

ESS (10 participants)

- Poverty x10
- Bad groups x4
- Ignorance and lack of education x4
- (Lack of) parental influence x4
- Puberty x2
- Cultural traditions x2
- No consequences for boys x1

Accumulated – grouped according to gender

Girls (10 participants)

- Poverty x10
- Ignorance and lack of education x7
- Bad groups x5
- Puberty x4
- (Lack of) Parental influence x3
- Cultural traditions x1
- No consequences for boys x1

Boys (9 participants)

- Poverty x10
- Bad groups x6
- Ignorance x5
- (Lack of) Parental influence x5
- Puberty x2
- Cultural traditions x2

Accumulated

All (19 participants)

- Poverty x20
- Ignorance and lack of education x13
- Bad groups x11
- (Lack of) Parental influence x8
- Puberty x6
- Cultural traditions x3
- No consequences for boys x1

List of factors deemed most important

Consequences

LSS (4 participants)

- lack of education x4

ESS(5 participants)

- Rejection by family and society x2
- Health risks x1
- Early marriage x1
- Failure to reach goals x1

Accumulated

All (9 participants)

- Lack of education x4
- Rejection by family and society x2
- Health risks x1
- Early marriage x1
- Failure to reach goals x1

Causes

LSS girls (2 participants)

- Poverty x1
- Cultural traditions x1

LSS boys (4 participants)

- Poverty x2
- Ignorance x1
- Cultural traditions x1

ESS girls (4 participants)

- Lack of education x2
- Poverty x1
- Cultural traditions x1

ESS boys (5 participants)

- Poverty x3
- Bad groups x2

LSS accumulated (6 participants)

- Poverty x3
- Cultural traditions x2
- Ignorance x1

ESS accumulated (9 participants)

- Poverty x4
- Bad groups x2
- Lack of education x2
- Cultural traditions x1

Girls accumulated (6 participants)

- Poverty x2
- Cultural traditions x2
- Lack of education x2

Boys accumulated (9 participants)

- Poverty x5
- Bad groups x2
- Ignorance x1
- Cultural traditions x1

All accumulated (15 participants)

- Poverty x7
- Cultural traditions x3
- Bad groups x2
- Lack of education x2
- Ignorance x1

Second Phase Results – Individual Interviews

The following section provides an overview of the results of the individual interviews with the child mothers from Sauti Moja’s program. Firstly, an overview of the characteristics of the participants is included, followed by a listing of the findings concerning the consequences and causes of early pregnancy. Finally, the results of the last topic addressed in the interviews, child mothers’ return to school, are listed. The findings in this section are more qualitative in nature than those that form the first phase of the research. Therefore, the systematic display of the results is somewhat limited, and since the emphasis lies on interpretation, the analysis section provides a more detailed overview. Moreover, whereas we used a method during the interviews that would potentially allow for a systematic quantitative processing of results, we choose to employ a qualitative interpretation. The ranking exercise discussed above proved useful as to open up a conversation concerning the causes of early pregnancy with child mother, but less fruitful to obtain a consistent and reliable rank order of these causes. In most cases the informants verbal explanation did not correspond to their ranking of the provided causes, mainly due to misunderstanding of the exercise or inconsistent translation of their personal experience to societal level. We therefore opt to discard the quantitative results of the ranking exercise, and instead provide the main themes that we can distill from these conversations.

Participants

The following statistics provide the average of the data of the eleven interviewed girls combined and give the range of the margin between brackets.

Average age :	16.09 years old	(from 13 to 19)
Average form:	Form 2	(from Standard 7 to Form 4)
Average time to discover:	4.875 months	(from 1 month to 6 months)

Average time at home: 1 year (from 2 months to 3 years)

Child Mothers' Experienced Consequences and Causes

Consequences

- Delay in obtaining education *Experienced by all*
- Change of school *Experienced by all*
- Psychological stress/anxiety *Experienced by 6*
- Threat of unwanted marriage *Experienced by 6*
- Health risks *Experienced by 5*
- End of relationship/rejection *Experienced by 4*
- Disturbed child-mother relationship/ambivalence towards child *Experienced by 3*
- Unrest/upheaval in family *Experienced by 2*
- Threat of court case/settlement *Experienced by 2*

Causes

- Pressure from lover *Experienced by all*
- Societal institutions *Experienced by all*
- Lack of knowledge sexual and reproductive health/ignorance *Experienced by 10*
- Peer pressure *Experienced by 6*

Child Mothers' Return to School

From the interviews with the child mothers certain factors inhibiting and facilitating the return to school also came forward. As all of the interviewed girls were able to return to school or are waiting for a sponsor to support them to go back to school and thus constitute a quite specific sample, the indication of how frequent certain factors were mentioned by the child mothers would not give an adequate representation of how often such factors occur in reality and thus this is not mentioned here.

Inhibiting Factors

- Marriage
- Family and surrounding people
- Lack of funds/financial stress

Facilitating Factors

- Sponsorships
- Mediation
- Support of mother or other relatives
- Help from school

Child Mother Meeting

The results of the focus group conducted during the child mothers meeting with seven participating child mothers are not included in this report. The results have been discarded due to insufficient participation of the child mothers who were present. Their lack of motivation and involvement has yielded results that do not provide an accurate representation of the topic of discussion. For the same reason, the results are not interpreted in the analysis section.

Meeting with Parents

During the child mothers meeting another focus group was conducted, with the mothers of child mothers participating. This focus group did not yield any viable results either, but for different reasons than the aforementioned focus group. The mothers' lack of participation was a conscious effort based on a particular self-perception and an anticipated rebuttal from those seen as belonging to the rest of society. Since this specific event does leave room for interpretation and a qualitative understanding it is included in the analysis section.

- Analysis of the Results -

Firstly, an analysis of the consequences and causes as perceived by the Secondary School students will be provided. Secondly, the results of the individual interviews with the child mothers will be analyzed. Thirdly, the causes and consequences as perceived by the secondary school students will be compared with those as experienced by the child mothers to provide an idea of the correlation between the results of the two different phases of the research. Finally, the results of the parent meeting will be discussed.

Analysis of the First Phase– Perception of Causes and Consequences

The following section will analyze the results of the various focus groups conducted. Firstly, it will discuss the results of the two focus groups dealing with the consequences of early pregnancy held at the Longido Secondary School and the Engarenaibor Secondary School. The results as grouped per school will be presented first and will be followed by the general discussion concerning the consequences. Secondly, this section will discuss the results of the four focus groups dealing with the causes of early pregnancy held at the Longido Secondary School and the Engarenaibor Secondary School. Since these focus groups vary according to two variables, the results will firstly be discussed separately according to the variables of gender and that of which secondary school the participants attended. A comparative discussion on the results per variable will then follow. In addition to listings of causes and consequences by means of the Problem Tree diagram, the participants were asked to indicate which one of the factors they had mentioned they thought to be the most important. The correlation between what they thought to be the most important factor and the factor they most often mentioned will also be discussed per variable in this section.

Consequences

Longido Secondary School Girls

There were four girls who participated in this discussion. There were three consequences that were written down by three of the participants, which were lack of education, poverty and health risks. With lack of education, the participants referred to the consequence of being sent or chased out of school if the school finds out that the student is pregnant. The girls stated that because the girl will be chased out of school if she is pregnant, she will not be able to follow her dreams or accomplish her plans which lead to low standards of life and being unable to take care of the baby which also leads to the increase of street children. The health risks mentioned involved swelling and complications during delivery which could eventually lead to death. The consequence of rejection by the family and by society was also written down twice, referring to the shame a school-going girl would bring to her parents if she was pregnant. This point also relates to the mentioned mental distress that a girl as, the girls explained, that the girl would feel

as if she had let everybody down. Two other consequences mentioned are early marriage and subsequent unexpected pregnancy as a result of not knowing how to prevent a pregnancy. This group unanimously stated that they thought that a lack of education would be the biggest consequence as they said it would have an effect on all the other consequences as well which seems to correspond with the frequency the consequence was mentioned.

Engarenaibor Secondary School Girls

For this group there were three participants who arrived at the beginning of the meeting, and thus wrote down their perceived consequences of early pregnancy on pieces of paper, and two participants who arrived later during the discussion, who did thus not write down consequences on paper but did join in the discussion concerning these consequences. In this group, consequences that dealt with the rejection by the family and society were in the majority, as these had been written down seven times. The girls mentioned that if girls that got pregnant while still in school would lose their value or dignity in the eyes of their parents, who they then would let down significantly as they did not fulfill their expectations, as well as be rejected by their lover and the society at large. The consequences of early, and specifically forced, marriage and low standards of life, both written down three times, were the next most often mentioned consequences. Low standards of life refer to the hard life that a girl would have if she got pregnant and afterwards, which would be hard not only for the girl herself but also for the baby. The consequences of facing health risks when becoming pregnant and not being able to meet your life plans were both mentioned two times. When asked what factor the girls thought was the most important consequence of early pregnancy, two responded that it was rejection by the family and society which corresponds with the high frequency of the writing that consequence down. Health risks, early marriage and failure to reach goals were all mentioned by one girl as the most important consequence.

Overall

In general, the consequence of rejection by the family and society is the most mentioned, with a score of seven times, mainly due to contributions of the Engarenaibor Secondary School. The consequences of low standards of life and health risks are both mentioned six times and are the second most frequent mentioned consequence of early pregnancy. The division of frequency is almost the same between the two schools, with three times the mentioning of low standards of life at both Engarenaibor and Longido Secondary School, four times the mentioning of health risks by the Longido Secondary School girls and four times by the Engarenaibor Secondary School girls. Early, or forced, marriage is mentioned four times, lack of education three times and not meeting your life plans twice. Only the consequence of subsequent unexpected pregnancies is mentioned once. This order is relatively similar to the order of those that the girls said were the most important consequences although lack of education scores higher on the list of those most important than on those most mentioned. This could be due to the fact that maybe the translator did not quite understand that everyone was allowed to give her own opinion on the most important factor during the focus group with the Longido girls and that then when the first

person said lack of education as most important consequence everybody agreed. This could also be due to the fact that it was the last question and everybody just said that they agreed in order for the focus group to be over. Rejection by the family and society was profiled as most important point by two of the Engarenaibor Secondary School girls and health risks and early marriage were both mentioned once. Overall, the four most frequently mentioned consequences correlate with the indicated four most important consequences, with the exception of the mentioned consequence of low standards of life.

Causes

Longido Secondary School Girls

For this focus group there were 5 participants. All of them had a point concerning poverty, and one even had two points related to it. The girls saw poverty as a cause of early pregnancy because if a girl does not have sufficient funds to cater for her full needs, she might resort to selling herself and getting money in exchange for sex. The girls said that money was given the most frequently but that material goods such as food or clothes could also be obtained through sex. They stated that this was the most common way of obtaining more pocket money for girls and was more common than doing chores such as washing somebody's clothes or cleaning houses which are the other ways for girls to obtain more pocket money. Sex in exchange for money or goods is mostly done at home during the holidays but can also occur during school. The men with whom the girls have sex are most likely to be older men at home or in town when at school but can also be boys at school who have little money. One girl said that girls would start with the boys at school to gain experience and then move up to the men as they would pay more money.

After poverty, another frequently mentioned cause, which was written down four times, was ignorance. Ignorance was meant in the sense that a girl is not aware of the implications of the menstrual cycle and generally did not receive sufficient education on reproductive health. The girls said that the most used and most preferred ways of preventing pregnancies are the natural contraceptives methods like 'safe days' and withdrawing. The girls said that lack of knowledge about these preventative measures leads to early pregnancies. Concerning artificial methods of contraception, the girls stated that these cannot be trusted as a condom might have holes or might tear during sex and that the contraceptive pill might give headaches or prevent future pregnancy. Additionally, they stated that the pill was prohibited in Secondary School and that one would be suspended if found in the possession of it since the person will then be regarded as a bad example to the rest of the students. The girls also said that reproductive health education was given in Form 3 at school, which they considered to be an adequate age.

In line with this, the girls mentioned a cause related to puberty or adolescence three times. Puberty was a cause of early pregnancy according to them because students are "feeling hot" and want to try things out out of curiosity or as rebellion to parents or other people that advise them not to have sex.

This last point is related to the ‘bad groups’ that were mentioned three times. Bad groups would influence girls to engage in sexual intercourse and because they are ignorant this might lead to early pregnancy. Parental influence was mentioned once as a cause by the Longido girls as parents might put pressure on the girl to engage in sexual relationships in order to get more money or other benefits for the family.

Longido Secondary School Boys

For this group there were four participants. There were three causes that all of the participants mentioned in some form which were poverty, influence of bad groups and ignorance. Concerning poverty, the boys stated that there are girls that sell themselves for money to obtain more money to be able to afford certain things they might want. The boys said that there are few girls that do this due to being poor and unable to afford certain things peers might have.

This is related to the influence of bad groups on students, which the boys thought can be found both at school and at home. The involvement of alcohol in these bad groups was mentioned as well.

They also said that ignorance plays a role as a cause for early pregnancy since if people do not know how to prevent it, they might get pregnant. This ignorance is in the form of lack of education on the consequences of early pregnancy or on issues such as contraceptives. On contraceptives the boys stated that they prefer natural ways because they are less expensive and also because it might be hard to get condoms as the shopkeepers might not sell them to you because they think you are too young. The boys said the most common way of learning about this was at school although if your parents, especially your mother, are educated she will tell you about it as well.

Parental influence, or lack thereof, was written down three times by the boys as they stated that parents might not educate their children or trust them too much and let them do whatever they wanted. They also mentioned that parents could put pressure on the children to engage in sexual intercourse because of need or desire for dowry. This point was reiterated once more in the form of cultural traditions that might put pressure on the child to engage in sex. Lastly, one of the boys also wrote down puberty or hormones as a cause of early pregnancy.

Engarenaibor Secondary School Girls

For this group there were five participants. The most frequently written down cause was poverty with a total of four times. They mentioned poverty in the sense of it leading to girls having sex in exchange for money or basic needs such as food, shelter and clothes. The girls said that this was mainly something for girls from town to do as they would be more experienced and more confident with having sexual relationships. It is those girls that also have such relationships during school whereas girls that come from village only engage in such relationships when they are at home during the holidays. According to these girls, getting money or goods in exchange for sex happens very frequently at school and almost all the girls are said to engage in it from Form 2 onwards.

The second most written down cause was ignorance and lack of education, which was mentioned three times. Ignorance and lack of education lead to early pregnancy according to them because then students would not be aware of conception, pregnancy and how to prevent it, and in this light especially the issue of illiteracy was mentioned. Ignorance was seen as especially a problem for girls that were sleeping with boys for money.

Influence of bad groups and peers and lack of influence by parents were both written down twice. With lack of influence by the parents they mainly referred to absence of parents due to being an orphan or being neglected. Similar to this was the cause mentioned once on environment which was explained by saying that if parents allowed their daughters to participate in cultural events like esoto or allowed their daughters to have a boyfriend. There were two other things that were both mentioned once which were that students engage in relationships early and that there are no consequences or punishments for boys if they get a girl pregnant which might lead to preserving less caution than if those were to exist.

Engarenaibor Secondary School Boys

In this group there were five participants. All of those participants plus one extra one mentioned a cause related to poverty leading to early pregnancy because of girls selling themselves. Secondly, both influence of bad groups and parents were mentioned twice. According to the boys, the pressure to engage in sexual intercourse is greater at home than at school as at home there would be more pressure on them to, for example, attend an esoto or in general to be sexually active because they would otherwise be seen as or called 'olosinoni' which is somebody that cannot get a girlfriend which would be considered very shameful. According to the boys, the pressure for girls to have sex is relatively the same at school as at home. With lack of parental influence the boys talk about neglect and being an orphan. Lack of education, cultural traditions and puberty are all mentioned once as causes possibly contributing to early pregnancies. Another cause that was mentioned was early marriage as parents might not be able to pay for the girl's school fees anymore and might then decide to marry her off instead.

Comparison for variable 1: Secondary School

Longido Secondary School

When the results of the girls' and boys' groups are combined the consequence that is written down the most frequently is poverty with a total of ten times. Ignorance and lack of education were mentioned eight times. Influence of bad groups or peers is mentioned the third most often with a total of six times. Parental influence or lack thereof is mentioned five times and puberty is mentioned four times. Cultural traditions are only mentioned as a cause once in one of the groups and thus has a total of one time mentioned. When asked at the mixed focus group with six students present, two of the girls and four of them boys, poverty was mentioned most often as the most important contributor to early pregnancy which corresponds with the results of the most frequently written down causes. However, cultural traditions, that had only been written down by one student during previous discussions, was indicated twice as most important cause of early

pregnancy making it the second most important cause according to the Longido Secondary School students. One of the students indicating it was the most important cause was a girl with whom this topic had not been discussed earlier. That she did choose this as the most important topic could thus be due to the fact that she had not considered this cause before but did think it was important to be mentioned. Apart from that ignorance was also mentioned as one of the most important causes which also corresponds with the frequency it was mentioned.

Engarenaibor Secondary School

At the Engarenaibor Secondary School both of the focus groups wrote down poverty the most frequent, with a total score of 10 times. Next to poverty there are three causes that have been written down four times for both groups which are influence of bad groups, influence of parents and ignorance and lack of education. It is interesting that concerning parental influence both groups came up with the same two points on taking bad care of the children or being an orphan resulting into no protection or education and thus more risk to getting an early pregnancy. Both groups mentioned something related to puberty, behaviour of the student in the boys' group and early engaging in relationships in the girls' group. Cultural traditions are also mentioned once by each group, in the form of parents allowing their children to attend cultural ceremonies and traditional practices.

There were also two consequences that were only mentioned by one group, early marriage by the boys and a lack of punishment or consequences for the boys if they get a girl pregnant by the girls.

The answers to the question of which cause the students perceived to be the most important relatively correspond with the frequency of the written factors. Four students said that they considered poverty to be the most important factor towards early pregnancy which consisted of the largest group which corresponds with the occurring frequency of the written down factors. Bad groups and education were both indicated twice as the most important factor which is similar to their occurrence in written down factors as the next most important causes after poverty. One person indicated that cultural traditions were the most important factor.

Overall

The results of the Longido Secondary School and the Engarenaibor Secondary School focus groups are relatively similar. Both groups mentioned the cause of poverty the most frequent, both with a score of 10 times and thus a total score of 20 times. All groups mentioned that there are girls who sleep with boys or men in exchange for money or goods but the groups did not agree on the frequency that this occurred. According to the students at Engarenaibor there were many girls who did this regularly but that it was specifically something girls from town would do as they would have more knowledge on how to handle such situations. The Longido students, who seemed to be come from town rather than from villages, stated that it happened a lot. However, none of the groups could clearly say how many girls were doing this and the answers varied per week. The way the girls perceived this to happen was more in the sense of girls having a boyfriend or a someone who they regularly have sex with that sometimes gives them money or

pays for any needs they might have rather than girls having sex with various strangers in exchange of money. In both groups poverty also received the most indications of it being the most important cause of early pregnancy.

Ignorance and lack of education come second in frequency at both schools. Both groups agreed that lack of knowledge about the body and about preventative measures were important causes contributing to early pregnancy and this also came forward from the indication of the most important factor contributing to early pregnancy, which showed that this was seen as the second biggest contributor to early pregnancy after poverty.

Influence of bad groups scores equally high for the Engarenaibor group and comes in third for the Longido group. These groups were said to be found both at school as at home although the Engarenaibor group emphasized that it was mainly at home whereas for the Longido group they said that there was no difference. This could be due to the fact that the Longido group consisted of boys and girls from town which might have to deal with less pressure from their fellow moran as the boys from Engarenaibor have to deal with who come from the villages. The influence of the bad groups is also indicated to be an important cause of early pregnancy as it is answered twice to the question which cause is perceived to be the most important.

Parental influence or lack thereof has the same amount of scores for both schools, being mentioned four times by both. However, when asked specifically about influence of parents both groups do not seem to think that parents have an active role in the prevention of early pregnancy apart from educating their children, which was mentioned only by the Engarenaibor group and not by the Longido group, and allowing or not allowing them to participate in cultural events such as esoto. Lack of parental influence seems to be a reason specifically when there are no parents to protect and educate the children, such as in the case of an orphan, or in the specific case that a child is neglected at home and is therefore not cared for. Although it is mentioned by both groups, it is not mentioned when asked for the most important cause indicating that its frequency might not be as high as some of the other causes but that it is an existing cause. Puberty does seem to be regarded as somewhat more influential by the Longido group than by the Engarenaibor group with scores of four and two times respectively although both groups agree that behaviour of the student, because of a desire to explore or because of foolishness, is an important cause of early pregnancy.

There is also a difference, although small, between the frequencies that cultural traditions were mentioned as a cause, only once by the boys in the Longido group but by both in the Engarenaibor groups. This could be also due to the fact that the Longido students might encounter less cultural pressure because of living in town, whereas the Engarenaibor students might experience more of that due to coming from the villages. It is interesting that although it was not mentioned frequently when asked which factor they thought to be the most important cultural traditions received the most votes together with lack of education after poverty as a main cause of early pregnancy, being chosen for a total of three times. The Engarenaibor students also

had one cause that was not mentioned by the Longido students which was that there are no consequences for boys if they get a girl pregnant.

Comparison for variable 2: Gender

Girls

When comparing the results of the two girls groups together it becomes obvious that both see poverty as one of the main causes of early pregnancy as they say that girls have sex for money and indicate it as one of the most important causes. Neither of the groups can provide an estimate of how often this occurs but they seem to agree that it happens often. They do not seem to agree on the point of who is most often involved, as the Engarenaibor girls state that it is the town girls who have sex in exchange for money or goods the most, as they are more comfortable with having relationships as they have more knowledge, whereas the Longido girls stated they think it is more common for girls from villages and specifically the poorer farmers and pastoralists, as they are in most need for money. They do seem to agree that for village girls it usually takes place at home, whereas town girls can also have sex in exchange for money while they are at school. Both groups agree that money is given most frequently in exchange but that goods such as food or clothes can also be given by the boys and men. The boys and men involved in these relationships are most often from outside of school but can also be on school. Both groups agree it can also occur with school boys although they will pay less money than the men from town or the village.

Ignorance and lack of education are written down by both groups for the second most often amount of times which also corresponds with the frequency this was indicated as the most important factor contributing to early pregnancy. The Longido girls focussed more on a lack of understanding a girl's body or her menstruation cycle which could lead to pregnancies, as they said that natural ways of preventing pregnancy are the most preferred. The Engarenaibor girls said something similar but also added that a lack of education, specifically on sexual and reproductive health contributed to this ignorance. Both girl groups stated that the most used ways of contraception were natural ways, like using 'safe days' and withdrawing, and expressed doubts regarding the safety of 'artificial' ways of preventing pregnancy.

Influence of bad groups is mentioned the third most often by both groups and girls say that the pressure on them to have sex is the same at school as at home. The Longido girls state that this is the same for boys but the Engarenaibor girls think this pressure is bigger for boys at home than at school. When we ask if it is the same at school as at home for girls during the mixed gender session at Engarenaibor, the boys object when the girls say the pressure is the same as they state that these girls are not really from bomas and that at bomas the pressure is higher at home than at school for girls as well as boys as parents, other relatives or friends might pressurize a girl more at home according to cultural traditions. It is interesting that the point of cultural traditions is not mentioned by the Longido girls grouped whereas it was mentioned by the Engarenaibor girls. This maybe indicates a difference in the origins of the girl groups as the Longido girls might be less influenced by Maasai culture than the Engarenaibor girls because

they live in town instead of in a village. However, when the issue of cultural traditions as a cause of early pregnancy was discussed during the mixed gender focus group, a girl during each session indicated that she thought that this was one of the most important causes of early pregnancy. Apart from it being an important cause, this might be due to the fact that the students knew that this project had specifically selected these students because of their Maasai heritage which could have led to the perception this research aimed at finding cultural reasons for early pregnancy. Both groups seemed to agree that pressure was between all parties, from boys to boys, from girls to girls and from boys to girls with a smaller amount of pressure from girls to boys. Another difference between the two groups is that the Longido girls wrote down more reasons concerning puberty and the desire to try out and explore whereas it was only written down once by the Engarenaibor girls. Both groups recognized the influence of parents on early pregnancy although this influence was envisioned differently by both groups. The Longido girls talked about influence of parents in the form of pressure towards, for example, obtaining more pocket money whereas the Engarenaibor girls talked more about the lack of influence of parents in the sense of neglect or being an orphan. The Engarenaibor girls added as an additional point that was not discussed by the Longido girls that there are no consequences or punishments for boys if they get a girl pregnant which might make them preserve less care during sexual intercourse. Although it was not written down by the Longido girls, they did agree on the point that there are no consequences or repercussions for a boy if he gets a girl pregnant but only in the unlikely case that the school finds out he is the father of the baby.

Boys

Both of the boys groups wrote down poverty as one of the most important causes of early pregnancy, six times for the Engarenaibor group and four times for the Longido group, which is the same as the amount for the causes of ignorance and influence of bad groups. Both groups saw poverty as a cause of early pregnancy, since it leads to girls selling themselves or receiving things in exchange for sex. When asked if there are also boys who have sex with women in exchange for money, both groups answered that this is the case although quite rare. This question was first met with laughter by the Longido group, whereas the Engarenaibor group seems to regard it a more normal question. Both boys' groups mentioned the phenomenon of a 'sugar mama' who is an older woman that sleeps with younger boys in exchange for money, or sometimes goods. The groups said that this did not happen often and was not one of the main sources of extra income for school boys as they said it was for girls.

For the Engarenaibor group influence of bad groups is mentioned second most frequently together with influence of parents. The Engarenaibor boys mentioned first that there is more pressure on boys than on girls to have sex, especially at home where there is pressure from fellow moran. The Longido boys agreed that this pressure was there for moran although they said there was no difference between at home and at school. The difference between the two groups on this matter could be due to the fact that the Longido boys generally come from a town setting, whereas the Engarenaibor boys come from rural villages that might adhere more to

cultural traditions, or have a population with lower levels of education, which might increase the pressure.

This difference also became clear during the discussion of esoto which was mentioned by both groups. Both groups discussed this topic and were willing to answer some questions but the Engarenaibor boys seemed a bit more open towards discussing their own experiences possibly indicating more familiarity with it. Both groups did say that it was not good to go to esoto and that parents should not allow their children who are going to school to go to them because of the risks that were attached to it.

There were also other points mentioned concerning the influence of parents as a cause of early pregnancy, three by the Longido group and two by Engarenaibor group. The points by the Engarenaibor group seemed to focus more on the presence or lack thereof of the parents in the case of being an orphan or being neglected whereas the Longido boys seemed to focus more on lack of advice on behalf of the parents and putting too much trust in them.

Ignorance or lack of education was mentioned only once by the Engarenaibor boys although it was one of the most often written down causes by the Longido boys. It is interesting that for the Engarenaibor group lack of education was mentioned in the sense of lack of education by the society and in the society and that the explanation mainly focussed on cultural traditions such as the just mentioned esoto, and that lack knowledge or education about contraceptive measures was not mentioned during the discussion. When asked about the contraceptive measures, the Longido boys said that natural ways such as safe days and withdrawing were preferred over 'artificial' because they were less expensive and easier to gain access to, as shop owners might refuse to sell them to them. The Engarenaibor boys said that condoms were widely used but when asked to elaborate more they did say that they were hard to access and not many boys were able to get them. The fact that the Engarenaibor boys gave this answer might be because they thought that was what we were looking for, or that they told us what they had learned at school instead of what they thought was the most frequently used way of preventing pregnancy. In addition to that, the Engarenaibor boys told us that matters of sexual and reproductive health were easily discussed with parents, whereas the Longido boys said that it was rare to discuss such matters with your parents, and that it would maybe be discussed with the mother if she was educated.

Puberty and cultural traditions were both written down once by both groups. Another difference between the two groups can be observed from the answer to the question how they would react if they impregnated a girl, the Longido boys said that they would feel proud as they said that it would prove "that they were real men," whereas at Engarenaibor group most boys responded that they would feel ashamed and only one said that he would not feel shame.

Overall

Both boys and girls mentioned poverty ten times which was for both groups the most mentioned cause. This also corresponds with the response to the question of which cause they thought to be the most important which both girls and boys answered with poverty the most frequently. For girls ignorance and lack of education comes second, written down seven times, followed by

influence of bad groups, written down five times. For the boys this order is reversed as influence of bad groups is written down six times and ignorance or lack of education five times. Bad groups also score higher than ignorance for the question of the most important cause for the boys. In terms of education, the girls seem to emphasize on lack of education in terms of a girl not understanding herself or her menstrual cycle whereas boys mainly emphasized on education from the society, including education of the risks of certain cultural traditions.

All groups seemed to agree that natural ways such as safe days and withdrawing were most often used to prevent pregnancy over artificial ways such as condoms or contraceptive pill. Another reason for a preference to other contraceptive measures than using a condom use was given by the Longido boys as that girls grow stronger from semen. It was said that girls need semen to be healthy and fit and the Engarenaibor boys added that it was “like medicine for girls”. Girls from both schools seemed to agree with this idea.

Puberty and hormones were given as a cause for early pregnancy by both groups, four times by the girls and two times by the boys. The boys mentioned parental influence more often as a cause, four times in total versus three times by the girls. The boys listed parents’ desire for dowry and early marriage as causes of early marriage that were not mentioned by the girls.

Cultural traditions were mentioned twice by the boys and once by the girls although the causes concerning parental influence often had to deal with cultural reasons as well such as the desire for dowry. Girls seemed to think that cultural traditions were bound to parental influence in the sense that it depended on the level of education of their parents and whether they would raise their children according to Maasai traditions. The boys talked more about cultural traditions in the sense of practices and ceremonies that were to be attended as part of the Maasai culture and seemed not to see this as the same point as parental influence as the girls did but regarded the parental influence in the cultural traditions up to to what extent they allowed their children to participate in them. It is interesting that two girls did say they saw it as the most important cause of early pregnancy. Parental influence and cultural traditions seemed overall to be regarded as the same point under the heading of environmental influences as when we asked about parental influence in the mixed focus groups we got few responses. Lack of consequences for boys was only mentioned by one of the girl groups as a cause for early pregnancy but all groups agreed that there were no consequences or punishments for boys if they got a girl pregnant and that that contributed to preserving less care on the side of the boy.

Analysis of the Second Phase – Experienced Causes and Consequences

The following part will analyze the results from the individual interviews with the child mothers. Most girls reported that they got pregnant in Form 2 which is the year prior receiving education on sexual and reproductive health as part of the formal school curriculum. The girls said engaged in sex from standard 7 onwards, suggesting that this formal education is given too late. Although all girls reported several symptoms of pregnancy such as feeling sick, sleeping a lot or taking up a dislike to certain foods, the average time it took a girl to figure out she was pregnant was 5 months. This considerable length can be explained by a variety of reasons such as lack of knowledge that not having a period is a sign of pregnancy. Other reasons can include an already normally irregular period due to young age or insufficient food intake. Late discovery can have certain effects for the health of the baby and mother.

Consequences

Delay in Education

All informants experienced a delay in pursuing formal education due to their pregnancy. The average time they were out of school was one year with a minimum of two weeks and a maximum of three years. This is experienced as somewhat unfavorable, as in case of return the informant is relatively old compared to classmates. However, with the irregular school enrollment being the norm rather than the exception the consequences of this are limited. More serious is the fact that the delay in education often leads to a decreased performance upon return, often making the repeat of one or several Forms necessary. This increases the financial burden of education and renders return less attractive, and viable. Lastly the increased age of a student or duration of education may increase the pressure of marriage as a more viable alternative.

Change of Schools

All informants changed schools due to their pregnancy. In some cases this was a conscious and voluntary choice, as all informants wish to conceal the event of their pregnancy from their schoolmates and teachers. In most cases, this consequence is not experienced as particularly negative, although it could enlarge the impact on the discontinuity in education. However, in many cases the change of school might have a positive effect, as in general the quality of education offered at school following pregnancy appears to be higher than at the schools attended before pregnancy. This is mainly due to the fact that many informants continue education after pregnancy at private schools rather than government schools, as they are banned from return to the latter due to expulsion for being pregnant. Private schools in Tanzania tend to offer education of higher quality than government schools, due to factors such as more (and more motivated) teachers per student, better facilities, and better organization. Many informants were receiving higher quality education after pregnancy, as the sponsorships they obtained left them with an increased financial possibilities than before.

Health Risks

Many informants at some point dealt with health risks due to their pregnancy. Since early pregnancy per definition takes place before a girl is fully mature, not only emotionally but also physically, some informants seem to have been exposed to risks related to their young age. The most serious example of this was a caesarian section, followed by smaller operations. However, in most cases the consequences remained limited to discomforts and minor ailments related to pregnancy and giving birth. Additionally, several informants suffered from stress-related psychosomatic symptoms. Especially hyperventilation was widely reported.

Psychological Stress/Anxiety

All informants suffered considerable anxiety and psychological stress due to their pregnancy. This often seemed to be greatest before revealing the pregnancy, as a result of fear and insecurity concerning the reactions and further consequences, many expressed that this decreased when they knew they could return to school. Generally, the early pregnancy and the period following giving birth are events in informants' lives associated with worrying, thinking a lot, and negative emotions. Self-evaluation appears to be low during this time, and often the period is marked by conflict with close relatives. While all participants seem to go through this, the degree and length to which they suffer varies considerably, and so does the lasting of the consequences.

Disturbed Mother-Child Relationship

Many informants expressed they found it difficult to connect with their baby, and that it sometimes took quite a while to regain the peace of mind to positively engage with their child. Many said this only came when they knew they could go back to school. While some informants now appeared happy to have their child and displayed care and affection for them, in others a more ambivalent stance towards the child was observed. In those cases the informants seemed to be unable to disconnect the child from the negative impact the pregnancy has had on their lives, leading to a difficult or disturbed relationship.

Unrest/Upheaval in Family

Families of informants showed different degrees of unrest or upheaval due to the informants' pregnancy. While in some families this remained limited, in others it was very serious, leading to death threats, forced marriage of younger siblings, or loss of income for family members. In some cases these consequences may have a lasting influence on the lives of family members, whereas in others the passing of time and informants' return to school may restore things.

Threat of Marriage

In most of the cases the informants' pregnancy led to substantial pressure from the surroundings to arrange a marriage, since this was often perceived as the only viable alternative to education. The informants' pregnancy was often seen as a mark of her maturity and fertility, rendering marriage a logical next step. Beside this, the interruption of education was in many cases seen as

a loss of investment, and as a result the dowry received in case of marriage could be an important motivation as to decrease the financial loss. All informants facing marriage perceived the arrangements as a threat to their current and future well being, although this was caused by the fact that it never concerned the husband of their choice rather than that they opposed marriage per se. Some expressed that they would have been willing to marry someone they loved, in some cases the father of their baby. Since this option was never endorsed by family and surroundings, those informants felt that education would offer them more possibilities for future happiness.

End of Relationship/Rejection

Some of the informants' pregnancies were the result of steady relationships. In those cases, the relationship was usually discontinued due to the pregnancy. It should be noted however, that this was generally not perceived as a great loss, although for some it was an additional cause for emotional hurt and stress. In some cases, either the informant or her boyfriend expressed interest in continuing the relationship, and in very few cases this happened, but usually the pregnancy and related stress appeared to be too much of an obstacle to overcome.

Threat of Court Case/Settlement

Some of the informants dealt with the threat of court cases, although in none of the cases this actually took place. In one case this was avoided through a settlement. The threat of a court case appears to be used to pressurize the father of the child to take responsibility and provide financial compensation, although in others cases this seemed easy to avoid, by appealing for forgiveness or going away.

Causes

Lack of SRH Education/Ignorance

Most informants indicated that when they fell pregnant, they had received none or insufficient information about pregnancy and prevention. This is reflected in the average moment of discovery of pregnancy, which is at about four to five months. Many informants allegedly did not have the faintest idea of the causal relationship between sex and pregnancy at the moment of conception. Most informants say their parents never inform them or provide any sex education. When they do, it is often insufficient. Most informants never received any education on the topic in school either. Few did, but they say information was kept from them, because the teacher felt uncomfortable discussing it.

Societal Institutions (Moran)

All informants were made pregnant by the current group of moran, the korianga. This is an indication that there are certain institutions in Maasai society that are conducive to early pregnancy.

Peer pressure

Many informants experienced considerable pressure from peers to be sexually active. Friends either at home or at school, or relatives, may pressurize a girl refraining from sexual relations quite effectively.

Pressure from lover

More than from friends, most girls expressed that they felt pressure from their lover to engage in sexual intercourse.

Comparison of Perceived and Experienced Causes and Consequences

In the following section, the causes and consequences as perceived by the secondary school students and as experienced by the child mothers are compared to each other to see whether the perceptions of the girls are an adequate representation of reality as come forward from the stories of the interviewed girls. It is important to note that the interviewed girls might constitute a specific sample as they are the ones that were able to return to school and possibly not given an accurate image of the causes and consequences as experienced by child mothers in general as the more marginalized who are not able to find ways of returning to school are not represented.

Consequences

In order to gain a clear overview of the differences between the perceived and experienced consequences of early pregnancy a listing of both is given once more below ordered according to subject.

Perceived

Rejection by the family and by society

Health risks

No meeting your life plans

Lack of education

Early marriage

Experienced

Unrest/Upheaval in Family

End of Relationship/Rejection

Threat of Court Case/Settlement

Health Risks

Psychological Stress/Anxiety

Disturbed Mother-child Relationship

Delay in Education

Change of Schools

Threat of Marriage

Overall, the perceptions of the secondary school students of the consequences of early pregnancy seem to be somewhat dramatized and exaggerated in comparison to the consequences as experienced by the child mothers.

The secondary school students stated that if one got pregnant it would lead to complete rejection by the family and by society in the majority of the cases. However, none of the interviewed girls stated that this was the case.

There were some cases of unrest or upheaval in the family as reaction to the girl's pregnancy but in none of the cases this led to full rejection. Fathers and brothers were most often stated to have problems with the girl's pregnancy, mothers were most often said to be supportive of the girl. All but one girl stated that the pregnancy resulted in the termination of the relationship with the male that impregnated the girl. About half of the girls had said that they had gotten pregnant from somebody they had been engaged with for a longer period of time and that their pregnancy led to the termination of this relationship. This caused much grief to most of the girls. There were also some cases reported where the pregnancy of the girl led to friction between the family of the girl and that of the boy who impregnated the girl, which in some cases led to the threat or the execution of a court case.

As for the point of health risks, which was regarded as an important consequence by the secondary school students, there were some girls that reported that they experienced health problems during their pregnancy or delivery of the child. However, the most frequently mentioned health risk by the secondary school students, high blood loss, was not reported by the child mothers. Most secondary school students seemed of the opinion that health risks were greater for child mothers due to their young age. Few child mothers reported facing health problems related to this. All child mothers reported they experienced an increase of stress and anxiety or other psychological issues due to their pregnancy.

Although this was not directly mentioned by the secondary school students, the related issues of loss of opportunities and feeling ashamed of one self were frequently mentioned. Some child mothers also reported difficulties with connecting to their child because of this, and most reported it was only until the stress of loss of opportunities had decreased that the disturbed relationship with their child could be improved. In line with loss of opportunities, the secondary school students had mentioned lack of education as an important cause of early pregnancy.

Because all the girls interviewed had been able to return to school or are waiting for a sponsor to support them financially with returning, there was no actual loss of education for these girls but all of them experienced a delay in their education ranging from two months to three years. Additionally, all girls had to change schools.

Another frequently mentioned consequence by the secondary school students was early marriage and this turned out to be an important consequence for the child mothers as most girls said they had experienced pressure from family or surrounding people to get married. All stated that someone in their family had prevented that from happening, which was why they were able to return to school.

Causes

As the part of the interview focusing on the causes of early pregnancy as experienced by the child mothers was structured differently than the part dealing with the experienced consequences, the comparison of the perceived and experienced results will therefore also have a different format and there will be not listing of causes as perceived by the secondary school students compared with those as experienced by the child mothers. Rather, the list of causes as perceived by the secondary students will be used to discuss per cause whether they played a role in the pregnancies of the child mothers. As mentioned previously, the ranking exercise did not yield results in the way imagined prior to conducting the interviews. The girls did not seem to understand the ranking exercise, however, it did open up the possibilities of discussing the prevalence of the causes as mentioned by the secondary school students. The additional causes will be discussed afterwards.

The main cause as mentioned by the secondary school students was poverty. Of the child mothers, four responded that they had been given money or goods in exchange for sex. This ranged from one girl explaining that she had specifically been given money in exchange for sex and to girls stating that their boyfriends had given them presents, which could include money, and, one girl said, this was what made the relationship strong.

The second most often mentioned cause by the secondary school students was ignorance and/or lack of education. Most of the child mothers indeed reported that they did not know they could get pregnant from having sex. There was only one girl that reported she had used a condom but that it had broke during the intercourse. Most girls indicated that they had never received education about sexual and reproductive health issues neither at school nor at home.

Few girls stated that their mothers had told them about getting pregnant but had not explained it in detail and they had thus not understood it completely. This sentiment of not understanding the education on such matters was also expressed by the girls who had said they received education on it at school as they said the topic was only briefly covered and parts had been left out.

Bad groups or influence of peers was also mentioned by the secondary school students and this was reiterated in the stories of the child mothers. About half said they had experienced pressure from peers to engage in sexual relations. In addition to that, all girls reported that they had felt pressure to have sex from their lovers.

Parental influence was another cause according to the secondary school students. The child mothers expressed that parental influence was sometimes a cause as parents did not inform their children about how to prevent pregnancy. Additionally, few girls explained they experienced pressure from their parents to engage in sexual relations in exchange for money, goods or other favours. Pressure from parents in the form of having already selected a future husband and encouraging the relationship with him.

Puberty mentioned by few secondary school students as a cause of early pregnancy in the sense that hormones might influence a girl's behaviour. It is interesting that most of the child mothers indicated that puberty was the main cause of early pregnancy and interpreted puberty in the sense that "if I didn't get puberty, I couldn't be pregnant", possibly indicating that the girls were already engaging in sexual intercourse before they reached pubic stage and that only now they could get pregnant from having sex.

Cultural traditions were mentioned by few girls. Both the secondary school students and the child mothers talked about cultural events such as esoto causing early pregnancy. Girls stressed there was a cultural emphasis on engaging in sex from an early age. Additionally, cultural traditions was mentioned as a cause by some child mothers in that they could not sleep in their house if there father was in making it necessary for them to find another place to sleep and made them thus more vulnerable. Societal institutions such as this one were mentioned by almost all girls. All the girls said that had become pregnant by a Korianga and all expressed that they felt pressure from him to engage in sex. The institution of moranhood maintains that morran "own" the girls and can sleep with them and that girls necessarily have to comply. Lastly, the secondary school students indicated that no consequences for boys made boys less careful and thus more likely to impregnate a girl. Few of the child mothers reported there were any consequences for the boys.

Meeting with parents

During the meeting with parents we were presented with a narrative of consequences of early pregnancy that did not match our previously gathered information. The participating mothers assured us repeatedly that no one had opposed their daughters' return to formal education. They all stated that no one had suggested marriage or expressed to favor this. They painted a picture of complete harmony and an unopposed return to school. In spite of repeated prodding, they were unwilling to change this story, even though it did not come across as very credible. However, after we finished the focus group discussion, two of the mothers went to our assistant-translator (who is Maasai herself) to explain their behavior during the discussion. They told her that of course there were no Maasai who wanted their daughter to go to school rather than stay at home or get married, referring to their husbands and other relatives. They were afraid that if Sauti Moja would hear about this, they might discontinue the sponsorships for their children. This statement reveals the true complications that girls and those supporting their education face when striving for a return to school after pregnancy. Not only do they experience constantly opposing forces within their own family and society, but they also fear judgment and misunderstanding from those outside. Parents supporting child mothers wishing to return to school often encounter a serious struggle and have trouble securing help from the side of family or outside organizations.

- Discussion of the results -

Preparing the focus groups

In preparing the focus group we encountered several issues. The first issue we encountered concerned the timing of our proposed research as there was a teacher's strike going on, which meant that many teachers and educational staff were not present at school which made the arranging of the focus groups and the key informant interviews more complicated. We decided to postpone the key informant interviews until the second phase of our research and focus mainly on the arranging of the focus group. Another complicating factor for the focus groups was the national population census that was going to be held at end of August for all students went home to their home area for the whole month of August which was originally normal school month. This meant that we would not be able to organize our focus groups at the schools themselves but would have to arrange for the students to come back to the school or a by us arranged meeting point. This had certain logistical and budget complications as we now needed to arrange and compensate for transport. To solve this problem, we asked the headmasters to find us students that, apart from being enrolled in Form 4 and being from Maasai heritage, lived in the area close to the school which for the Longido students meant in Longido town and for the Engarenaibor students in close to the village of Engarenaibor or Mundarara. This new criteria did influence our results as our pool of participants was now more limited to people coming from town or village and might limit the inclusion of participants from more rural or remote places which might affect the representativeness of our sample.

Another issue that was raised when arranging the focus groups by the headmaster of the Longido Secondary School was the motivation of students to come to the focus groups as they were now on holiday and had to come back especially for these meetings. He suggested that it was customary for researchers or people that came to solicit information from the school in any form to contribute money to the school or at least to the students concerned. Up until this point, we had not considered compensating the students for their contributions as the project we were aiming at conducted was not mainly focussed on collecting data but had a large awareness raising component and we had assumed that the focus groups would be conducted at the schools. Considering that students would have to travel to the Sauti Moja office for the Longido students and back to school for the Engarenaibor students, we thus decided to compensate any travel expenses that might be made plus compensate the students lunch money of 2,500 Tanzanian shillings per person per session. For every session a student would attend they would get this money. Although this amounted to costs we had not reckoned with before, it did create a way for us to ensure motivation to attending the focus groups and was essential in the period of holidays. Because we were not allowed to host the Longido meetings at the school, we asked the Longido students to come to the Sauti Moja office where we hosted the meeting outside on

benches. For the Engarenaibor meetings we went to the school and used an empty class room for the meetings. We do not think the environment had an effect on the liberty of speech of the participants as we felt that all participants spoke freely, which also might be explained by the fact that there were no people present at the campus of the Engarenaibor Secondary School during the times of the focus groups.

On focus groups

We encountered few problems conducting of focus groups. The main issue we faced concerned timeliness of our participants (or the lack thereof) who sometimes showed up more than an hour later than the time set to meet them. In advance we had prepared personalized papers for each participants indicating the date, time and place of the meeting. However, there was still a lot of unclarity about the time of meeting resulting into some participants showing up too early and some too late. We had mixed up for two people because we had judged from their names that they were of different sex than they actually were which resulted into a mix-up for these two participants but after making a phone call we could settle the matter. We had asked phone numbers of all students and had provided them with our phone numbers as well. Although the students could now let us know if they could not make it and it was somewhat easier to reach the students to check whether they were coming via this medium, it did bring some difficulties such as that there in no phone reception in the Mairowa area and that most students did not have their own phone or seemed to have written down random phone numbers of people that were necessary able to come into contact with the students.

The students participated very well in the discussions. Although they needed to warm up some what in the beginning, in the end they were very open and willing to answer any questions we might have. The Problem Tree diagram was a very good way to facilitate discussion as it allowed them to think first and then asked for an explanation to why they written down what they had which immediately triggered the initiative to talk and made the students less hesitant to engage in discussion. The small groups also aided in creating a open and comforting atmosphere. Although the groups were small, this worked out very well as everyone had enough time and opportunities to speak. We noticed that when the groups were bigger or when we had the integrated gender discussion, some students felt less comfortable with speaking up that had contributed to the discussion before. We noticed some girls at the Engarenaibor Secondary School felt less comfortable during the discussion with the boys but those were only few and apart from that the discussion between the boys and girls was very informative and triggered great discussions. It was certainly helpful that we saw all groups multiple times as we noticed that the later discussions were much more open than the earlier ones. The organization of the discussions with consequences first and causes after was worked out very well in the sense that the causes of early pregnancy were sometimes more controversial and could be related to on a more personal level which was easier discussed in the meetings were this level of *congeniality* was already established. The repetition of the structure of the discussions as first asking them to

write down the consequences and elaborate and discuss them and next to write down the causes and elaborate and discuss them ensured that all participants knew the way of proceeding in the discussions and were aware of what was going on. At the end of each session we explained what we would do in the next session and asked the students to prepare for it, which helped to establish an idea of the course of action for the students and already sensitized them for the next session which could then more easily start. At the end of each focus group, there was time for questions or remarks. At the end of the fourth focus group which was the combined gender group we asked the students whether they had any questions for us about our culture and about what such issues are like in our culture as to provide an opportunity for them to get to know our culture and obtain knowledge on different perspectives on sexual and reproductive health.

The four groups came with relatively similar responses as causes and consequences of early pregnancy. There was a difference between the students from the Longido Secondary School and the Engarenaibor Secondary School as that the students from the latter school seemed to come from more rural and traditional backgrounds. It should be noted that there appears to be a quite substantial difference in the quality of education at the two schools. The Longido Secondary School is known to be one of the best secondary schools in the district based on students' performance and for that reason attracts students from a large area that seem to come from a better socioeconomic background than the students from the Engarenaibor Secondary School who seem to come mainly from the villages surrounding the school which are characterized by a rural setting and dispersed population for which pastoralism is still the most common livelihood. This difference seems to be even greater for boys than for girls probably because girls that make it to Form 4 at the Engarenaibor Secondary School are quite a small selection. For the Engarenaibor groups there were few boys and one girl that came to the meeting dressed in traditional Maasai attire whereas all of the students of the Longido groups came dressed in either the school uniform or other clothing that would not be regarded as traditional. The location of the meetings could play a role in this as the Engarenaibor Secondary School is located in a rural area surrounded by boma's whereas the office is located in Longido town. This differences between the groups also became apparent from the use of Maa as language of discussion. At Engarenaibor, the students, especially the boys, switched to Maa a few times during the discussion whereas both of the Longido groups did not use Maa during their discussions at all. This difference seems to apply mainly to the boys groups who were the ones who discussed frequently in Maa and initiated the change to Maa during the mixed gender discussion.

As stated before the Problem Tree diagram was very useful in facilitating an open discussion. Because we asked the students to write down consequences and causes by themselves prior to the discussion, we minimized the risk of students copying what other people had said and increased the opportunity for the creation of a wide range of factors. Often written down causes and consequences thus hold a high validity due to the minimization of such comprising factors. With regards to the third focus group where the students could see the consequences they had mentioned last time, it is possible that these might have influenced the outcomes of the

causes. This risk is higher for the boys groups because they had not thought about these factors before and smaller for the girls groups as they were the same ones who came up with the factors. The fact that cultural factors were often mentioned as a most important cause might, apart from being an important cause, be influenced by the fact that the students knew that this project had specifically selected these students because of their Maasai heritage which could have led to the perception that this was what the research was aimed at finding. To minimize the risk of students basing their answer to the question of what they regarded as the most important factor on the frequency of it being written down on a piece of paper that now hung visibly on the poster, we asked this question at the mixed gender session where we had grouped the papers together according to the general themes. Although this limits the influence of what they had seen before, it does create a possible new influence due to the presence of the boys. This minimization could only take place for the causes as there were multiple sessions dedicated to this, concerning the consequences it is possible that the answers the girls gave were influenced by the frequency of the occurrence of a paper with that cause on it. Although we had asked all the participants to mention the consequence and cause they deemed the most important, the first sessions that did not seem to be conveyed as well and everybody agreed with what one person had said, possibly due to misunderstanding by our translator or to tiredness after the long discussion. Additionally to that, peers might have influenced the answers to the question of which factor was deemed the most important although there was quite a variety of answers.

A problem with the particular methodology of the Problem Tree was that the participants found it difficult to adhere the described way. In spite of asking them specifically and repeatedly to make their statements in as few words as possible they often wrote down rather lengthy explanations. As a result of this, we had to do a certain amount of abstractification ourselves and group the answer under a general themes which imposed more of our personal interpretation on the discussions.

On child mother interviews

To start with, the arranging of the individual interviews with the child mothers was quite a complicated task as it was difficult to gather all the accurate information concerning the girls' whereabouts as the holiday due to the national census made that some girls went home but others stayed at school. In the end we managed to interview nine girls in their home environment and visited three girls at school. The girls at school might have felt slightly less comfortable due to the interview being visible to other students but we tried to minimize this by taking the girls to a quiet and private place on the school properties and reassuring the girls that we had the school staff we were here to talk to them because Sauti Moja sponsored them or helped them to find a sponsor and had not informed anyone that it dealt with questions concerning their pregnancy. We felt that the environment did not greatly affect the girls freedom of speech as all girls were surprisingly open about their stories and were willing to answer all of the questions. All the interviewed girls shared their stories with us and some of them were moved to tears while doing that. The interviews did not give any large problems. The most difficulties were encountered

during the second part of the interview where we asked the girls to do a ranking exercise concerning the causes of early pregnancy. This exercise proved to be too complicated or abstract for some of the girls as they did not seem to understand the concept of ordering the causes in order of biggest to smallest occurrence in their perception. Therefore the results of this exercise as generating an idea of what the most frequently occurring cause is according to the child mothers' experiences were thus discarded. However, the ranking exercise did prove to be an exceptionally useful tool in opening up certain sensitive areas of discussion which otherwise would not be as easy to initiate. Therefore, although the exercise didn't yield the results in the form originally anticipated, it did prove to be a very valuable tool to gather information during the interviews. In all, the structure of the interview proved to be constructive way of gathering information and adequate the nature of both the topic of discussion and the participants. Another issue we encountered during the individual interviews was that there were some significant difficulties with answering seemingly simple questions with regards to time and age indications. Many girls were not able to give an accurate indication of their own age nor of that of their baby. For example, in one of the cases a girl reported the current age of 26 whereas afterwards we were able to check in her official records that she was born in 1992 and thus some 6 years off her actual age. Questions concerning periods of time such as the length of the time spent at home before the baby or between delivery and return to school appeared equally complex. Answers provided concerning such matters should thus be seen within the more general aversion of counting prevalent within Maasai culture and results on these issues should therefore be interpreted within a considerable margin.

On the meeting with child mothers

The meeting with the child mothers combined proved not very successful. The girls were not contributing many ideas and when asked gave short answers. Only some of the girls we had interviewed prior to the meeting were engaging in the discussion. Whereas we had thought that it would be easier for these girls to share their stories as all of the girls in the group had been through the same experience, in reality this did not turn out to be the case as the girls actually seemed more hesitant to tell their story than they had been when asked individually. Another possible factor contributing to their lack of input could be that this focus group took place at the end of an already quite full day and the girls had grown tired and weary.

On the meeting with parents

We had some considerable difficulties with the meeting with one of the parents of the child mothers. Firstly, we feel that the mothers did not feel free to speak to us as they seemed to be afraid what they said could have consequences for the sponsorship of their daughters. They thus portrayed a mainly positive picture of what happened when their daughters got pregnant thereby influencing the accurate representation of reality. Additionally, there were difficulties with the questions we asked them as the mothers seemed only to understand the question if it was asked with a very high degree of specificity thereby limiting the possible answers and undermining the

often subtle nature of the question. This hesitation of the mothers towards sharing the stories underlines the sensitiveness of the topic and the difficulties the girls often face with their parents in the event of pregnancy during secondary school. Lastly, there was the issue of language use as some of the mothers preferred for the focus group to be conducted in Maa and some in Swahili, with both groups not being able to understand each other.

On working with a translator

Furthermore we encountered difficulties with working with a translating assistant as she has was sometimes difficult to understand and had a some what limited vocabulary of English which made it difficult to convey and understand subtle messages. We also encountered difficulties with the transcribing of the focus groups as she was not very capable of using a computer which resulted in her writing out the Swahili parts which took a long time and required typing them out on our side after that. Apart from these nuisances, having a research assistant turned out to be a very valuable asset as she was not only able to translate for us but also explain sometimes in more depth if there was any confusion. On the meetings with students, interviews plus at the meeting with parents, with moms good that she spoke Maa and could switch to that easily as it made the girls more comfortable.

- Conclusion -

To conclude, we summarize the most important findings and provide an interpretation that establishes a broader link with the literature. Concerning the causes of early pregnancy, pressure on students, especially girls, to engage in sex was an often-cited cause of early pregnancy according to the participants. Both girls and boys face influence from their peers at home and at school to engage in sexual relations, amounting to a pressure that seems often hard to withstand. Whether this pressure is particularly important for Maasai students remains dubious. Especially the boys seemed to experience considerable pressure from their fellow moran, especially at home from those not attending school themselves. These same moran groups seem to also influence girls. The girls however, put much emphasis on the pressure exerted by peer groups in school, an opinion shared by the boys as well. The girls even mentioned that social pressure to have sex “is the same for all tribes”.

Students said they received formal education on sexual and reproductive health issues in Form three, which many considered too late, as sexual activity tends to commence at an earlier time. Ideally speaking, students indicated that education on such matters should come from parents, although in reality these topics were difficult to discuss and depended also on the level of education of the parents. Parental influence is mentioned by all groups in some form but appears not to be seen as an independent contributor to early pregnancy, but rather only in combination with cultural traditions, as in parents allowing their children to attend an esoto. In that instance, parents seem to signify a contributor to Maasai students' twofold identity, as they are at the same time 'students,' who are supposed to be 'modern' citizens subscribing to a very different narrative than that of the 'Maasai.' Students might find themselves in a torn position as their parents may expect and pressure them to assert their 'Maasai' identity, or fail to support them or adequately prepare them in asserting themselves primarily as students, leading to a situation where those identities come to conflict.

Cultural factors also seem to play a role with regards to preference of measures of contraception. All participants agreed that natural ways such as safe days and withdrawing were more often used than “artificial” ways such as condoms or the contraceptive pill. Condoms especially seem to be counterintuitive to Maasai sexual logic, as it is held that “semen is like medicine for girls” as it makes them stronger and healthier. Interestingly, while many cite withdrawing as a contraceptive method (which also leads to a 'wasting' of semen), upon further asking many boys and girls agreed that while a girl might demand of a boy he withdraw, and while the boy may promise to do so, he will often fail to actually keep his promise, intentionally as well as accidentally. This hints at girls' limited agency over contraceptives which will be discussed shortly. Overall these findings suggest that the use of contraceptives is extremely poor. There do not seem to be many consequences for boys if they impregnate a girl and it seemed to be that they do not often consider contraceptive measures when engaging in sexual intercourse.

Girls on the other hand, hardly seem to be in the position to use contraceptives or introduce them in a relationship. At home this is not supported as it goes against the cultural logic of sex, and at school it is even less condoned as students' sexual activity is denied and prohibited. According to the participants, girls engaging in sexual intercourse in exchange for money have an even more vulnerable position, as they lose all agency in the discussion on contraceptive measures (as she cannot tell the man “to eat the candy with the wrapping on if he paid for it”).

Thus, we may conclude that it is a host of social and cultural factors that lead to early pregnancy. However, overall, poverty was indicated as one of the most important causes of early pregnancy, reflecting the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of the wider region, and the Maasai in particular. Due to the difficult socioeconomic position of many Maasai who predominantly rely on pastoralism as a source of income in a time of detrimental environmental and historical developments, a substantial amount of girls seems to find themselves in a position where they do not have access to the means to cater for their needs, especially when in school. For that reason, poverty is seen as causing girls to engage in sexual intercourse in exchange for money or goods, and cannot be seen separate from ignorance or lack of education, which was also mentioned as a cause by the participants. Due to poverty the girls resort to providing sexual favors, but it is ignorance about ways of preventing pregnancy that causes them to fall pregnant. However, as mentioned before, the fact that sex is in exchange for money severely weakens a girls' ability to exert agency in the issue of contraceptives. Therefore, early pregnancy could be regarded not only as a result of particular social and cultural factors, but just as much as an expression of structural and symbolic violence, as it consistently targets marginalized parts of the population or those that are more vulnerable (in this case the poor, and women), as a result of structural inequalities that are perpetuated systematically in Maasai, Tanzanian, and global society.

Regarding the consequences of early pregnancy, the notion of rejection by parents and society was a particularly salient point during the discussions with the girls, which seems to be at odds with the positive value of fertility and children among Maasai. Especially since there are accounts of limited social stigma associated with pregnancy before marriage (confirmed by girls and boys) this seems to be conflicting information. However, upon further inquiry, they stressed that the shame felt for falling pregnant was not caused by the pregnancy per se, or even by the exposure of having sexual relations, but by the failure to successfully make use of an exceptional opportunity. Most girls seem to be very aware of their privileged position, as there is a limited amount of girls that attend secondary education, especially among the Maasai population. They recognize on the one hand the sacrifice their parents make to send them to school, by financial means and in terms of taking a risk by choosing an often not obvious course of action for their daughters, and on the other hand the source of prestige their enrollment in school brings along. When a girl falls pregnant it usually means the end of her education, and thereby she causes her parents a loss of face, and a loss of return on their investment. This illustrates the rather torn position Maasai girls in secondary education can find themselves in, as their status derived from

following an education results in a skewed application of cultural norms, as they are supposed to engage in sex yet postpone their fertility, exposing them to conflicting pressures.

The termination of education following early pregnancy was regarded as a grave consequence in its own right as well, which is in line with the girls' high valuation of formal schooling. Consequently, loss of this education would result in not meeting your life plans and goals, and will render a girl unable to obtain the future she envisioned for herself. Rather, it will lead to early marriage, in which according to the female participants the girl will have no say. Thus, in the narrative the girls provide, education seems to be the determining factor in the degree of agency a girl can exercise over her own life. A successful pursuit of formal education is perceived to lead to a certain degree of liberation from societal norms and control, whereas failure in this area is deemed to lead to imminent surrender to external, mainly masculine, control, in the form of the father and following the husband. In this narrative of female agency it is especially notable that in this case it seems to be negotiated *through* the female body. In a sense this new-found agency is contested through and symbolized by sexual relations. When a girl's fertility betrays her and takes precedence over her intellectual efforts, it will once again be claimed by patriarchal control. As the perceptions of the implications of early pregnancy indicate, Maasai girls in school are continuously iterating a new gender role, which can potentially bestow more agency on them. However, they are in a very precarious position, as their newly found agency does hardly extend to sexual relations, posing them at a continuous risk to a return of the status-quo.

After comparing the story above to the interviews with child mothers it becomes apparent that the narrative provided by the secondary school students is somewhat of a dramatized account. They perceive the impact of early pregnancy as grave and sudden, and as making a difference like day and night. In reality however, there appears to be a gradually sliding scale of gravity of the consequences. There are many grey areas, where the early pregnancy leads to difficulties and creates problems, but is also a source of joy and newfound strength for girls and their family.

The impression of the causes of early pregnancy becomes slightly altered when taking child mothers' experiences into account. Most clearly, too much importance seems to be given to sexual relations in exchange for goods and money, and too little to lack of education. Firstly, few girls confirm that they received money or gifts from their boyfriends, and when they do these are sometimes of minor importance, and not the core reason for the existence of the relationship. Secondly, whereas secondary school students refer to ignorance mainly as misunderstandings and misconceptions related to sexual and reproductive health, most child mothers attest of a complete lack of awareness of even the most basic knowledge concerning sex and pregnancy. Next to this, it was interesting that all participating child mothers were made pregnant by a korianga, a member of the current group of moran. Whereas this is unsurprising to the extent that the korianga comprise of all young, unmarried men in Maasai society, not an unusual suspect group to engage in sexual relations with young girls, it is an expression of an underlying cultural logic after all. The participating girls were all attending school, where a small minority of the

student population is made up of Maasai. So even though throughout they had much more exposure to boys and men of other ages and ethnic backgrounds, it was exclusively Maasai koriganga that they were made pregnant by, and therefore presumably this is the only or by far the largest group they had sex with. This is likely to be the result of the specific characteristics of the institution of moranhood, which endows members with disposal over uncircumcised girls in Maasai society as their sexual partners. Maasai social interaction is based on sanctioning these relationships while prohibiting others. This intricate and far-reaching social system is difficult to escape, leaving many girls vulnerable to pregnancy from this group. Therefore, their Maasai background plays a role in girls' increased vulnerability to pregnancy.

The societal and parental pressures associated with Maasai society and specifically moranism is experienced as an important factor in engaging in sexual relations. According to child mothers the pressure from female relatives is high, and withstanding it often comes at the cost of a difficult social position. Moreover, the pressure put on the girls by their lovers or boyfriends is considerable as well, and often a decisive factor to engage in sex.

During the interviews with the child mothers it became clear what the most important challenges are they face when they want to return to formal education. The most important impediment for a return to school appears to be marriage. First of all marriage poses a threat by offering an alternative, and not a complementary, course of action to education. Once a girl is married it is extremely unlikely that her husband will allow her to attend school.

Secondly, an important challenge many child mothers face is a lack of support from their family. The family or certain members of it do often not back their choice to return to school and are therefore reluctant to provide support, both material and spiritual, or to even give permission. Thirdly, a problem many girls face and often a decisive factor is a lack of funds. Many families struggle to have their children attend school, and when a girl falls pregnant the strain of having to repeat one or more grades can prove too much. This is exacerbated by the additional expenses an extra child brings. Beside this, in some cases the pregnancy of a girl leads to her mother experiencing diminishing income as a punishment from the father, which again worsens the problem.

Thus, taking into account the experiences of child mothers, the impression of the school-going Maasai girl being in the process of re-negotiating the female role in society persists. Therefore we can note that early pregnancy only becomes *too early* when girls move into a social system with norms and values that are different from those that many at their homes uphold. Yet, there are possibilities to reconcile the two and for girls to carve out their own path.

- Further Research -

After conducting this research project, we have several suggestions for directions that future researchers could take. One of the most pressing questions raised by our findings is how early pregnancy can most effectively be prevented. We have mapped out the most important causes, but this does not provide an answer to the problem yet. In the future it would be worth looking into what methods could be devised to prevent early pregnancy and how they can be applied in such a way that they show positive results.

A question related to this is the question how youth can be educated most effectively on issues of sexual and reproductive health. The fact that none of the child mothers knew how to become pregnant at the time of conception, and that myths and misconceptions persist among secondary school students who have received formal education on the topic, forms a strong indication that current educational efforts come to late and are ineffective. Thus, improved education could make a significant contribution towards prevention.

If it is found that education indeed is followed by prevention of pregnancy, it would be worth looking into what the best methods and mediums of education are. An effort could be made to find whether for example, peers, parents, or the schooling system are most suitable to provide sexual and reproductive health education, and what is the optimal time to start doing this.

Another issue that would deserve attention in future research is child mothers' return to formal education. We uncovered some inhibiting and facilitating factors, but more in-depth research is needed in order to gain a proper understanding of the pitfalls and opportunities the process of returning to school offers.

Finally, a topic we were originally interested in, but did eventually not get the chance to explore, is that of second pregnancies. An alarming amount of child mothers face a second pregnancy relatively soon. Whether this means these girls are more vulnerable than those facing a single pregnancy, or whether they were merely unlucky to run into the same problem twice remains a topic of discussion.

- Program Evaluation -

The Sauti Moja child mother program has given many girls new hope and a second chance to obtain an education. The program has certain strengths that are particularly conducive to its successes. Firstly, this is the proactive stance and personal involvement of the staff. The role they take in family mediation and through home visits is key to creating a relationship of trust between the organization and the families of the participants. This trust helps the girls on the one hand bear the emotional burden of their early pregnancies, and enhances their chances of a return to formal education on the other, because the family may be more open to interference from the outside party.

Moreover, Sauti Moja makes a valuable contribution by negotiating with schools that participants attend before as well as after their pregnancy. Through these efforts the amount of time that girls have to repeat can be reduced, and their accomplishments in school are improved by finding them suitable education. Sauti Moja's network and negotiating activities are also of great importance for finding sponsors or scholarship opportunities for the participants.

However, for some girls Sauti Moja's efforts have not been enough. There are some structural changes in the program necessary to increase the number of girls who return to school, and the number who succeed at school. Firstly, it is of great importance that Sauti Moja starts working towards decreasing the waiting time for girls who come looking for a sponsorship. Not only is this period of insecurity a big psychological and emotional burden for these girls, it is an opportunity for those opting for marriage to enforce their decision. Many girls feel an increased pressure to get married while it is still unsure whether they will return to school, and often family eases up after a sponsorship is secured. Therefore, it would be a significant improvement of the program if Sauti Moja could change the system and arrange sponsors before girls enter the program. When it is arranged like this, Sauti Moja could offer new participants the security of a return to school straight away, which would greatly strengthen the girls' and the organization's position in family negotiation.

A second improvement to the program would be the improved accessibility of the hostel on the Sauti Moja compound. There are girls that are in difficult and stressful situations, because they are not welcome at home and have trouble finding other suitable accommodation. Beside this, there is a considerable part of the girls who cannot go home without being at risk of being forced to marry. It would be a possible solution for those girls if they were encouraged to stay in the Sauti Moja hostel.

Moreover, Sauti Moja could make a contribution to girls' success in school by offering tuition over the holidays. Since education offered at schools varies and many girls come from disadvantaged backgrounds, enhanced by their pregnancies, they could benefit from additional education over the holidays. There are other institutions that offer this service, but by organizing it itself Sauti Moja can regulate the quality of the tuition offered and remain closely involved with the participating girls. The environment could provide additional support to these girls, who

often still have difficult home situations and are still working through the impact their pregnancy and the continuing consequences have had on their lives. If it proves impossible to set up tuition at Sauti Moja, the organization should consider offering sponsoring to attend tuition to at least those participants that have trouble catching up at school, or who have no place to go over the holidays.

Finally, Sauti Moja should offer regular and comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education to all participants in the program, as this could help prevent second pregnancies. On these occasions participants should also be educated on contraceptives. The use of these should be encouraged and Sauti Moja should make these available to the participants of the program. Facing the reality these girls are in, it is likely that they will be engaging in sexual relations and they will face difficulties in obtaining contraceptives elsewhere. In line with this, special attention should be given to contraceptive methods that can be applied by girls themselves without interference from their sexual partners, as those are often reluctant to consent. In this respect, especially recommended is the hormonal stick inserted in the arm, since the use of contraceptive pills is prohibited in many schools. If Sauti Moja would inform the participants of the child mother program about this option and aid them in obtaining the implant if they wish, the rate of second pregnancies might be reduced.

- Further Recommendations -

The aforementioned program evaluation included some recommendations specifically geared towards the Sauti Moja child mother program. However, there are some more general suggestions on how to proceed in dealing with early pregnancy that apply to anyone or any organization concerned with the issue and looking to either prevent it or to facilitate child mothers' return to school.

Prevention of early pregnancy

The first step to preventing early pregnancy is early education on sexual and reproductive health. Currently these topics are covered in the formal education system in Standard 7 and Form 3. The Standard 7 curriculum however, does not go into enough detail to regard this as sexual and reproductive health education. The majority of children seems to become sexually active before they reach Form 3, and many even before they reach Standard 7.

Secondly, education on sexual reproductive health needs to be delivered more effectively. The fact that most young people rely on formal education entirely to obtain information on the issue is problematic, since enrollment rates vary, and many are not reached through this channel.

Moreover, educational efforts should take into account some of the most persistent myths and misconceptions surrounding contraception. Some of the most important ones include condoms not being effective, that girls need sperm to develop physically, and that a girl cannot become pregnant if they have sex with many different men.

Next to this, the use and availability of contraceptives should be promoted, rather than discouraged. Since sexual activity is valued highly by students and society it would be foolish to believe prevention will be reached by abstinence. Rather, different methods of contraception should be available to all young people, including information on their proper use, effectiveness, and side effects. Special attention should be given to methods that can be employed by girls autonomously, since in reality girls often face limited possibilities to enforce contraceptive use when their male sexual partners are reluctant. Therefore, methods such as the pill or hormone stick should be made available to girls. While the downside of these methods is that they do not prevent the transmission of STDs, this pragmatic approach would at least prevent unwanted pregnancy.

Finally, parental involvement and advice should be encouraged. Many participants and informants expressed the wish to talk about sexual and reproductive health matters with their parents and to receive education from them. They look to their parents for guidance on these matters and feel lost when their parents ignore the issues they face.

Returning to formal education

There are several ways in which a child mother's return to formal education can be facilitated. Firstly and most importantly, family mediation and counseling should be attempted. Only in rare cases early pregnancy does not result in turmoil and conflict within families. Efforts from third

parties to mediate can have a significant positive influence in the outcome for the girl if return to school is the goal. Counseling to the girls and their relatives can also provide some relief for the emotional burden many experience. Especially to avoid marriage arrangements mediation is of paramount importance. Often times marriage is not so much the most preferred option, but perceived as the *only* option. When somebody offers help in such situation in the form of promoting and arranging alternatives this can lead to families taking different decisions concerning the girl's future.

Secondly, a return to school can be facilitated by providing students with sufficient funds. The availability of a sponsorship is in almost all cases the determining factor whether a girl returns to school or not. Early pregnancy often causes financial stress, since it means expenses on education are not returned, or in case of return, are significantly increased. Moreover, often girls have to return to private schools, leading to much higher school fees. If these can be covered, a girl's return to school is much more likely. However, school fees are often not the only funds that child mothers need to go back to school. The child they leave behind is a source of additional costs that can often be problematic for the family. Moreover, in some cases that girl's pregnancy leads to a reduced income for other family members as well as a means of retribution. Especially mothers suffer from this, and since they most often take care of the babies, this can create a stressful situation that may cause girls to stay at home to make a contribution rather than return to formal education.

Finally, a factor of importance is the collaboration of schools. When schools help child mothers, for example by allowing them to stay at school during pregnancy when convenient for a girls curriculum, or by providing transfer letters or even allowing them to return, a child mother can be saved much trouble when she wishes to return to school after her pregnancy.

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- Appendix 1 -

List of written down factors

Consequences

Grouped according to school

LSS Girls (4 participants)

- Ukosefu wa elimu/ Lack of education
 - o *Kuacha au kufukuzwa shule kaa alikuwa anasoma* To leave or be chased out of school
 - o *Kufukuzwa shule na kuaribu maisha ya ujana* Being chased out of school and destruction of youth
 - o *Kuwa na ukosefu wa elimu kwa sababu unakuta mtoto mwenye umri ya elimu anashauriwa kujihusisha na maswala ya ngono bila kuangali matokeo yake ni nini* Lack of education due to child who is supposed to go to school is convinced to engage in sexual relations without concern for the consequences
- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - o *Kuongezaka kwa watoto wa mitaani* Increase of street children
 - o *Vifo vitaongezeka au umasikini* Increase of death or poverty
 - o *Hatakuwa na maisha mazuri cause atakatisha masomo yake* She will not have good life because she stopped her studies
- Kuhatarisha afya Health risks
 - o *Kupatwa na magonjwa kama vile uvimbe* To contract diseases like swelling
 - o *Vifo vitaongezeka au umasikini* Increase of death or poverty
 - o *Kufa wakati wa kujifungua na umasikini kuwepo* Death during child delivery and increase of poverty
- Kukataliwa na familia na jamii / Rejection by the family and by society
 - o *Kukataliwa na wazazi/na familia yake* Rejected by parents/and family
 - o *Kutengwa na jamii na kuonekana kuwa haufai* Isolation from society and become viewed as useless
- Ndoa za utotoni/ Early marriage
 - o *Kuolewa akiwa bado ni mtoto* To get married when still young
- Kuathirika kisaikologia/ Mental distress
 - o *Kudumaa au kuwa na mawazo ya utu uzima* Stop growing well or think beyond her age
- Other:
 - o *Kupata mimba zi si zo tarajiwa* To get an unexpected pregnancy

ESSGirls (3 participants with 2 coming later (who did not write down consequences))

- Kukataliwa na familia na jamii/ Rejection by the family and by society
 - o *Kudharaliwa hasa kwa wanaume* Lose your value
 - o *Kwa mnyonge na kuona aibu* Shame
 - o *Kufodhaminiwa jamii hudharau msichana aliyejifungua akiwa mdogo na kumutelekeza hunyimwa haki yake ya maisha* Embarrassment

- *Wengine kuendelea kuzaa na wakati mwingine ugomvi na wake za watu* Conflicts with people
- *Kutengwa na wazazi yaani kutojishughulisha na wewe* Rejection by parent
- *Kukataliwa na mpenzi wako au huyo aliye ki mimba* Rejection by lover
- Ndoa za utotoni / Early marriage
 - *Others forced to marriage before the age of majority*
 - *Kuozeshwa kwa nguvu bila idhini yake* Forced marriage
 - *Kularimishwandoa katika jamii zingine au familia humularimisha msicha aliyejifungua kuolewa na mwanaume yeyote bila changuo lako* Forced marriage
- Maisha duni/ Low standards of life
 - *Kushindwa kumlea yule mtoto kwa sababu wakati mwingine atatengwa na jamii na kukosa mahitaji yake ya msingi eg food, shelter and clothes* Unable to take care of the baby
 - *Maisha magumu – msichana ambaye ameshajifungu familia humtenga au kufukuzwa na kasababishia kuishi maisha magumu* Difficult life
 - *Kunyimiva haki yake utotoni kama watoto wengine es elimu, nafasi ya kupingo stori na wezake wa rika/umri mmoja* Lack of rights for girl and baby
- Kuhatarisha afya/ Health risks
 - *Sometimes loss of life due to overbleeding during birth time*
 - *Kifo hutoke pale msichana anapojifungua kwani njia ya kujifungu ni ndogo (umri ni mdogo)* Death
- Not meeting your life plans
 - *Kushindwa kufikia malengo aliyotarajia katika maisha* Not meeting your goals
 - *Kukatisha masomo ambayo ndo ukumbozi* Not meeting your plans

Accumulated (7 participants with 2 coming later (not writing))

- Rejection by the family and by society
 - *Kukatali wa na wazazi/na familia yake* Rejected by parents/and her family
 - *Kutengwa na jamii na kuonekana kuwa haufai* Isolation from society and to become viewed as useless
 - *Kudharaliwa hasa kwa wanaume* Lose your value
 - *Kwa mnyonge na kuona aibu* Shame
 - *Kufodhaminiwa jamii hudharau msichana aliyejifungua akiwa mdogo na kumutelekeza hunyimwa haki yake ya maisha* Embarrassment
 - *Wengine kuendelea kuzaa na wakati mwingine ugomvi na wake za watu* Conflicts with people
 - *Kutengwa na wazazi yaani kutojishughulisha na wewe* Rejection by parent
 - *Kukataliwa na mpenzi wako au huyo aliye ki mimba* Rejection by lover
- Low standards of life
 - *Kuongezaka kwa watoto wa mitaani* Increase of street children
 - *Vifo vitaongezeka au umasikini* Increase of death or poverty
 - *Hatakuwa na maisha mazuri cause atakatisha masomo yake* She will not have good life because she stopped her studies
 - *Kushindwa kumlea yule mtoto kwa sababu wakati mwingine atatengwa na jamii na kukosa mahitaji yake ya msingi eg food, shelter and clothes* Unable to take care of the baby

- *Maisha magumu – msichana ambaye ameshajifungu familia humtenga au kufukuzwa na kasababishia kuishi maisha magumu* Difficult life
- *Kunyimiva haki yake utotoni kama watoto wengine es elimu, nafasi ya kupingo stori na wezake wa rika/umri mmoja* Lack of rights for girl and baby
- Health risks
 - *Kupatwa na magonjwa kama vile uvimbe* To contract diseases like swelling
 - *Vifo vitaongezeka au umasikini* Increase of death or poverty
 - *Kufa wakati wa kujifungua na umasikini kuwepo* Death during child delivering and increase of poverty
 - *Sometimes loss of life due to overbleeding during birth time*
 - *Kifo hutoke pale msichana anapojifungua kwani njia ya kujifungu ni ndogo (umri ni mdogo)* Death
 - *Kudumaa au kuwa na mawazo ya utu uzima* Stop growing well or think beyond her age
- Early marriage
 - *Kuolewa akiwa bado ni mtoto* To get married when still young
 - *Others forced to marriage before the age of majority*
 - *Kuozeshwa kwa nguvu bila idhini yake* Forced marriage
 - *Kularimishwandoa katika jamii zingine au familia humularimisha msicha aliyejifungua kuolewa na mwanaume yeyote bila changuo lako* Forced marriage
- Lack of education
 - *Kuacha au kufukuzwa shule kaa alikuwa anasoma* To leave or being chased out of school
 - *Kufukuzwa shule na kuaribu maisha ya ujana* Chased out of school and destruction of youth
 - *Kuwa na ukosefu wa elimu kwa sababu unakuta mtoto mwenye umri ya elimu anashauriwa kujihusisha na maswala ya ngono bila kuangali matokeo yake ni nini* Lack of education due to a child that is supposed to get an education is convinced to engage in sexual relations without concern for the consequences
- Not meeting life plans
 - *Kushindwa kufikia malengo aliyotarajia katika maisha* Not meeting your goals
 - *Kukatisha masomo ambayo ndo ukumbozi* Not meeting your plans
- Other:
 - *Kupata mimba zi si zo tarajiwa* To get an unexpected pregnancy

Causes

Separate - grouped according to school and gender

LSS girls (5 participants)

- Umasikini
 - *Kuepuka kuwa masikini* To avoid poverty
 - *Ukosefu wa fedha za kujikimu kimaisha (umasikini)* Lack of money to sustain your (poverty)
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Kulingana na umaskini na maisha anayoishi na jinsi anavyoshauriwa* Poverty

- *Kuharibikiwa na maisha na kukosa mwelekeo wa maisha* Life destruction and life direction
- Ujing/ Ignorance
 - *Mtu kuto kuelewa siku zake* A person not understand her menstrual cycle
 - *Kutojitambua* Not understand yourself
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu, elimu ya afya* Lack of education/ health education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Mipango mibaya* Bad plans
 - *Kutoskiliza ushauri ya wazazi au jamii yoyote* To not listen to parents' or society's advice
 - *Kutokuwa makini* Carelessness
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Shinikizo rika* Peer pressure
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad groups
 - *Kushauriwa na watu mbalimbali* Being advised by different people
- Parental influence
 - *Shinikizo la wazazi* Pressure from parents

LSS boys (4 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Umasikini wa jamii nyingi* Poverty among many societies
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
- Ujinga/ Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu ya kijinsia* Lack of gender education
 - *Elimu duni* Low education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Rika* Peer groups
 - *Mazingira* Environment
- Parental influence
 - *Wazazi kuwaa mini watoto wao sana* Parents to trust their children too much
 - *Wazazi kuhitaji mahari* Parents need of dowry
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parent advice
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Kubalehe* Puberty
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Mila na desturi za jamii fulani kumhozesha mtoto* Some societies culture and traditions of engage the child

ESS girls (5 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty

- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini ni chanzo kikubwa ambayo huadhiri wanafunzi mashuleni Poverty*
- *Lack of basic needs of life like food, shelter and clothes*
- Ujinga na ukosefu wa elimu/ Ignorance and lack of education
 - *High rate of illiteracy encourage someone to prostitution she think that she can get money*
 - *Kutopewa elimu hapo unapokuwa Lack of education*
 - *Kutojua siku yako mfano kutopata elimu kuwee ukuwaje Not understanding her menstrual cycle*
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Makundi mabaya wanafunzi wengi huadhiriwa na vikundi vibaya Bad groups*
 - *Bad groups and influence*
- Lack of parental influence
 - *Kutokuwa na wazazi Orphanhood*
 - *Malezi mabaya ya wazazi Bad caring of parents*
- Early engaging in sex
 - *Kuwahi mapenzi uki mdogo Early engaging in sexual relationships*
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Mimba za utotoni inasababishwa na Mazingira kwa sababu tukiangalia wazazi nao wanachangia kwa sababu wanawafu wasichana kwenda esoto watokeo yake wanapata mimba Environmental situation, parents allowing a girl to attend esoto*
- No consequences for boys
 - *Kulokuwepo kwa sheria kali juu ya watu wanaowapatia wanafunzi mimba/ujuaribo No punishment or laws for those that impregnated the students*

ESS boys (5 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Poverty*
 - *Fedha kusababisha mama anawezekumpenda mtu kuajili ya fedha Poverty*
 - *Maisha duni Low standards of living*
- (Lack of) parental influence
 - *Kinasababishwa na uleaje ya wazazi Bad care of parents*
 - *Ukosefu wa wazazi wote wawili Orphanhood*
 - *Early marriage*
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Bad groups*
 - *Mwigo au kuiga Copying behaviour*
- Ukosefu wa elimu/ Lack of education
 - *Kuto elimika kwa jamii Lack of education by society*
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Bad African practice*
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Tabia ya mtoto Behaviour of child*

Accumulated – grouped according to school

LSS (9 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Kuepuka kuwa masikini* To avoid poverty
 - *Ukosefu wa fedha za kujikimu kimaisha (umasikini)* Lack of money to sustain your life (poverty)
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Kulingana na umaskini na maisha anayoishi na jinsi anavyoshauriwa* Poverty
 - *Kuharibikiwa na maisha na kukosa mwelekeo wa maisha* Destruction of life and loss of direction
 - *Umasikini wa jamii nyingi* Poverty among many societies
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
- Ujinga/ Ignorance
 - *Mtu kuto kuelewa siku zake* A person not understand her menstrual cycle
 - *Kutojitambua* Not understand yourself
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu, elimu ya afya* Lack of education/ health education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu ya kijinsia* Lack of gender education
 - *Elimu duni* Low education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Shinikizo rika* Peer pressure
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad groups
 - *Kushauriwa na watu mbalimbali* Being advised by different people
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Rika* Peer groups
- (Lack of) parents influence
 - *Mazingira* Environment
 - *Shinikizo la wazazi* Pressure from parents
 - *Wazazi kuwaa mini watoto wao sana* Parents to trusting their children too much
 - *Wazazi kuhitaji mahari* Parents need of dowry
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Mipango mibaya* Bad plans
 - *Kutoskiliza ushauri ya wazazi au jamii yoyote* To not listen to parents' or society's advice
 - *Kutokuwa makini* Carelessness
 - *Kubalehe* Puberty
- Tamaduni/ Cultural Traditions
 - *Mila na desturi za jamii fulani kumhozesha mtoto* Some societies culture and traditions of encourage the child

ESS (10 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini ni chanzo kikubwa ambayo huadhiri wanafunzi mashuleni Poverty*
 - *Lack of basic needs of life like food, shelter and clothes*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Umasikini Poverty*
 - *Poverty*
 - *Fedha kusababisha mama anawezekumpenda mtu kuajili ya fedha Poverty*
 - *Maisha duni Low standards of living*
- (Lack of) parental influence
 - *Kutokuwa na wazazi Orphanhood*
 - *Malezi mabaya ya wazazi Bad caring of parents*
 - *Kinasababishwa na uleaje ya wazazi Bad care of parents*
 - *Ukosefu wa wazazi wote wawili Orphanhood*
 - *Early marriage*
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Makundi mabaya wanafunzi wengi huadhiriwa na vikundi vibaya Bad groups*
 - *Bad groups and influence*
 - *Bad groups*
 - *Mwigo au kuiga Copying behaviour*
- Ujinga na ukosefu wa elimu/ Ignorance and lack of education
 - *High rate of illiteracy encourage someone to prostitution she think that she can get money*
 - *Kutopewa elimu hapo unapokuwa Lack of education*
 - *Kutojua siku yako mfano kutopata elimu kuwee ukuwaje Not understanding her menstrual cycle*
 - *Kuto elimika kwa jamii Lack of education by society*
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Tabia ya mtoto Behaviour of child*
 - *Kuwahi mapenzi uki mdogo Early engaging in relationships*
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Mimba za utotoni inasababishwa na Mazingira kwa sababu tukiangalia wazazi nao wanachangia kwa sababu wanawafu wasichana kwenda esoto watokeo yake wanapata mimba Environmental situation, parents allowing their daughter to attend esoto*
 - *Bad African practice*
- No consequences for boys
 - *Kulokuwepo kwa sheria kali juu ya watu wanaowapatia wanafunzi mimba/ujaribo No punishment or laws for those that impregnated the students*

Accumulated – grouped according to gender

Girls (10 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Kuepuka kuwa masikini To avoid poverty*

- *Ukosefu wa fedha za kujikimu kimaisha (umasikini)* Lack of money to sustain your life (poverty)
- *Umasikini* Poverty
- *Umasikini* Poverty
- *Kulingana na umaskini na maisha anayoishi na jinsi anavyoshauriwa* Poverty
- *Kuharibikiwa na maisha na kukosa mwelekeo wa maisha* Life destruction and loss of direction
- *Umasikini* Poverty
- *Umasikini* Poverty
- *Umasikini ni chanzo kikubwa ambayo huadhiri wanafunzi mashuleni* Poverty
- *Lack of basic needs of life like food, shelter and clothes*
- Ujinga na ukosefu wa elimu/ Ignorance and lack of education
 - *Mtu kuto kuelewa siku zake* A person not understand her menstrual cycle
 - *Kutojitambua* Not understand yourself
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu, elimu ya afya* Lack of education/ health education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
 - *High rate of illiteracy encourage someone to prostitution she think that she can get money*
 - *Kutopewa elimu hapo unapokuwa* Lack of education
 - *Kutojua siku yako mfano kutopata elimu kuwee ukuwaje* Not understanding her menstrual cycle
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Shinikizo rika* Peer pressure
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad groups
 - *Kushauriwa na watu mbalimbali* Being advised by different people
 - *Makundi mabaya wanafunzi wengi huadhiriwa na vikundi vibaya* Bad groups
 - *Bad groups and influence*
- Kubalehe / Puberty
 - *Mipango mibaya* Bad plans
 - *Kutoskiliza ushauri ya wazazi au jamii yoyote* To not listen to parents' or society's advice
 - *Kutokuwa makini* Carelessness
 - *Kuwahi mapenzi uki mdogo* Early engaging in relationships
- (Lack of) parental influence
 - *Kutokuwa na wazazi* Orphanhood
 - *Malezi mabaya ya wazazi* Bad caring of parents
 - *Shinikizo la wazazi* Pressure from parents
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Mimba za utotoni inasababishwa na Mazingira kwa sababu tukiangalia wazazi nao wanachangia kwa sababu wanawafu wasichana kwenda esoto watokeo yake wanapata mimba* Environmental situation, parents allowing their daughter to attend esoto
- No consequences for boys
 - *Kulokuwepo kwa sheria kali juu ya watu wanaowapatia wanafunzi mimba/ujuaribo* No punishment or laws for those that impregnated the students

Boys (9 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Umasikini wa jamii nyingi* Poverty among many societies
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Umasikini* Poverty
 - *Poverty*
 - *Fedha kusababisha mama anawezekumpenda mtu kuajili ya fedha* Poverty
 - *Maisha duni* Low standards of living
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Makundi mabaya* Bad group
 - *Rika* Peer groups
 - *Mazingira* Environment
 - *Bad groups*
 - *Mwigo au kuiiga* Copying behaviour
- (Lack of) Parental influence
 - *Kinasababishwa na uleaje ya wazazi* Bad care of parents
 - *Ukosefu wa wazazi wote wawili* Orphanhood
 - *Wazazi kuwaa mini watoto wao sana* Parents to trust in their children too much
 - *Wazazi kuhitaji mahari* Parents need of dowry
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
 - *Early marriage*
- Ujinga /Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu ya kijinsia* Lack of gender education
 - *Elimu duni* Low education
 - *Ujinga* Ignorance
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
 - *Kuto elimika kwa jamii* Lack of education by society
- Kubalehe/ Puberty
 - *Kubalehe* Puberty
 - *Tabia ya mtoto* Behaviour of child
- Tamaduni/ Cultural traditions
 - *Mila na desturi za jamii fulani kumhozesha mtoto* Some societies culture and traditions of engage the child
 - *Bad African practice*

Accumulated

All (19 participants)

- Umasikini/ Poverty
 - *Kuepuka kuwa masikini*To avoid poverty
 - *Ukosefu wa fedha za kujikimu kimaisha (umasikini)* Lack of money to sustain your life (poverty)
 - *Umasikini* Poverty

- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Kulingana na umaskini na maisha anayoishi na jinsi anavyoshauriwa Poverty*
- *Kuharibikiwa na maisha na kukosa mwelekeo wa maisha Life destruction and loss of direction*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini ni chanzo kikubwa ambayo huadhiri wanafunzi mashuleni Poverty*
- *Lack of basic needs of life like food, shelter and clothes*
- *Umasikini wa jamii nyingi Poverty among many societies*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Umasikini Poverty*
- *Poverty*
- *Fedha kusababisha mama anawezekumpenda mtu kuajili ya fedha Poverty*
- *Maisha duni Low standards of living*
- Ujinga na ukosefu wa elimu/ Ignorance and lack of education
 - *Mtu kuto kuelewa siku zake A person not understand her menstrual cycle*
 - *Kutojitambua Not understand yourself*
 - *Ukosefu wa elimu, elimu ya afya Lack of education/ health education*
 - *Ujinga Ignorance*
 - *High rate of illiteracy encourage someone to prostitution she think that she can get money*
 - *Kutopewa elimu hapo unapokuwa Lack of education*
 - *Kutojua siku yako mfano kutopata elimu kuwee ukuwaje Not understanding her days Ukosefu wa elimu ya kijinsia Lack of gender education*
 - *Elimu duni Low education*
 - *Ujinga Ignorance*
 - *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi Lack of parental advice*
 - *Kuto elimika kwa jamii Lack of education by society*
- Makundi mabaya/ Bad groups
 - *Shinikizo rika Peer pressure*
 - *Makundi mabaya Bad groups*
 - *Kushauriwa na watu mbalimbali Being advised by different people*
 - *Makundi mabaya wanafunzi wengi huadhiriwa na vikundi vibaya Bad groups*
 - *Bad groups and influence*
 - *Makundi mabaya Bad group*
 - *Makundi mabaya Bad group*
 - *Rika Peer groups*
 - *Mazingira Environment*
 - *Bad groups*
 - *Mwigo au kuiga Copying behaviour*
- Lack of parental influence
 - *Kutokuwa na wazazi Orphanhood*

- *Malezi mabaya ya wazazi* Bad caring of parents
- *Shinikizo la wazazi* Pressure from parents
- *Kinasababishwa na uleaje ya wazazi* Bad care of parents
- *Ukosefu wa wazazi wote wawili* Orphanhood
- *Wazazi kuwaa mini watoto wao sana* Parents to trusting their children too much
- *Wazazi kuhitaji mahari* Parents need of dowry
- *Ukosefu wa ushauri kutoka kwa wazazi* Lack of parental advice
- *Early marriage*
- **Kubalehe / puberty**
 - *Mipango mibaya* Bad plans
 - *Kutoskiliza ushauri ya wazazi au jamii yoyote* To not listen to parents' or society's advice
 - *Kutokuwa makini* Carelessness
 - *Kuwahi mapenzi uki mdogo* Early engaging in relationships
 - *Kubalehe* Puberty
 - *Tabia ya mtoto* Behaviour of child
- **Tamaduni**
 - *Mimba za utotoni inasababishwa na Mazingira kwa sababu tukiangalia wazazi nao wanachangia kwa sababu wanawafu wasichana kwenda esoto watokeo yake wanapata mimba* Environmental situation, parents allowing their daughter to attend esoto
 - *Mila na desturi za jamii fulani kumhozesha mtoto* Some societies culture and traditions of encourage the child
 - *Bad African practice*
- **No consequences for boys**
 - *Kulokuwepo kwa sheria kali juu ya watu wanaowapatia wanafunzi mimba/ujuaribo* No punishment or laws for those that impregnated the students

The additional appendixes, such as the transcripts of the focus group discussions and the interviews are left out in this edition of the research report, if you would like to obtain them, please contact Sauti Moja.