To empower Tanzanian schoolgirls

Early school-leaving in Morogoro, Tanzania: current situation and causes of pregnancy-related school drop-out and the possibilities to improve sex education as a preventive measure.

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Abstract

**Objective:** Tanzania faces high numbers of early school-leavers. A significant cause for this in girls is pregnancy. A major government strategy to decrease the high numbers of early school-leaving due to pregnancy is the implementation of school-based sex education in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools since 2004. This study aims to describe the current state of pregnancy-related school drop-out in the Morogoro Region and to explore the current state of school-based sex education. This research concludes with recommendations on how to improve the current practices of sex education in order to prevent more schoolgirls from getting pregnant.

**Methods:** Besides literature study, document analysis and questionnaires, participatory research methods are used in this qualitative and explorative research. First, a theoretical framework based on literature study is made from the causes of early school-leaving and early pregnancy. Subsequently the need for sex education programmes is stated and the requirements of effective sex education programmes are discussed. Five critical areas are described that influence the desired effect of sex education, namely: responding to the specific risks and needs, the existence of favourable school climates, competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education, fitting in with local systems and creating local support, and a conducive policy environment. The findings of this study are largely based on the perceptions and experiences of different actors from Morogoro Region. Data were collected at two primary and two secondary schools through semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, headmasters, parents, people from NGOs and other important actors. Also, a focus group was held with different experts in the field.

**Results:** In the Morogoro Region pregnancy appeared to be the second major cause of school drop-out among girls. A wide range of causes turned out to contribute to the risks that schoolgirls face of getting pregnant. Some causes are related to the individual characteristics of the girls, but a much bigger part is related to external factors. As a consequence girls have needs that are related to deficiencies regarding their own person - like the need for sexual and reproductive health knowledge, future goals and valuing their own education -, but girls have a bigger need for strategies that enable them to cope with the external factors that put them at risk of getting pregnant. Several actors argued that current forms of sex education are not effective because what is given is not enough and does not fit in with the specific needs of pupils. The five critical areas proved to be useful to discuss the difficulties that hinder the effectiveness of school-based sex education and subsequently, to explore possibilities to improve current strategies towards more effective ones.

**Conclusion:** Based on the preceding chapters, answers to all research questions are formulated and possible solutions for the improvement of school-based sex education are worked out in 10 recommendations. From these recommendations it appears that the improvement of sex education depends on different groups of actors that all have a different but strong influence on the final
effectiveness of sex education. To improve the effectiveness of sex education the involvement of actors at all levels and them making an all-out effort are essential.

**Discussion:** In the discussion of this research, the execution and findings of this research are reviewed critically, necessary differentiations are formulated, and suggestions for further research are given. Despite particular difficulties in the collection and analyses of data and although this study is limited to the Morogoro Region and includes four schools only, the findings from this research can be valuable in comparable situations. However, it is recommended to apply an ecological approach in which the broader socio-economic contexts of the target population should play a major part to adequately tackle the issues described.
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### List of abbreviations

- **ABC** = Abstinence, Be faithful, use a Condom
- **A-level** = Advanced Secondary Education, form 5 and 6
- **Atlas-Ti** = Computer programme that helps to systematically analyse complex text data
- **BEST** = Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
- **ESLA** = Early school-leaving Africa
- **FATAKI** = Awareness campaign to convince girls that they have to resist the older men
- **FHI** = Family Health International
- **GDP** = Gross Domestic Product
- **GPI** = Gender Parity Index
- **GTZ** = Deutscher Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
- **ICPD** = International Conference on Population and Development
- **MDG** = Millennium Development Goal
- **MOEVT** = Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
- **NBS** = National Bureau of Statistics
- **NER** = Nett Enrolment Rate
- **NGO** = Non Governmental Organisation
- **O-level** = Ordinary level, form 1-4 secondary school
- **PASHA** = Prevention and Awareness in School of HIV/AIDS
- **PoA** = Programme of Action
- **PS** = Primary School
- **PSLE** = Primary school-leaving Examination
- **SDEP** = Secondary Education Development programme SEGA
- **SNV** = Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilliger (Dutch Development Organisation)
- **SRH** = Sexual Reproductive Health
- **SS** = Secondary School
- **STI** = Sexual Transmitted Infections
- **TAMWA** = Tanzania Media Woman Association
- **TDHS** = Tanzanian Demographic and Health Survey
- **THIS** = Tanzania AIDS Indicator Survey
- **TSH** = Tanzanian Shilling
- **Ujamaa** = Swahili word meaning "brotherhood" important for the sense of national identity
- **Unjago** = Swahili word for the initiation of girls
- **UN** = United Nations
- **UNESCO** = United Nations Educational Science and Culture Organisation
- **UPE** = Universal Primary Education
- **WHO** = World Health Organization
- **YCI** = Youth Challenge International
Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Because education is an important prerequisite for development, access to basic education is an essential means to exterminate poverty and develop materially for many Sub-Saharan African countries (Lewin, 2009). However, despite decades of efforts to achieve general access to education, many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa still face educational problems. One example is the East-African country Tanzania which faces high numbers of early school-leavers due to a range of interacting factors. One of the most significant factors within this range appears to be early pregnancy. This thesis aims to contribute to the combat against early school-leaving through an exploration of how school-based sex education can contribute to reduce early school-leaving caused by pregnancy.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

In 1966, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was ratified by the United Nations. Article 26 in this treaty stated: ‘everyone has the right to education’ (Peels, 2008, p.6). From that moment, education has been recognised more and more as a key demand to development and a fundamental human right. Since the global recognition of the importance of education, substantial investments were realised in education and many programmes and initiatives targeting education initiated (Tukundane, 2008). The UN has set in motion new co-operations between governments and international agencies for development through the stimulation and support of education, such as The Millennium Development Goals 2000 – 2015; Education for All 2000 – 2015; The United Nations Literacy Decade 2003–2012; The United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005–2014 and The Girls and Women Education Initiative 2005. These initiatives strive, among other things, to achieve primary education for every child in the world before 2015 (Zeelen, Linden, Nampota, & Ngabirano, 2010, p.7-8). Yet in spite of these initiatives and the resulting policies and efforts of various organisations, many children are still not enrolled in school, nor are they able to finish their education. According to Lewin and Akyeampong (2009), in Sub-Saharan Africa over 25 million children still do not attend primary education regularly or are not enrolled at all, and the same holds true for 75 million children at secondary level. In fact, far more children finish their education in high delay or fail to reach acceptable levels of numeracy and literacy after leaving the educational cycle. There seems to be a huge gap between educational policies and the realities of educational exclusion.
Consequently, there are doubts about the implementation of the promising programmes that aim to better the access to education. A number of researchers with such doubts united forces with the Early-School-Leavers-in-Africa (ESLA) project. Two of the central goals of this ESLA project became to address the difficulties between well-intended policies and disappointing educational realities and to contribute to reducing the gap between both (Zeelen et al., 2010).

1.2.2 The ESLA-project

Preceding the ESLA project, in the combat against educational exclusion the African and European continents cooperated in the research programme *From social exclusion to lifelong learning* as early as in 1995. This project was initiated in cooperation with the Ministry of Education of Limpopo Province and brought the University of the North (now named University of Limpopo) in South Africa and The University of Groningen in the Netherlands together. Part of the research programme was the ‘BASWA at RISK’ project (BASWA means *youth*) that actively involved stakeholders in the development of interventions programmes that aimed to facilitate routes from education to the labour market (Rampedi & Zeelen, 2000).

Evolving from the successful cooperation in South-Africa, a new project developed with respect to the problem of early school-leaving. In 2007, the *Early-School-Leavers-in-Africa project* was initiated, which entails a cooperation between the Mzumbe University in Tanzania, the Martyrs University in Uganda and the University of Groningen in The Netherlands. (Milanzi, Ngabirano, & Zeelen, 2007). The ESLA project aims to exchange knowledge and experiences through joint research, publications, seminars and the exchange of bachelor, master and PhD students in order to contribute to the fight against early school-leaving (Peels, 2008, p.2).

Several researches have been conducted into the causes and consequences of early school-leaving within the ESLA project. In Tanzania four Dutch master students have published reports so far. In 2008, Tromp gave insight into the current situation of early school-leaving by addressing local causes and possible solutions. In the following year, Zijlstra (2009) also investigated the current state of early school-leavers, but she focused especially on the situations of girls. Both the studies of Tromp and Zijlstra focused on secondary schools in the urban areas of Morogoro Municipality. The third study, conducted by Peels (2008), focused on coping strategies used by early school-leavers and addressed the role of guidance and counselling in the early school-leaving problem. The fourth research dates from 2011. In this research Jonker addressed the tensions between traditional and modern values as a possible cause of early school-leaving in the rural districts of Morogoro Region.

Beside the four Dutch master students, several other Dutch and African researchers contributed to the combat against early school-leaving in Tanzania. One of these contributors is Fundi, a researcher at Mzumbe University, who wrote an article about the vulnerable positions of Tanzanian schoolgirls due to early pregnancy. In Tanzania pregnancy is found to be the third largest cause of early school-
leaving and despite the introduction of school-based sex education in 2004, the number of early pregnancies is still increasing (TCDD, 2008, in Fundi, 2010). To turn this tide, Fundi (2010) argues that the government needs to refocus its current top-down approach into bottom-up approaches that involve communities as important co-constructors of more adequate sex education programmes. The article of Fundi will be elaborated on in paragraph 3.2.

In addition to the four studies conducted already and in particular to the article of Fundi (2010), this specific research examines the current situation of early school-leaving caused by early pregnancy. In Tanzania, girls are sexually active at a young age and a lot of Tanzanian girls already become mother at school age. Furthermore, only 12 percent of the woman between age 15 and 24 are using a modern method of family planning and more than half of the women under the age of 19 are pregnant or already mothers (National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), 2005). When Tanzanian schoolgirls become pregnant, it inevitably leads to the end of their educational careers, because they get expelled from school when their pregnancy becomes known. In spite of the recently developed guidelines that enable girls to continue their education after giving birth, in practice this rarely happens. This study aims to gain a clear understanding of the early pregnancy problem and explores how school-based sex education can contribute to solve the problem of pregnancy-related school drop-out.

1.2.3 Area of research

The master studies for the ESLA project in Tanzania conducted so far were executed in the surroundings of Morogoro. The choice for this specific area results from the fact that the Tanzanian participating University, Mzumbe, is situated in the Morogoro Region. Like the former ESLA researches in Tanzania, this research was conducted in the Morogoro Region as well. However, the choice for this specific area results not only from the fact that Mzumbe University is situated in the Morogoro Region, but also has a reason related to the topic of this research. Although the problem of pregnancy-related school drop-outs is present throughout the country, several reports assumed the problem to be particularly severe in the coastal regions. Although the Morogoro Region is located about 200 kilometres inland, the Morogoro Region is bounded by the coastal regions and is regarded as part of them due to similar cultural values (Fundi, 2010). In 2003, the coastal regions Morogoro and Mtwara recorded the highest number of girls who left school too early due to pregnancy and in the same year, another coastal region, Lindi, recorded 150 cases of pregnancy-related school drop-out. Five years later, in 2008, the coastal regions of Morogoro, Tanga, Mtwara and Lindi still recorded the highest numbers of girls who dropped out due to pregnancy in both primary and secondary schools (TCDD, 2008, in Fundi, 2010). More recent data reported yet another increase in pregnancy-related drop-out rates in Morogoro, Mtwara and Lindi (Makene, 2009).

Beside the fact that Morogoro has one of Tanzania’s highest numbers of early school-leavers due to pregnancy, in the Morogoro Region girls face the biggest gender gap as well. According to a
document from the United Nations (2010), throughout Tanzania the number of boys and girls enrolled in primary schools is at par, but worsen at secondary and higher educational level. The imbalance between gender is recorded to be worst in Morogoro Region (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT), 2010, in United Nations, 2010), which makes this region most appropriate to conduct a study that aims to reduce the marginalised position of girls within the early school-leaving problem by preventing early pregnancy.

1.2.4 Methodology

This study was conducted at primary and secondary schools in Tanzania in the Morogoro Region. Because the problem of early pregnancy is assumed to differ between urban and rural areas, both areas are involved in this research. The researchers of this study decided to visit one secondary school in Morogoro municipality and one primary and two secondary schools in the rural Mvomero District. Since this research was conducted at the initial stage of research into pregnancy-related school drop-outs in Morogoro, an explorative character is necessary. Furthermore, because this research aims to explore how current sex education programmes could be adapted into more adequate programmes in the specific context of Morogoro, a qualitative and participative approach is most appropriate. After a literature review and document analysis, participatory research methods are used to collect and analyse data. Because the findings of this research are largely based on individual perceptions and experiences of actors, general conclusions can only be drawn cautiously. In chapter four, the methodology of this research is discussed in more detail.

1.3 Introduction of the social problem of early school-leaving

1.3.1 Early School-leaving in Tanzania

In Tanzania early school-leaving is a current problem. Tanzania has one of the highest drop-out rates in primary schools (UNESCO, 2005) and is among those countries with one of the lowest secondary school enrolment rates in the world (NBS, 2005). Moreover, during the last few years, the number of early school-leavers in Tanzania has increased (TCDD, 2008 in Fundi, 2010).

The rising number of early school-leavers can be related to several factors. In 2008, truancy was the largest factor and accounted for 78 percent of the total number of early school-leavers, the second largest factors was poor infrastructure, which accounted for nine percent. Early pregnancy, which was ranked third, accounted for six percent of the total number of early school-leavers in Tanzania (TCDD, 2008, in Fundi, 2010).

Like the number of early school-leavers, the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs increased as well. In 2008, both the Minister of Education and Vocational Training and the Tanzanian
President called attention to the rising numbers of girls that leave the educational cycle too early due to pregnancy (Sitta, 2008, in Felix, 2008, in Fundi, 2010). Furthermore, both marked the relevance of adequate intervention to tackle the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy (Fundi, 2010).

1.3.2 Sex education as an intervention in early school-leaving

Available data suggest that in Tanzania a fairly high number of young people is involved in sexual relations, however awareness and knowledge regarding psychological and body changes that occur during adolescence is relatively low (Ministry of Health, 2008). The implementation of school-based sex and reproductive health education in 2004 is one of the measures that the government introduced to tackle the problem of early pregnancy and its harming effects on girls’ school perspectives (Fundi, 2010). However, while school interventions appear to improve knowledge regarding sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and HIV/AIDS significantly and attitudes may consequently change, there seems to be a large discrepancy between intended or reported behaviour and actual behaviour (Plummer et al., 2007). Preceding the start of this research an important assumption was that school-based sex education, according to the current situation in Tanzania, has minimal effects on the behaviour of adolescents. To explore this assumption, this research will examine which factors are contributing to the effectiveness of sex education and which factors have a negative influence on the effectiveness. Subsequently this research will make a first exploration of how current programmes might be improved.

1.4 Aim and structure of the study

1.4.1 Aim and relevance

Education is widely perceived as an important means to create better opportunities. At the 34th session of UNESCO’s General Conference in Paris in 2007, the president of Tanzania, J. M. Kikwete, declared: ‘It is an indisputable fact that education is key to empowerment and key to development’ (Kikwete, 2007, p.6). But as presented above, in Tanzania the number of early school-leavers is very high. As many of the causes of early school-leaving in Tanzania have been explored before by researchers of the ESLA project-group, and early pregnancy plays an important role in the problem of early school-leaving, this thesis will focus on the cause of pregnancy for the specific context of Morogoro Region.

According to The World Bank (2007) gender equity in education has positive effects in many areas. It will have an important influence on the improvement of children’s health and the empowerment of half the world’s population, and it may also lead to the reduction of poverty. In Tanzania early pregnancy is the most important factor to cause a gender gap in educational attainment (Grant & Hallman, 2008). For this reason the prevention of school drop-out due to pregnancy can reduce this
gender gap. An adequate measure to reduce the numbers of early pregnancy and with that, the number of girls who leave school early, proves to be school-based sex education.

Next to the issue of early pregnancy, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is very problematic in Tanzania. About 2.2 million Tanzanians have the virus and about 400,000 are in need of anti-retroviral therapy (MOA, 2004, in USAID, 2008). The consequences of this epidemic affect all spheres of life. 45 percent of all new infections among adults are young people in the age between 15 and 24 years (USAID, 2008). It is generally accepted that for the prevention of HIV/AIDS, effective school-based sex education programmes provide the best avenue to reach a large number of young people and therefore remain essential for comprehensive HIV prevention (Coppard, 2008).

Besides the harming effect of early pregnancy on the early school-leaving problem, early pregnancy also has severe implications for the girl’s individual health. The vast majority of Tanzanian women bear children at a young age, before they are physically and psychologically mature (Shirima & Kinabo, 2002 unpublished data, in Shirima & Kinabo, 2004). If girls are in school when falling pregnant, they will be stigmatised and this will be a shame for their family. Consequently, Tanzanian girls who become pregnant will generally not be open about it, because of fear of parental disapproval due to their sexual activeness. For this reason girls report for treatment late, when STIs might have already damaged. Pregnancies might lead up to unsafe abortions and deliveries, which are no longer preventable, might have severe consequences for the young mothers’ health. According to the THMIS 2007/08 (2008, in United Nations, 2010) unmarried young girls face far the largest risks for unintended pregnancies and by that face a greater risk of induced abortion. Consequently, pregnant adolescent girls account for 23 percent of the total number of maternal deaths. Moreover, for each girl who dies, ten will probably have morbidity severe enough to leave permanent damage (Rwebangira & Liljeström, 1998).

In addition to the importance of fighting against early school-leaving, reducing the number of early pregnancies appears to be relevant to the combat against HIV/AIDS and maternal health risks of teenage mothers as well. By improving current forms of sex education, this research aims to contribute to the combat against early school-leaving in particular, but aims to have relevance to the fight against HIV/AIDS and maternal health problems among adolescent girls as well.

### 1.4.2 Research questions

This research will first present a theoretical framework on the basis of a literature review, with among other things; the rates of early school-leaving caused by pregnancy, the causes of early pregnancy, the potential of school-based sex education and the situational factors that might coerce effective curricula to respond to specific contexts. After the theoretical framework, this descriptive, explorative research will try to give answers to the following two main research questions and different sub questions.
What is the current situation regarding early pregnancy and what are the specific risks and needs of girls concerning early pregnancy in Morogoro?

- Which part does pregnancy-related early school-leaving currently take in the total problem of early school-leaving in Tanzania and the Morogoro Region at present?
- What are the causes of early pregnancy as perceived by local actors from the Morogoro Region?
- What are the needs of schoolgirls in the prevention of early pregnancy as perceived by local actors?

What is the current situation regarding school-based sex education as perceived by local actors and how is it possible to improve sex education towards a more effective intervention to prevent early school-leaving due to early pregnancy?

- How is sex education included in the curriculum?
- What are the current practices of sex education as perceived by teachers, students, parents and other important actors from Morogoro Region?
- How could sex education be improved towards more effective forms in the combat against early pregnancy?

1.5 Design of the thesis

This report contains ten chapters. The next chapter aims to give an historical and situational context of Tanzania, by presenting background information about its history, politics, economics, culture and education. The third chapter covers the theoretical framework of this study. In the theoretical framework, after defining the position in the continuum of qualitative and quantitative research, the theoretical background is stated by a literature review of three relevant topics: early school-leaving, early pregnancy and school-based sex education. The theoretical background is concluded with different presuppositions that form the theoretical framework of this research. In chapter 4 the methodology is discussed. After the methodology the description and analysis of the results starts. In chapter 5 the structure of the following chapters is expounded and a description is given of the four schools where most data have been collected. In chapter 6 the current situation concerning early school-leaving and early pregnancy is given for Tanzania and the Morogoro Region specifically. In chapter 7 the causes of early pregnancy are discussed as revealed by actors from Morogoro. Chapter 7 will conclude with a short overview of the specific risks and needs that schoolgirls from Morogoro have concerning early pregnancy. In chapter 8, the current practices of sex education are presented as organised by the national government. Subsequently, in chapter 9 the local implementation of the national policies are presented through the perceptions of actors involved in this research. Based on the findings presented in the former chapters and the results of a focus group discussion, in chapter 10 a first exploration is presented about how current practices of sex education could be attuned by alternative strategies that may improve
the effectiveness of school-based sex education in Morogoro. In the concluding chapter of this report, all sub research questions will be answered successively, and both the theoretical framework and the yields of this particular research will lead up to the final conclusions and recommendations of this study. To conclude this report, in the discussion chapter the execution and findings of this research are reviewed critically, necessary differentiations are formulated, and suggestions for further research are given.
Chapter 2. Context of early school-leaving due to pregnancy in Tanzania

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide some background information to get a better understanding of the context and the factors that interrelate with the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy in Tanzania. First some general information about the country is discussed, including history, demographic variables, and culture, then general information about Morogoro Region is given. Next, the features of the Tanzanian education system are presented, and lastly, the legal framework in Tanzania concerning education and pregnancy is described.

2.2 Tanzania’s political history

Tanzania has a long history of trade with the Arabs. Especially at Zanzibar the Arabs benefited from the slave and ivory trade. In 1890 Zanzibar became a British protectorate while the mainland of Tanganyika, the former name of Tanzania, was colonised by the Germans. In 1919 Tanganyika was mandated as a British territory under the League of Nations. The indigenous political systems were used to implement British government control. Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and in 1964 the country was renamed the United Republic of Tanzania. Julius Nyerere became the first prime minister of the newly formed Tanzania (Rank, n.d.).

After becoming independent, Nyerere introduced Tanzanian socialism, which was codified in the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Factories and plantations were nationalised and the rural population was organised into collective farming communities. Large investments were made into education and health care. This socialism with its cornerstone *ujamaa* (a Swahili word meaning "brotherhood") was very important for the sense of national identity, yet it was evident that the socialism was an economic failure. (Rwebangira & Liljeström, 1998).

Tanzania’s president and National Assembly members are democratically elected for a five-year term and the prime minister is appointed by the president. After Nyerere, Ali Hassan Mwinyi was elected in 1985 and ruled 10 years, Benjamin Mkapa ruled from 1995 and in 2005 Jakaya Kikwete became the new president. Kikwete also served as chairman of the African Union as of January 2008. Tanzania is divided into 26 administrative regions: 21 on the mainland, three on the island of Zanzibar and two on the island of Pemba. It is further divided into 99 districts. In recognition of delegating greater authority to the local communities, district councils have been created. Zanzibar maintains a semi-autonomous system of government with its own president elected by Zanzibar’s population through multiple party elections (Rank, n.d.).
2.3 Tanzania’s population and economical situation

Tanzania (APPENDIX 1A) has a young, fast growing population with 44 percent of people aged under 15 and only three percent is 65 years or older. The life expectancy at birth was 52 years in 2006 (World Bank, 2009). In 2009 the annual population growth was 3.6 percent. With approximately 40.7 million people in 2009, Tanzania has the second largest population in East Africa, after Ethiopia (The Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2009). Tanzania has a surface area of 947,300 square kilometres, which is about 23 times larger than The Netherlands. More than three quarters of the Tanzanians live in rural areas. With 2.7 million people Dar es Salaam is the most populous city and it accounts for the majority of commercial activity (World Bank, 2009). However, the official capital city is Dodoma, because of its central position in Tanzania. The capital of Zanzibar is Stonetown.

Tanzania is among the poorest countries in the world. Tanzania’s GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is 16.2 billion. Results from a household budget survey in 2007 indicated that about 34 percent of the Tanzanian population lives under the national poverty line, which is a decline from the 36 percent since 2001 (Tanzania NBS, 2008b, in World Bank, 2009). Especially the rural areas are poor. Despite the reduction in the proportion of the population that is poor, the absolute number of people living under the national poverty line increased by 1.5 million in the time between the surveys because of the rapid growing population. By international standards, about 51 percent of the Tanzanians live below the 1.25 dollar-per-day poverty line (DPG-TMG 2008 in World Bank 2009). The most important means of existence in Tanzania is agriculture, which takes up about one quarter of the GDP and approximately 80 percent of employment (The Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2009). Besides agriculture, minerals, precious metals, meat, fish and timber are products important to the Tanzanian economy (Rank, n.d.). Fishing takes 1.5 percent of the GDP, industry and construction 24 percent, and services about 48 percent (The Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2009).

Women and men are almost equal in labour force participation: 88 percent of women at the age between 15 and 64 years and 91 percent of men in this age group participated in the labour force in 2006. However, income levels are significantly higher for men. In the manufacturing sector for example, the mean monthly income of women is 3.5 times lower than that of men (World Bank, 2007). Moreover, only 4 percent of the women work in paid jobs (in either the formal or informal sector) versus 10 percent of men (United Republic of Tanzania 2002 in World Bank 2009), and 71 percent of workers in the formal sector are male (Tanzania NBS, 2002, in World Bank, 2009).

2.4 Tanzania and its culture

In Tanzania 99 percent of the population on the mainland are Africans, of which 95 percent are Bantu, consisting of more than 130 tribes that live in harmony (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011). Besides the
indigenous population Tanzania is inhabited by Pakistani, Indian, Arab, and European sub-populations (Rank, n.d.). The specific habits, customs and norms and values of each tribe have been influenced by tribal traditions and alliances, population movements over the centuries, and European invasions. Each tribe speaks its own language but almost everyone also speaks the national language Swahili (Kiswahili). The use of a single common language greatly facilitated nationalism, trade, political debate, conflict resolution and information dissemination. The second national language is English, inherited from British colonial time.

On the mainland about 30 percent of the population is Christian, 35 percent Muslim, and the remaining 35 percent practises one of the country’s numerous indigenous religions. Most indigenous beliefs profess the idea of a high god, similar to Christianity and Islam. On Zanzibar there are still more Arab influences, over 99 percent of the population of Zanzibar is Muslim (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011). Along with Christianity and Islam, the Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist faiths are practised by members of the Asian minorities on the mainland and the islands. The National Spiritual Assembly, an organisation for the Baha'i religion, also has numerous local affiliations throughout the country (Ofcansky, & Yeager, 1997).

Within Tanzania there are huge differences in norms, values, lifestyles, religions, and traditional beliefs and practices between different tribes and regions, but several historical and cultural factors that Tanzanians share, facilitate a strong nationalist feeling. Whilst most neighbour countries have been involved in civil and cross-border wars, in Tanzania - the war against Idi Amin in Uganda in 1978-1979 excepted - the peace has been kept for over decades. Since Tanzania's independence, the evolution of a national political identity has been stressed. The state discouraged rivalries on the basis of tribe, colour and creed. Tanzanian identity was emphasised above all local tribal identities; however cultural differences between ethnic groups and regions still remain. The common language Swahili, no economic or cultural dominance by one of the ethnic groups and the strong leadership of president Julius Nyerere contributed to enable Tanzania to solve most internal problems in a peaceful way (Rank, n.d.).

2.5 Education in Tanzania

2.5.1 History of the Tanzanian educational system

Before the colonial time, education was different for every tribe of each community. Children had to be prepared within the community for their mature life. The necessary knowledge and skills as well as important norms and values were learned within the family. When Zanzibar and the coastal regions of Tanganyika became important for trade, Islam and Christianity gained importance and developed their own educational systems. Koran schools had the goal to educate people in order to read the Koran and live according to the principles of the Islam. Christian mission schools increased in the German colonial
time and were founded to educate clerks. In the British colonial time education was separated for Europeans, Asians and Africans (Van Dam, 1990). The access to and quality of education varied per region and per ethnic group. Africans were generally educated for agriculture and executive functions. Europeans and Asians were educated for middle and higher class positions in the society. The education was given in a British way, but the mission schools also remained. After World War II, a Social Welfare Department and centres were founded in several cities for different activities, including education. Only after 1950 attention emerged for education in the rural areas and the literacy of woman, supported by UNICEF. After Tanzania's independence in 1961, the educational system proved to be insufficient in quantity and quality. After Europeans left Tanzania, there were not enough people to replace them and the need for educated people was high. Transformations in the educational system were necessary (Van Dam, 1990).

Nyerere saw the means of education as promoting and oriented to ‘western’ interests and norms in the colonial time. After Tanzania's independence, Nyerere set out his vision in Education for Self Reliance (Nyerere, 1968). The changes he proposed in this document had two main themes: education for self-reliance and adult education, lifelong learning and education for liberation. According to his view, education had to work for the common good, promote equality, foster co-operation and had to address the realities of Tanzanian life. In 1974 University Primary Education was declared by the Tanzanian government aimed to give education to all children in Tanzania. Nyerere strived for education that also included persons with disabilities and marginalised groups (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2008). Nyerere believed in a community where everybody was valued and he recognised education as fundamental to both the development of individuals and the society (UNESCO, n.d. in Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2008).

In the Declaration of Dar es Salaam Julius Nyerere called for the importance of adult education to develop people’s own potential and capacity. According to his view adult education reached far beyond the classroom. “It is anything which enlarges men's understanding, activates them, helps them to make their own decisions, and to implement those decisions for themselves” (Nyerere, 1978, p.30). Judged today, the educational reforms of Nyerere met with some success and some failure. The policies were never fully implemented and had to operate against a background of severe resource shortage and a world orientation to more individualistic and capitalistic understandings of the relation between education and production. However, due to the Education for Self Reliance, primary education became virtually universal, schooling used local language forms and curriculum materials gained distinctively Tanzanian influences (Samoff, 1990, in Smith, 1998). Furthermore, due to the importance attached to adult education, mass literacy campaigns were initiated and carried through and adult education initiatives made a significant contribution to mobilising people for development (Kassam, 1979, in Smith, 1998).
2.5.2 The current educational system

Nowadays, the educational system of Tanzania consists of two years pre-primary education, seven years of primary education (standard I-VII), four years of secondary education O-level (ordinary level, form 1-4) and two years of secondary education A-level (advanced level, form 5-6). When completed A-level, students can go for three or more years to university (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, n.d.).

The language of instruction at primary schools is Kiswahili. English is a subject from standard III onwards. After Standard VII all pupils make the national Primary school-leaving Examination (PSLE). The marks on this national exam serve as a selection for secondary education (Van Dam, 1990). Only a small proportion of students transits to secondary education and those students often have problems with this transition, because the language of instruction at secondary schools is English. The Compulsory subjects of all secondary schools consist of: English, Kiswahili, Mathematics, Physics with Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Civics and Religion. Optional subjects are Home Economics, Additional Mathematics, Information and Computer Studies, Fine Art, Music, French, Arabic, Other foreign languages, Bible Knowledge, Islamic studies and Physical Education. For the Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations (CSEE) a minimum of seven subjects from the core list are required, including Mathematics, English, Kiswahili, Biology and Civics. Besides, students may choose none, any one or two of the optional subjects if offered at their school (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005).

2.5.3 The impact of education

Education is a key to socio-economic development and is an important predictor of potential future earnings (Simbamwaka, 2008). In Tanzanian, a wage earner who completed primary school earns 75 percent more than an uneducated wage earner (Vespoor 2008, in World Bank, 2009). A worker who has completed O-level secondary education earns 163 percent more and a worker who completed A-level secondary education 181 percent more. Thus increases in school enrolment are expected to have positive effects on future earnings and economic growth for Tanzania and its inhabitants in the long term. On the other hand, people who have left school too early have less opportunities to open out and develop their learning skills, and face more difficulties in life than people who stay within the educational system. They have fewer job opportunities and run a greater risk of poverty and social exclusion. According to UNESCO (2010), people who left school too early form a part of the underclass in a lot of countries and generally earn 30 to 35 percent less than people who completed secondary education (Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009, in UNESCO, 2010).

Besides the fact that schooling can have positive results on the socio-economic development of the country and of individual people, schooling causes changes in the life cycle of individuals.
According to the Tanzanian Demographic and Health Survey of 1991-1992, due to educational enrolment the age of marriages rises, because the median age of first marriage varied with educational attainment (Rwebangira & Liljestrom, 1998). Also, the school system exposes communities to new cultures through numeracy and literacy. Before, children were prepared for mature life through customary initiation rites. Although in some communities it is still very important, traditional initiation is losing its context and relevance in a modernising society, while the school system remains ill-equipped to prepare the youth for adulthood. Because of this timing of events in the life cycle, tensions and problems arise. Many teenagers become conscious of and are exposed to issues of sexuality at a time when schooling does not allow them to get married and when traditional and religious values discourage premarital relations. A tension exists between modernity, traditional and religious values regarding premarital sex, extramarital relationships, monogamy, and female circumcision. Consequently, adults and teenagers face real challenges in terms of moral attitudes towards gender relations, especially when teenagers are enrolled in school (Rwebangira & Liljestrom, 1998).

2.6 Morogoro Region

With a total of 72,939 square kilometres Morogoro Region (APPENDIX 1b and 1c) is the third largest region in Tanzania. The region consists of 6 districts, 140 wards, and 457 villages (Natuur.koepel vzw, 2010). In 2002, Morogoro Region had a population of 1.75 million people and counted 56,723 households (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, 2007). A majority of 73 percent of the people live in rural areas, compared to a minority of 27 percent in urban areas. Morogoro Region Gross Domestic Product increased over a period of time and the average individual income in Morogoro Region did the same. In 1998, the average individual income in Morogoro Region was Tshs. 145,819 ($93.26) per year, while in 2003 it rose to Tshs. 245,299 ($156.89). At any place, energy is important for the economic infrastructure regarding industrial development and domestic use as well. In the Morogoro Region, firewood is the main source of energy in the majority of households, followed by charcoal. Only a few households have access to electricity, because of its high costs and poor supply (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, 2007).

The Morogoro Region covers an extensive area with fertile land, numerous water sources and a low population density that is perfect for agriculture. Mountain slopes used to be covered by forests, but now they are a patchwork of pieces of forest and pieces of farmland (Natuur.koepel vzw, 2010). Agriculture is the main economic activity and engages about 80 to 90 percent of the region’s labour force. The most important crops are cotton, coffee, sisal, onions and oil seeds. Other livelihoods in Morogoro Region are livestock, forestry, fisheries, beekeeping, wildlife, mining and industries (United Republic of Tanzania, 1996).

The capital of the Morogoro Region is also called Morogoro. It is situated at the base of the Uluguru Mountains, named after the Waluguru tribe people, the largest ethnic group in Morogoro rural district.
The people from the Waluguru tribe live in the mountains and are known for their straw-made carpets, bags, baskets and hats, which they sell along the roads. The main social events in the Morogoro Region are traditional dances, weddings, funerals and weekly markets. Further in this report the Morogoro Region and Morogoro both refer to the Morogoro Region. If text refers to the capital city of Morogoro Region, Morogoro Urban is used.

Morogoro’s life expectancy is somewhat lower than the national average. Women are discriminated in employment, heritage, and politics and they are also economically disadvantaged (United Republic of Tanzania, 1996). Women carry out most of the agriculture work and their traditional duties are gathering firewood and collecting water and of course child-bearing and upbringing.

Amongst the male population, 32 percent completed primary education, while 19 percent did not receive any formal education at all (TACAIDS, ZAC, NBS, & OCGS, 2008). Amongst the female population, 36 percent completed primary education, while 26 percent has never been to school. Moreover, generally, the quality of primary and secondary schools is inadequate. Primary schools are often in poor condition and there is a huge shortage of classrooms and teachers. The only district with enough teachers is Morogoro Urban.

In the Morogoro Region in 2004, 72 percent of the women aged between 15 and 24 were knowledgeable of the methods to prevent HIV and 23 percent of them were using a modern method of family planning. This is higher than the national average of 12 percent (NBS, 2005). However, in comparison with the rest of the country Morogoro is still in the upper 50 percent of the regions most affected by HIV/AIDS. Amongst young women 4.2 percent is infected.

The Morogoro Region has a fairly rich mixture of partners that contribute to its development activities, amongst which the national government and several local and foreign non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, 2007). Concerning education and health the most important development partners are: Central Government (Basket Fund), SIDA (Sweden), World Bank, World Vision International (Tanzania), Care International, SNV (The Netherlands), Education, The Anglican Church, The Roman Catholic Church, Rotary International, Sight Savers, Germany Leprosy Relief, UNICEF, DANIDA (Denmark), and JICA.
Chapter 3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

After sketching the context as regards politics, economics, culture and education, this chapter will zoom in on the core subject of this report: *sex education as a solution to pregnancy-related school drop-out*. By means of a literature study, the theoretical background of different relevant sub-topics is addressed. However, before presenting the findings from literature, the position of this report in the continuum of research approaches is defined.

3.2 Defining a theoretical perspective

As stated earlier, this research is part of the broader ESLA project, which aims to contribute to the combat against early school-leaving in several African countries (Zeelen, Linden, Nampota, & Ngabirano, 2010). To prevent and reduce early school-leaving effectively, the ESLA project explicitly chooses for participatory research methods, like the combination of research and development, and the active involvement of important actors. In line with this participatory approach, in the last decades collaborations were established between researchers and stakeholders from the African continent and researchers from the European continent. In 2010, their fruitful co-operation and commitment to the project resulted in a first book: *The Burden of Educational Exclusion*. In this book, several authors highlight important issues concerning the problem of early school-leaving and explore ways to deal with those issues. One of the contributions – from Fundi – is about pregnancy-related school drop-out in Tanzania. In this country, and especially in its coastal areas, the number of girls leaving school too early due to pregnancy increased dramatically during the last decades (Fundi, 2010). Since 2004, the Tanzanian government attempts to tackle the problem of pregnancy-related school drop-out by the provision of sex and reproductive health education through school-based programmes. Furthermore, different private organisations also pay attention to the problem of early pregnancy, by increasing youth’s access to sexual and reproductive health services. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of both the Tanzanian government and private stakeholders, the number of pregnancies among schoolgirls is still increasing and thus its negative effect on girls’ schooling (Fundi, 2010; BEST, 2010). It appears that the provision of sexual and reproductive health education does not have the desired effect and Fundi gives an explanation for that. In her article, Fundi blames the government’s tendency to fully rely on modern approaches that encourage free access to information about sexuality and reproductive health. The focus on this modern approach has not been attuned to parallel cultural educational systems and contradicts indigenous cultural norms and values. As a consequence, traditional systems reject the modern
approaches to sex education and threaten the effectiveness of current sex education programmes by holding on to their own cultural perceptions and practices. According to Fundi, in order to contribute effectively to the problem of early school-leaving among girls, the government needs to abandon its top-down approach and develop cultural-sensitive programmes that harmonise with indigenous cultural norms and values. To improve the effectiveness of sex education, Fundi proposes to review traditional practices of sex education and use them positively in a bottom-up development of more appropriate forms of sex education.

Fundi’s call for bottom-up approaches in which social problems are addressed in their specific context and her scepticism about top-down approaches that blindly adopt the conclusions from scientific research fits in with a broader research discussion about the value of randomised experimental research versus more qualitative research approaches. When the 20th century started, randomised experimental or a quantitative research was the only major research approach. However, by the end of the 20th century a second major approach emerged, namely qualitative research approach in which researchers rely on the views of participants and conduct the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner (Flick, 1998). Despite the development of qualitative research, by the end of the 20th century randomised experimental research was still considered the golden standard by a substantial amount of scientists, and various researchers regarded this kind of research as producing the most objective and valuable kind of knowledge (Cook, 2002). Although the RCT-design generally still has the preference, the last decades the presentation of the RCT-design as the golden standard has been more and more criticised. Doubts have been expressed about the applicability of the RCT-design and the value of its results, and the use of the design declined (Torgerson, 2002). A relevant example of such doubts is expressed by Horstman (2005). In her speech about public health care, Horstman gives an exposition about the contribution of research to the public health services in the 21th century. In a historical context, she states that, undeservedly, many researchers and professionals increasingly hold on to randomised experimental research. In the case of health education, many researchers are one-sided, focused on the development of evidence-based interventions in order to reduce risky behaviour. When those interventions do not produce the expected results, they interpret it as a technical problem (the intervention does not work) and they search for solutions in steering by knowledge (they demand more evidence about effective interventions). According to Horstman, with this yearning for proved efficacy researchers ignore the fact that citizens are not comparable to machines, in which you can put an intervention at the beginning and undoubtedly get healthy behaviour at the end. Horstman states that the disobedience of citizens to the ideals of the public health services cannot be reduced to a technical problem and cannot be dissolved by technical means alone. Knowledge about ‘what works’ is not sufficient enough to implement that knowledge successfully in practice. In the continuum of quantitative and qualitative research, Horstman asks for more qualitative studies to supplement technical ‘know-how’ knowledge with more rich and useful knowledge. In order to develop and implement health programmes effectively, Horstman states that interactions with societies about their perceptions are crucial and she recommends social learning
processes to make experimental knowledge more fruitful (De Vries, & Horstman, 2008 in Horstman, 2005). With this recommendation Horstman agrees with the appeal of Fundi to reduce the Tanzanian society not to an object of study, but as an important co-constructor in the adaption of current sex and reproductive health strategies.

As part of the ESLA project and in line with the recommendations of Fundi and Horstman, this research largely applies a qualitative research approach in which the importance of participants’ views is emphasised and the role of research in changing and improving individuals’ lives is recognised (Flick, 1998). To meet the intentions to leave the object of study intact and to do justice to it, in addition to the explanation of concepts, motives and actions by scholarly theories, bottom-up theories will be constructed from the meanings that actors give to their own situation. In the evaluation of school-based sex education, actors from the Morogoro society were involved actively. By using participatory research methods, data was collected about the current state, proceeds and difficulties of school-based sex education as perceived by teachers, students, parents and other important actors. After that, those actors were asked to participate in a first exploration about the possibilities to adapt current strategies of school-based sex education towards the specific features of the situation in the Morogoro Region, in order to overcome the challenges that impede school-based sex education to produce its desired effect. Although with this qualitative approach the general applicability of the research results should be regarded with some prudence, its value for the Morogoro citizens – and especially for their schoolgirls – is expected to be high.

3.3 Theoretical background

Although this research largely uses a participatory research approach, at the starting point a certain theoretical background is useful to gain a first impression of the relevant actors and factors in the area of research, and to design the means for data collection, like interview guides and focus group discussion. Therefore, in the next three paragraphs, literature about three important topics will be expounded. In the first paragraph the problem of early school-leaving is studied, in the second paragraph the problem of early pregnancy and in the third paragraph the provision of sex education. The theoretical background concludes with presuppositions, which will be used as a base for the description and interpretation of the results.

3.3.1 Early school-leaving

As remarked earlier, this research is part of a broader research project about early school-leaving. Therefore, in this research sex education is not so much considered as a solution to early pregnancy in general, but especially as a solution to the early pregnancies that interfere with girls' school careers.
Consequently, in this research early pregnancy is not an isolated topic, but strongly related to the problem of early school-leaving and the individual, social, economic and cultural factors that interfere with school continuance. Therefore, in this paragraph a definition of early school-leaving is given and different studies are used to describe the problem of early school-leaving. After that, a model is presented that clarifies the early school-leaving problem and the role early pregnancy takes in it.

Definition
In the literature many definitions of early school-leaving exist and each definition encompasses different groups of people. Because there is no universal definition among researchers (Natriello, 1999, in Van Walbeek, 2008), it has to be clarified in each study in what way the term ‘early school-leaver’ is interpreted. In this research a definition from Niersman (2003, in Van Walbeek, 2008) is used. Niersman defines early school-leavers as: Learners who did not start with or leave a certain type of school, caused by different factors by themselves and or by the situation (Niersman, 2003, in Walbeek 2008). Because this research encompass primary and secondary education the definition of Niersman has been adapted to the following definition: ‘Learners who did not start with or leave primary or secondary school, caused by different factors by themselves and or by the situation.’ This definition comprises both primary and secondary school drop-outs and marks the fact that not only the school-leavers themselves, but also the context determines whether an individual drops out or not.

Another term for ‘early school-leaver’ is ‘school drop-out’. Although this term can be perceived as containing a value judgement, in this research both terms have the same meaning and are used interchangeably.

Current situation
The prevalence of early school-leaving is global, but varies between and within countries (Hunt, 2008). Although early school-leaving is also a problem in developed countries, sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 47 percent of all out-of-school children worldwide (UNESCO, 2008, in Zeelen et.al., 2010). In sub-Saharan Africa, on average one child in three that starts school drops out before completion (UNESCO, 2010) and in 2006, nine percent of sub-Saharan primary school pupils dropped out even before completing the first grade. The problem of early school-leaving is not limited to primary education, but increases at the secondary level. Research indicated that globally almost 71 million adolescents at secondary school age are not enrolled in secondary school. This number is nearly a fifth part of the total group of adolescents who actually should be enrolled in secondary school. As for primary school level, the problem regarding secondary school drop-out is most present in sub-Saharan Africa as well, where 38 percent of adolescents are out of secondary school.

Among East African economies, Tanzania spends the largest percentage of its expenditure on education (The East African, 2010) and not without success. Tanzania’s primary school enrolment increased from 59 percent in 2001 to more than 84 percent in 2007 (NBS, 2008, in World Bank, 2009).
Moreover, there is also an increase in secondary school enrolment from 10 percent in 2002 to an estimated 25 percent in 2007 (Education Statistics Brief, 2009; World Bank, 2007). However, despite these increased enrolment rates, Tanzania has one of East African’s lowest retention and completion rates and drop-out rates are high (The East African, 2010). In Tanzania 42 percent of young people in the age between 15 and 19 years have completed primary school and 52 percent of those in the age between 20 and 24 have completed primary education (NBS, 2005). On average Tanzanian children achieve only 5.1 years of schooling and statistics reveal that over 50 percent of primary school pupils drop out before completion (Education Statistics Brief, 2009). Secondary school drop-out rates are higher compared to primary school, and increasing by level. Girls are outnumbered by boys especially at higher levels (Education Statistics Brief, 2009) and children in rural areas lag behind compared to children in urban areas regarding primary and secondary education (World Bank, 2007b).

According to the Population Council (2004) in Tanzania about 32 percent of the girls between 15 and 19 years old are not able to read one sentence and according to the NBS (2005), only 57 percent of the women in Tanzania are literate against 79 percent of the men.

The marginalised position of girls

To clarify the focus of this research on the single factor of early pregnancy in the extensive problem of early school-leaving, the marginalised position of girls is stressed. Globally, girls are less likely than boys to be enrolled in school and those who are out of school are more likely never to enter (UNESCO, 2010). Studies suggest that in sub-Saharan Africa nearly 12 million girls are likely never to enrol compared to seven million boys. Furthermore, according to Bruneforth and Wallets (2009, in UNESCO 2010), 54 percent of all out-of-school adolescents worldwide are girls.

In spite of this global gender gap in school enrolment, in Tanzania the total number of girls in primary school accounts with 48 percent for almost half of the total primary school population and in addition, studies suggest that girls advance more quickly than boys through primary school. However, when Tanzanian girls enter secondary school, the problem of early school-leaving starts to increase (Grant & Hallman, 2008). In 2009, the rate of female enrolment decreased from 45 percent in from 1 to 39 percent in form 6 (BEST, 2009). According to the THMIS 2007/08 (2008, in United Nations, 2010) one out of five Tanzanian girls never attends school at all and only 18 percent of girls succeed in completing secondary education (BEST, 2010). Amongst other factors, different studies suggest that a significant part of the problem of female drop-out is caused by early pregnancy (Cardoso & Verner, 2007; Fentiman et al., 1999; Grant & Hallman, 2006; Hunter & May, 2003; Njau & Wamahiu, 1998, in Nekatibeb, 2002; Dunne & Leach, 2005; Brock & Cammish, 1997; Kane, 2004; Boyle et al, 2002, all in Hunt, 2008; Hallman & Grant, 2003, in Grant & Hallman, 2008). As stated in the Introduction to this report, early pregnancy is one of the most important factors that interferes with girls’ school attendance and it is a significant cause of school drop-out among girls (Dunne and Leach, 2005, in Hunt, 2008;
Grant & Hallman, 2008). How the problem of early pregnancy exactly relates to early school-leaving will be explored below.

**Causes of early school-leaving.**
Frequently early school-leaving is a result of several events and has a range of different causes (Hunt, 2008). To gain a clear understanding of all of these factors and their interactions, several authors recommend the use of models (Kelemba, 2005). Therefore, based on literature a model was developed to classify the causal factors that are contributing to early school-leaving.

*Figure 3.1 Causal factors of early school-leaving*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUAL LEVEL</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLD LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Age</td>
<td>• Household’s wealth / poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gender</td>
<td>• Child labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Health (malnutrition, and HIV/AIDS)</td>
<td>• Household composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pregnancy</td>
<td>• Household location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Disabilities</td>
<td>• Educational level of household members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived benefits form education</td>
<td>• Traditional habits and expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School performance</td>
<td>• Perceived benefits from education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Personal characteristics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This model is partly based on Hunt (2008)

The model presented in figure 3.1 classifies the causes of early school-leaving according to four levels: *individual, household, school* and *community* level. Although the causal factors are largely based on research by Hunt (2008), the four main levels that organise the causal factors were chosen by the researchers of this report themselves. The factors belonging to each level are discussed below. Different
studies were used to explain the different factors of the model. Most of these studies reveal information concerning sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, but some studies particularly concern the context of Tanzania, or even more specific, the context of Morogoro. In the text below, if studies regard Tanzania or Morogoro in particular it will be mentioned explicitly, otherwise the studies concern sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

1. Individual level

Different causal factors of school drop-out can be related to the person of early school-leavers themselves. Firstly, there are age-related factors that contribute to school drop-out. The risk of dropping out from school increases as children get older, for example because children’s care costs rise by age, which results in an increased pressure on children to contribute to the household income (Colclough et al., 2000, in Hunt, 2008). Furthermore, cultural concepts around puberty and adulthood encourage adolescents to leave school too early (Mekonnen, in Molteno et al., 2000, in Hunt, 2008; Nekatibeb, 2002, in Hunt, 2008; Rose & AlSamarrai, 2001, in Hunt, 2008; Brock & Cammish, 1997, in Hunt, 2008; Zijlstra, 2009).

Besides age-related factors, there are gender-related factors that influence the risk of dropping out. According to Colelough et al. (2000, in Hunt 2008), gendered cultural practices, beliefs, and expectations influence girls’ and boys’ educational chances and experiences, for example practices concerning initiation rituals and expectations with respect to the labour market. While in some contexts boys face more risks of drop-out, in most situations girls are in a more vulnerable position to leave the education cycle too early (Hunt, 2008), amongst other things because girls’ education is generally valued as less important than the education of boys, and it is more important for girls to get married than to have a good education (Zijlstra, 2009; Colclough, 2003, in Tromp, 2003).

Another factor in the individual level is health. Unhealthy children generally enrol later, while later enrolment is frequently related to a bigger chance of dropping out (Hunt, 2008). Children who suffer from malnutrition, deficient diets or hunger do not have the same learning opportunities as children with sufficient nutrition (Pridmore, 2007, in Hunt, 2008). Bad-nourished children are more frequently absent from school, repeat classes more often and drop out earlier, because of attention, motivation or cognitive problems (Pollitt, 1990, in Hunt, 2008; Grantham-McGregor & Walker, 1998, in Hunt, 2008; Rosso & Marek, 1996, cited in Pridmore, 2007, in Hunt, 2008). Apart from malnutrition, in sub-Saharan Africa, among which Tanzania, HIV/AIDS rates are high (Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2007-08, 2008). The majority of children infected with HIV/AIDS does not reach school-age (Hunt, 2008) and those who enrol in school have less attention and frequently drop out due to their increasing health problems. By the time children become sexually active, HIV/AIDS-related infections increase, resulting in absence and finally in an increased number of health-related school drop-outs.
Children who are sexually active are not only in danger of HIV/AIDS, but also face the risk of getting pregnant. Different studies reveal that pregnancy is a significant cause of school drop-out among girls (Cardoso & Verner, 2007; Fentiman et al., 1999; Grant & Hallman, 2006; Hunter & May, 2003; Njau & Wamahiu, 1998, in Nekatibeb, 2002; Dunne & Leach, 2005; Brock & Cammish, 1997; Kane, 2004; Boyle et al., 2002, all in Hunt, 2008; Hallman & Grant, 2003, in Grant & Hallman, 2008). In paragraph 3.2.2 the cause of pregnancy will be elaborated in detail.

Besides health problems, there are physical, mental and cognitive disabilities that interfere with school attendance. According to UNESCO (n.d., in Hunt, 2008), in developing countries more than 90 percent of the children with disabilities are excluded from school. Moreover, Peters (2003, in Hunt, 2008) claim that disabilities may be the single greatest factor of school exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa.

On top of the individual factors already mentioned, the perceived benefits of education and other personal characteristics - like self-esteem, motivation, and perseverance -, influence the problem of early school-leaving via school performance (Hunt, 2008). Different studies reveal that children with low achievement face enlarged risks to drop out compared to those with higher achievement (Boyle et al., 2002, in Hunt, 2008; Hunter and May, 2003, in Hunt 2008). However, besides individual characteristics, low school achievement is also related to several other causes of school drop-out, like absenteeism, repetition, educational quality and different household characteristics. As a consequence of bad school performances, in Tanzania many students fail the primary school exams after standards 2, 4 and 7 and are not motivated or not allowed to continue their education (Tromp, 2008). This holds especially true for the final primary school exam that students need to pass to move on to secondary education. According to Nkosi (2005, in Tromp, 2008), in 2005 only nine percent of Tanzanian primary school pupils succeeded to make the transition to secondary education.

2. Household level

The first factor in the household level is poverty, or in other terms household’s wealth. In Hunt (2008), a number of studies indicate a connection between poverty and school drop-out (Hunt, 2008). Children from richer households are more likely to complete their education, while children from poorer households are more likely never to attend school or leave school before completion. According to Zijlstra (2009), in Morogoro a significant number of pupils lacks money to pay school contributions and additional school costs, and as a results does not attend school. A factor arising from poverty is child labour. In Tanzania, child labour is seen as one of the most important causes of absenteeism, repetition and drop-out (Dachi & Garrett, 2003, in Hunt, 2008).

Next to the household’s wealth, household composition has an influence on early school-leaving as well. Research revealed that disease or death amongst family members, particularly parents, generally makes children more vulnerable to non-enrolment, late enrolment, repeating grades and drop out (Hunt, 2008). Due to the AIDS epidemic, Africa counts millions of orphan children. Kaniki (2006, in Tromp, 2008) indicates that in rural areas in Tanzania, orphans have less chances to complete
education, because of a lack of financial and material support and parental stimulation. Zijlstra (2009) reveals the same for orphan pupils in Morogoro and states that orphan pupils are at high risk to drop out because the lack of authority to guide them and to encourage them to continue education. According to Barnabas (2006), some Tanzanian orphans are in such straitened circumstances that they have no other choice than to be engaged in child labour or, if it concerns female orphans, they are forced to get married at an early age. Apart from their lack of money, orphans are more likely to leave school too early, because of their involvement in caring for their family members suffering of HIV/AIDS at home, and because they are being bullied and stigmatised by non-orphan pupils at school (Barnabas, 2006).

Besides household’s wealth and composition, researchers relate the location of households to the likelihood of children to drop out. In most contexts non-enrolment and drop-out rates are higher in rural than in urban and peri-urban areas (Birdsall et al, 2005, in Hunt, 2008). There is a number of reasons to explain this. In rural areas households are generally poorer, schools are less accessible and household members are less educated.

Apart from the household’s location, studies indicate educational levels of household members influence whether and for how long children are enrolled in school (Hunt, 2008). The presence of well-educated parents or other household heads is associated with increased access to education, higher attendance rates and lower drop-out rates (Hunt, 2008).

Finally, benefits from education as perceived by household heads are assumed to be related to the early school-leaving problem. Research reveals that household heads’ perceived benefits of education determine whether and for how long children attend school (Hunt, 2008). Zijlstra (2009) found that many parents from Morogoro do not value education as important, especially if it regards the education of their daughters. Due to traditional believes that set girls in an inferior position compared to boys, a lot of parents educate their sons rather than their daughters, especially when they lack financial resources to educate them both. Many parents do not see the use of educating their daughters, because they expect their daughters to get married and do not benefit from their education in their future life.

3. School level
Several factors that influence early school-leaving can be related to school. One of these factors is the distance to school and its associated risks and cost of transport (Hunt, 2008). Particularly for younger children and girls, dropping out is more likely if they live in an area with fewer schools that are further away (Hunt, 2008).

experiences of learning, their motivation and finally the path towards dropping out (Hunt, 2008). According to Arthur (2001, in Tromp, 2008) the material conditions in Tanzanian schools are poor, for example with regard to the state of school buildings and the provision of furniture and teaching materials. Another factor that negatively influences the educational quality in Tanzania is the poorly functioning school inspectorate and a lack of qualified teachers, especially in rural areas.

Besides the structural shortage of teachers, the absence of teachers and the limited availability of female teachers also contribute to the early school-leaving problem. Absence of teachers might result in limited teaching and learning rates and can thus influence the quality of education. Furthermore, different studies suggest that female teachers frequently have a positive effect on schooling for girls (Colcough et al., 2000, in Hunt, 2008), while in several countries, among which Tanzania, the availability of female teachers is low.

Relationships between teachers and students are also assumed to contribute to the problem of early school-leaving. According to Tromp (2008), the website of the Corporal Punishment Research revealed that many Tanzanian teachers are convinced that corporal punishments are necessary to control students’ behaviour and as a consequence, corporal punishments are a daily practice at many Tanzanian schools. Moreover, Nkya (2007, in Tromp, 2008) mentions that many Tanzanian teacher-students relation are characterised by harassment and violence instead of caring and trust, and in addition, Zijlstra (2009) states that the harsh punishments by some Tanzanian teachers make several students leave school too early, because they feel not comfortable in class.

Another factor which plays a role in the early school-leaving problem is the language of instruction (Lynch, 2001, in Hunt, 2008; Jackson, 2000, in Hunt, 2008; Zijlstra, 2009). Especially at lower levels, when students are taught in languages other than their native tongue, this might interfere with school attainment and performance, and finally lead up to school drop-out (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1995, in Hunt, 2008). According to Arthur (2001, in Tromp, 2008), in Tanzanian secondary schools the language of instruction is English, while most students have poor levels of English because they are not used to speak English outside school. Zijlstra (2009) agrees with Arthur and states that most Tanzanian students are used to speak Kiswahili or the language of their tribe and hardly never use the English language until secondary school. In the research of Zijlstra (2009) respondents from Morogoro revealed that many students fail to understand the English language sufficiently and consequently do not comprehend the contents of subjects.

Most of the factors concerning the school level are related to structural features of the schools. On top of the factors already mentioned, lack of places in schools, and children being refused mid-year entry, or being sent away because of failing to pay school fees can be mentioned. In a few cases there are disturbing interactional factors. For instance, in some situations children are abused by their teachers, with pregnancy, absenteeism or drop-out as a result (Zijlstra, 2009; Boyle et al, 2002; in Hunt, 2008; Kane, 2004, in Hunt, 2008; Pridmore, 2007, in Hunt, 2008).
4. Community level

At the community level, different social, cultural, and economic barriers are assumed to influence school attendance negatively. Sedwal and Kamat (2008, in Hunt, 2008) indicate that children from particular tribes are more likely to drop out of school, for example children from nomadic tribes. Furthermore they indicate that children who grow up in conflict, politically fragile and emergency situations often face difficulties to remain in school and drop out frequently. In Tanzania, educational levels were found to differ significantly across regions, with higher proportions of school completion in urban areas than in rural areas (TACAIDS, ZAC, NBS, & OCGS, 2008).

According to Porteus et al. (2000, in Hunt, 2008), it is especially in Africa that economic factors related to poverty and the need to earn money, traditional role expectations, and socially perceived irrelevance of the school curriculum are related to drop-out. In a study of Hunt (2008) it is suggested that cultural notions around topics like gender, childhood, puberty, and adulthood restrict educational access for particular groups, like girls. A lot of girls leave school too early due to the traditional practice of initiation ceremonies and early marriages. According to Fundi (2010), the practice of initiation ceremonies interrupts the schooling of girls and costs a lot of money that otherwise could be used for girls’ schooling. The cultural factors that interfere with girls’ school attendance are elaborated in the next paragraph.

The causal model that is used in this paragraph contains many different factors. The amount of factors and the fact that only a minority of those factors are directly related to the individual characteristics of early school-leavers themselves, indicate the complexity of the early school-leaving problem and the difficulty to solve it. In order to decrease the number of early school-leavers effectively, interventions need to tackle a variety of problems at several levels. Consequently, adequate interventions do not only have to involve the individuals who face the risk of dropping out, but their households, schools and communities as well.

3.3.2 Early Pregnancy

As described in the former paragraph, early pregnancy is a significant cause of the marginalised position of girls in the early school-leaving problem (Cardoso & Verner, 2007; Fentiman et al, 1999; Grant & Hallman, 2006; Hunter & May, 2003; Njau & Wamahiu, 1998, in Nekatibeb, 2002; Dunne & Leach, 2005; Brock & Cammish, 1997; Kane, 2004; Boyle et al., 2002, all in Hunt, 2008; Hallman & Grant, 2003, in Grant & Hallman, 2008). Because in the combat of early school-leaving this research focuses on the prevention of early pregnancy, in this paragraph early pregnancy is examined in detail. After defining early pregnancy, the situation related to early pregnancy is discussed and a causal model of early pregnancy is presented.
**Definition**

A common definition of early pregnancy is: pregnancy that occurs to women under the age of 25 (Khan, 2000, in Maro, 2008). Because this research only concerns the early pregnancies of girls who attend school, the definition from Khan has to be restricted. In this research early pregnancy means: **pregnancy that occurs to a woman under the age of 25, who attend school when they get pregnant.**

**Current situation regarding early pregnancy and pregnancy-related school drop-out**

Although in sub-Saharan Africa the number of early pregnancies is decreasing (Moultrie & McGrath, 2007, in Grant & Hallman, 2008) and the Tanzanian public opinion does not accept adolescents to have premarital sex, teenage pregnancy is very common in Tanzania (Baxen, 2009; Ministry of Health, 2005). Nearly 25 percent of Tanzanian girls at the age of 17 and over 50 percent of Tanzanian girls at the age of 19 are pregnant or already mother (TACAIDS, ZAC, NBS, & OCGS, 2008). Because of increasing levels of school enrolment, delayed school entry, disruption, and grade repetition, more and more girls attend school during and after their age of puberty and thus face the risk of getting pregnant while they are enrolled in school (Lloyd et al. 2000, in Grant & Hallman, 2008; Hewett and Lloyd 2005 in Grant & Hallman, 2008). In western society, schoolgirl pregnancy does not necessarily have to result in school drop-out, but in sub-Saharan Africa things are different. In many countries, among which Tanzania, girls are expelled from school if it turns out that they got pregnant (Hunt, 2007, in Hunt, 2008). Moreover many girls are pushed towards dropping out, because they are discriminated for their pregnancy by teachers and other students (Hunt, 2008).

Despite the fact that more and more countries, among which Tanzania, legally allow girls who have given birth to return to school, rates of girls actually returning to school are not significant. In most situations girls are the primary caregivers themselves and do not have opportunities for sharing their childcare responsibilities (Grant & Hallman, 2006, in Hunt, 2008). Other girls do not return to school, because they do not have enough financial resources to pay school contributions, or they marry or move into the house of their partner, which might move them away from their educational base (Kaufman, 2001, in Grant & Hallman, 2006, in Hunt, 2008). Even when girls face no practical barriers to return to school, they may not return to school. Studies suggest that some young mothers do not return to school, because they are afraid of ridicule, intimidation, social branding and harassment by students and teachers (Dunne & Leach, 2005 in Hunt, 2008). Other girls do not return because their community supports cultural norms that do not allow them to go back to school (Kane, 2004 in Hunt, 2008). As a result, a lot of teenage mothers drop out of school and do not complete their education. According to the Ministry of Health only 22 percent of teenage mothers completed primary education in 2008 (Ministry of Health, 2008).

The facts that a lot of girls have to leave school after they got pregnant and many girls face several difficulties in returning to school after their delivery underline the importance of preventing early pregnancy in the combat against early school-leaving. An evidence-based way of preventing early pregnancy is the supply of school-based sex education (UNESCO, 2009). After presenting a causal
Causes of early pregnancy

In order to understand the problem of early pregnancy and to be able to contribute to the development and evaluation of preventive methods, it is important to explore the factors that put adolescents in danger of getting pregnant (Macleod, 1999). Although some teenage girls choose to get pregnant, most pregnancies are not planned or at least not well-considered. In most situations, early pregnancies are the result of different interacting factors, at different levels. In figure 3.2, the variety of factors causing early pregnancy is presented schematically.

Figure 3.2 Causes of early pregnancy in sub-Saharan Africa

This model is based on different researches, but developed by the researchers of this report

In the model in figure 3.2, the causes of early pregnancy in sub-Saharan Africa are grouped into four levels: lack of knowledge, cultural and social factors, marginalised position of girls, and household and
individual factors. Each of these levels and the accompanying factors contribute to risky sexual behaviour and thus might increase the risk that girls face to get pregnant. In the text below, the four levels and their accompanying factors will be discussed one after another. As in the discussion of the early school-leaving problem, studies are used that concern the context of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, but also studies that only concern specific regions of sub-Saharan Africa, among which South-Africa and Tanzania. To clarify the research areas that the various studies concern, together with research findings the accompanying research populations are stated explicitly in the following paragraphs.

1. Lack of knowledge
In sub-Saharan Africa, including Tanzania, there is an insufficient supply of information about sexuality at home and within the community. Mbonile and Kayombo (2008) suggest that within communities parents are often not able to guide their children adequately during their adolescence into adulthood. In Tanzania, adolescents are traditionally informed about sexuality through initiation ceremonies, in which they are taught by elder members of their community. Although for many adolescents this is still the case, the information they receive appears to be no longer adequate. As a consequence of low literacy among community leaders, information on new and emerging sexual and reproductive health issues is difficult to access, and community leaders might not be able to guide young people effectively concerning reproductive health issues including sexually transmitted diseases STIs, HIV/AIDS, and pregnancy (Fundi, 2008; Ministry of Health, 2008).

Besides the inadequate information supply, the practice of initiation culture is not always a matter of course anymore. In some tribes this tradition is still important but modernisation has eroded socio-structures that were involved in the initiation to adulthood (Rwebangira & Liljeström, 1998). When adolescents do not undergo initiation, they often do not get any information about sexuality from their community. Parents are traditionally not involved in sex education and generally do not take over this role from their seniors. According to Tournas (1996, in Meekers, 1999, in Singh et al., 2005), when children do not undergo initiation, most parents still do not consider sex education their task or they think that they do not have enough knowledge to do it properly. Furthermore, a study from Wight et al. (2006) reveals that parents do not provide sex education sufficiently due to pervasive taboos around discussing sexual topics.

In addition to the insufficient information supply at the community level, an insufficient supply of information at schools was found as well. At school they may teach sex education, but mostly the teachings are inadequate (TRCHS, 1999 in Ministry of Health, 2008). Partly because of insufficient teaching materials and school facilities, but in particular because teachers are not trained well enough to teach about sexual issues. Like other adults, teachers do not feel comfortable to teach about sexuality. Firstly, because they think that sex education encourages sexual activity, while the norm is abstinence for adolescents that are enrolled in school (Wight et al., 2006). And secondly, because traditional norms
do not allow to discuss sexual issues in public and in particular not among individuals of different
generations or sexes (Singh, et al., 2005).

As do communities and schools, professional health workers provide information about
sexuality in Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) services (Ministry of Health, 2008). However, in
Tanzania the coverage of adolescent-friendly SRH services appears to be only 40 percent and even a
lower percentage of adolescents has access to such information and services (United Nations, 2010). A
report from the Tanzanian government reveals that many SRH services are poor in quality and are often
not adolescent-friendly. SRH services have insufficient numbers of staff members and not enough
working space to supply adequate drugs and information (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006).
Moreover several health workers have a negative attitude towards sexually active adolescents and make
health centres an unfriendly environment for the provision of SRH services to adolescents (Ministry of
Health and Social Welfare, 2006; Ministry of Health, 2005). In a report from the Tanzanian government
it is suggested that only a small number of urban adolescents have access to SRH services, while
adolescents in rural areas generally do not have any access to information and services from health
centres at all (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006). Another report reveals that in Tanzania,
less than 10 percent of young women ever talked to a professional health worker about family planning
(NBS, 2005). The insufficient supply of information at home, in school and through the SRH services
results in a gap between the supply of sexual information and services and the demand for it (Sommer,
2009). Because no other sources are available, a significant part of adolescents’ sexual knowledge is
being taught by other peers (Macleod, 1999). This might be problematic, as peers are considered less
reliable and provide less accurate information than teachers and professional health workers. According
to the Ministry of Health (2008), Tanzanian adolescents have relatively low awareness of and
knowledge about psychological and physical changes during puberty and about the use and relevance of
condoms and contraceptives. According to Sommer (2009) and Singh, et al. (2005), especially amongst
girls, the knowledge about STIs, pregnancies and preventing methods is very limited. More than 73
percent of the women and 68 percent of the men in the age group between 15 and 24 are not able to
mention two methods that prevent HIV or pregnancy, and about 50 percent of young women and almost
25 percent of young men in the same age group do not know where to get condoms (NBS, 2005). The
use of family planning is higher in urban areas, where 19 percent of the women aged 15 to 24 years
reported to use modern methods of family planning, compared to nine percent in rural areas (NBS,
2005). Almost 20 percent of married women between age 15 and 19 have an unmet need for family
planning, compared to 23 percent of married women aged 20 to 24 years. Only eight percent of women
between age 15 to 19 discussed family planning with a field worker or health professional (NBS, 2005).

Although lack of knowledge appears to be a significant contributor to the problem of early
pregnancy, according to the United Nations (2010), providing SRH knowledge and services does not
necessarily lead up to protective sexual behaviour. Amongst all groups knowledge of family planning
methods is much larger than use (NBS, 2005). A lack of life skills is blamed for this gap between
knowledge and behaviour. The United Nations (2010) state that even if sufficient SRH information and services are available, girls may still practise risky sexual activities, because they are not able to use the acquired information and available service due to a lack of particular skills, for example concerning negotiation and decision-making.

2. Cultural and social factors

Although the importance of initiation is decreasing (Mbonile & Kayombo, 2008), many Tanzanian communities still practise an initiation culture to prepare their adolescents for adult life. The Tanzanian initiation culture for girls consists of a training and a ceremony, and may endanger girls of getting pregnant in several ways. As cited above, it is assumed that during the initiation training girls receive incorrect or obsolete information about their sexual and reproductive health, and because of that might become pregnant by engaging in risky sexual activities (Fundi, 2010). Above that, during the initiation training girls are taught how to satisfy men sexually. According to Fundi (2010), such teachings encourage sexual activities at a young age, and frequently result in early pregnancy. Fundi points out a notion among girls who once initiated are ready to engage in sexual activities, even if they are still enrolled in school. In the same study, Fundi also found some parents who perceive their daughters as sexually mature after initiation. Once their daughters have undergone initiation, some parents feel no longer responsible to look after their daughters’ behaviour and think they are grown up enough to marry (Fundi, 2010). As a consequence, after undergoing initiation a lot of girls marry soon (Fundi, 2010). According to the TACAIDS, ZAC, NBS, & OCGS (2008), more than 21 percent of Tanzanian women between 15 and 19 years old is already married, compared to only one percent of the young men in this age. Zijlstra (2009) reveals that in Morogoro a significant number of girls get married while they are still teenagers, sometimes because they are convinced by men, but also because their marriage is arranged by their parents who want their daughter to be married because of traditional beliefs or because of the dowry they will receive.

Besides initiation culture and early marriage, there are more traditional and cultural factors that contribute to early pregnancy. Especially in rural areas, negative beliefs about condom use are common (Plummer et al., 2004; Singh et al., 2005). Several people think that only adults are supposed to use condoms and young people should not use them (Plummer, 2006; Singh et al., 2005). Different studies found that although adolescents have knowledge about condoms, misconceptions are still common. For instance, the belief that condoms have small holes and can slide down into the vagina (Feldman et al., 1997; Nzioka, 2001, in Singh et al., 2005), the belief that most condoms are of bad quality (Temin et al., 1999, in Singh et al., 2005), especially those who are free of charge (Meekers et al., 2001, in Singh et al., 2005), and the belief that condom use indicates unfaithfulness or STI infections (Swart-Kruger & Richter, 1997, in Singh et al., 2005; Hulton et al., 2000, in Singh et al., 2005). In a quantitative study among secondary and tertiary students in Tanzania, about 50 percent of respondents considered condoms unsafe and a cause of disease (Maswanya et al., 1999, in Singh et al., 2005). Because of the
negative beliefs about condom use, only a small minority of young women reported using modern methods of family planning (Plummer et al., 2008). Instead of condoms, the majority of women mentioned the use of traditional means of pregnancy prevention, such as charms and herbal or ash solutions.

In African culture, exchanging goods for sex is a common practice (Balmer et al., 1997, in Wight et al., 2006; Baylies & Bujra, 2000, in Wight et al., 2006; Schoepf, 1991, in Wight et al., 2006; UNAIDS, 1997, in Wight et al., 2006). For girls, sex is a widespread resource to obtain rewards, like gifts, money, and even higher marks from teachers. Vavrus (2003) found that some African girls have sexual intercourse with older men because they pay their school fees. And according to Wight et al. (2006), some mothers in straitened circumstances stimulate their daughters to have sex in exchange for money, in order to contribute to the household income. Next to poverty, exchanging goods for sex is also explained with regard to girls’ self-respect (Wight et al., 2006, in Macleod, 1999). Today, adolescents’ esteem among peers is upgraded through consumption, which adolescent girls largely get by practising sex (Wight et al., 2006). In a study by Plummer et al. (2004), about 75 percent of Tanzanian females who have had vaginal intercourse, reported to have received rewards from their partner after their first vaginal intercourse.

Different cultural norms contribute to a secrecy about sexual relationships and a taboo to talk about sexual issues. According to Singh et al. (2005), in Tanzania school pupils are forbidden to have sex, women have to retain their sexual dignity, and it is not allowed to discuss sexual issues in public, in particular not within groups of different generations or sexes. Plummer et al. (2004) suggests that school pupils have to be abstinent and could be severely punished if authorities get to know about their sexual activities. The potentially brutal consequences of being sexual active or getting pregnant make pupils very secretive about their sexual relationships (Plummer, 2006). Furthermore, according to Plummer et al. (2008), many adolescents conceal their sexual relationships, because premarital pregnancy could diminish the bride price of girls, resulting in financial or legal difficulties for her sexual partner, or a limited influence in the choice of her spouse. The widespread secrecy around sexual relationships has a negative influence on the early pregnancy problem, because it might impede the exchange of information about realistic risk perception and protective behaviour, because adolescents lack trustful places to ask their questions (Plummer, 2006). Moreover, due to the secrecy about sexual relationships, there is also a limited opportunity to develop other relationships, like friendship and intimacy through non-sexual contacts (Wight et al., 2006).

Besides the restrictive norms like the abstinence for pupils, there are contradictory permissive norms that encourage the practice of sexual activities (Wight et al., 2006). In many sub-Saharan countries, becoming sexually active during adolescence is regarded as normative behaviour and having various sexual partners is common during this period of life (Singh et al., 2005). According to Wight et al. (2006), men who are frequently sexual active are held in better repute by other men, because of beliefs like ‘everyone who is physically healthy must be sexually active’ and ‘it is difficult to abstain
from sex once you have experienced it’ (Plummer et al., 2006). In a research of Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1989, in Macleod, 1999) young mothers from South Africa reported that, due to cultural values on fertility, they were prone to conceive early in order to gain the reputation of being fertile. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Biddlecom, Ouedraogo, and Woog (2005) found that in sub-Saharan Africa there is a generally positive attitude among young people towards sex outside marriage and a lot of them are already sexually active in their teens. Due to the permissive norms, peer pressure to practise sex or prove fertility by getting pregnant plays an important role in causing pregnancy (Macleod, 1999). In a research of Buga (1996, in Macleod, 1999) 20 percent of the respondents declared that they engaged in sexual activity due to peer pressure and Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1992, in Macleod, 1999) found young men who were sexually active under pressure to prove their sexual capability.

Because of the restrictive norms that forbid pupils to have sex on the one hand, and the permissive norms that stimulate pupils to practise sex on the other, a tension exists in which pupils face difficulties to practice sex or not and do not dare to discuss it openly. This tension is magnified by the fact that the world in which African adolescents reach adulthood today differs considerably from the one in which their parents grew up (Juárez, LeGrand, Lloyd, & Singh, 2006). Norms, taboos and expectations about sexuality differ between generations and make it more difficult to talk about sexual issues openly (Wight et al., 2006).

In sub-Saharan Africa, including Tanzania, the naturalness of traditional norms is disappearing and processes take place that influence the way people express their sexuality (Fugelsang, 1997). In 1986, Cherlin and Riley already indicated that the social control on adolescents’ sexual behaviour was diminishing in Tanzania (Meekers, 1999, in Singh et al., 2005). In the nineties different researchers found a process of acculturation that broke down the traditional culture that controlled adolescents’ sexual behaviour in the past (Macleod, 1999). This process of acculturation is still going on and is fed by different other processes. Firstly, urbanisation and industrialisation decrease the practice of initiation teachings and vaginal inspection before marriage (Mkhize, 1995, in Macleod, 1999) and contribute to the fact that men from rural areas, who stay in urban areas because of labour responsibilities, have sexual intercourse with schoolgirls to satisfy their sexual desires (Du Toit, 1987, in Macleod, 1999). Furthermore, urbanisation makes many people live in poor and unstructured conditions in which youth’s behaviour is less controlled by the presence of extended families (Fugelsang, 1997). Secondly, patriarchal family structures and traditional respect for the elders decline (Mfono, 1990, in Macleod, 1999; Bodibe, 1994, in Macleod, 1999) because parents do no longer provide formal schooling, and are considered poor and uneducated by their children (Mkhize, 1995, in Macleod, 1999; Dilger, 2003). Moreover, social changes erode the authority of parents, because children are less economically dependent and alternative pathways to traditional marriages are more and more prevalent (Abrahams, 1981, in Wight et al., 2006; Setel, 1999, in Wight et al., 2006). Thirdly, the development of modern communication methods, like radio, television, internet, and cell phones opened cultural boundaries and influences youth’s sexual behaviour through the provision of information about modern lifestyles and
sexuality (Fugelsang, 1997). Due to the exposure to modern life styles, many adolescents have the desire to live modern lives which encompass certain dress styles, consumption, spare-time activities and new ways of intergenerational relationships (Remes et al., 2010). The desire for modern lifestyles together with poverty and the custom to obtain rewards in exchange for sex make girls more vulnerable to practise sexual activities that make them able to afford the costs of their modern lives. Video shows are one of the spare-time activities that are considered part of a modern lifestyle (Remes et al., 2010). Videos are not only important for the provision of information about modern lifestyles, but also cited as a significant contributor to youth’s risky sexual behaviour. Nowadays, public videos are shown and the arrangers of the video shows often ask entry fees, but give girls free entrance in exchange for sex. Besides video films, video clips of music also provide adolescents with new concepts about sexuality that often emphasise masculinity, female passivity, sexuality, materialism and the consumption of alcohol. Going to local bars and discos is another new popular spare-time activity. Traditionally dance activities were held at particular times, while the new discos are organised at any time throughout a year. As in the case of video shows, arrangers of discos give girls free entrance, but expect sexual intercourse in return. Moreover, during the night girls face the risk to be tempted by men to have sexual intercourse (Remes et al., 2010).

3. Marginalised position of girls

The third category that might lead to early pregnancy is the marginalised position of girls. Research reveals that in sub-Saharan Africa, at any particular age, girls run a greater risk of dropping out than boys (Biddlecom et al., 2007). This gender gap can partly be explained by the gender-biased atmosphere in many African schools (Mensch, Clark, Lloyd, & Erulkar, 2001). Girls who are not encouraged to attend school and experience school as unsatisfactory run a greater risk of getting pregnant and thus of dropping out (Lloyd et al., 2000, in Grant & Hallman, 2008). In the opposite case, gender-neutral atmospheres in schools decrease the girls' sexual activities and thus their risk of getting pregnant.

Another factor in the marginalised position of girls is the lack of valuing girls’ education by parents. According to UNICEF about 20 percent of Tanzanians value the education of boys as more important than the education of girls (United Nations, 2010). Furthermore, Al-Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) found that in Tanzania, boy’s and girl’s educational chances are related to several social and cultural norms and values. Due to these norms and values, there are specific attitudes towards the gender role of girls due to which parents are less likely to value their daughter's education as important (Biddlecom et al., 2007; Zijlstra, 2009). An example of an attitude that influences the value of girls’ education negatively is the attitude which prescribes that the main value of girls is to become mothers and wives who do not need high levels of education (United Nations, 2010). Next to gender-biased norms and values, due to financial reasons there is an unwillingness of several parents to invest in their daughters’ schooling. In Tanzania, females face more difficulties in accessing labour markets and earn relatively lower wages (Al-Samarrai & Peasgood, 1998). Furthermore, if girls marry, their husbands’
family becomes the sole profiteer from the returns of girls’ schooling, while their own parents are no longer able to benefit from their own investments. Research revealed that the unwillingness of parents to pay their daughters’ schooling negatively influences girls’ school enrolment and thus increases their risk of getting pregnant (Grant & Hallman, 2004, in Hunt, 2008). The relatively poor value of girl’s education results in a relatively low socio-economic status and a lack of social and economic opportunities for girls. Both cause a lack of future goals and as a result put girls in danger of getting pregnant (Hallman & Grant, 2003, in Grant & Hallman, 2008; Lloyd and Mensch, 1999, in Grant & Hallman, 2008). This is especially true for the lowest socio-economic classes, where 50 percent of the girls aged 14 to 15 have a school delay compared to 16 percent of girls in the highest socio-economic classes.

Another factor contributing to the marginalised position of girls is the fact that African girls are frequently sexually abused (Sommer, 2009). In Tanzania, it is estimated that at least five rape cases are reported daily to hospitals in Dar es Salaam alone, while many incidents stay unrecorded, because the victims do not report them (Rwebangira & Liljeström, 1998). Boyle et al. (2002, in Hunt, 2008) claim that gender violence against girls contributes to early pregnancy. Furthermore, in a study from Wood et al. (1996, in Macleod, 1999), conducted in South Africa, most respondents declared that their first sexual intercourse happened after being deceived, coerced or intimidated and that violence plays a part in continuing sexual intercourse. In a research by Plummer et al. (2004), almost 26 percent of 508 Tanzanian females reported to be forced to their first sexual intercourse. According to Wood et al. (1996, in Macleod, 1999) the girls in his research faced a general belief that women do not have any rights and interpreted violence as a method of men to obtain love from females. Furthermore, several studies suggest that sexual abuse of schoolgirls by teachers is common in several sub-Saharan countries, amongst which Tanzania (Plummer et al., 2007). Besides the high number of sexual abuse, young girls often have sexual intercourse with older men in Tanzania (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006). A study suggests that only nine percent of 17 years old Tanzanian girls who underwent treatment for incomplete abortion were impregnated by peers, while 29 percent were impregnated by partners of the age of 45 or older (Ministry of Health, 2008). Age differences between sexual partners can result in unbalanced decision-making, for example about using condoms or not, and thus increase the risk for young girls to get pregnant (NBS, 2005).

4. Household and individual characteristics
Under this fourth level several household and individuals factors are grouped that increase the risks for girls of getting pregnant. According to Pettersen (1996, in Macleod, 1999), poverty and low educational status are associated with early pregnancy of unmarried teenagers. Adolescents from families in low or average socio-economic positions run a greater risk of getting pregnant, because they engage more often in risky sexual behaviour than adolescents from families in higher socio-economic positions (Lugala, 1998, in Maro, 2008). Furthermore, higher standards of living are associated with later sexual debuts,
while in poor households too many household demands and too few social and economic opportunities can lead to poor school performances and through that to early pregnancy (Lloyd and Mensch, 1995, in Grant & Hallman, 2006, in Hunt, 2008). Mkize (1995, in Macleod, 1999) suggests that in poor urban areas a lot of teenage girls are selling sex to older men and accept the risk of getting pregnant, because of their need for money.

Besides household’s wealth, the household’s structure and function are also related to pregnancy. Early pregnancy happens more often in less cohesive and less organised families, for example one-parent families (Craig & Richter-Strydom, 1983, in Macleod, 1999). Furthermore, communication patterns within families also contribute to teenage pregnancy. According to Anagnostara (1988, in Macleod, 1999), girls from families with closed communication patterns run a greater risk of getting pregnant than those coming from families with open patterns of communication. Furthermore, in a research by Blom (1989, in Macleod, 1999), pregnant girls considered their families less functional than non-pregnant girls.

In addition to household’s wealth, structure and function, different individual characteristics of girls increase their risk of getting pregnant. First, the girls’ educational career is found to influence the risk girls face to get pregnant (TDHS 2004/05, in United Nations, 2010). According to Grand and Hallman (2006), girls who enter school in delay run a greater a risk to get pregnant. In their research, each year of delayed school entry is connected to a 65 percent greater risk of early pregnancy. Another study suggests that girls with poor school performance are more likely to fall pregnant than girls with better school performance (Grant & Hallman, 2008). If girls have repeated a grade, they run a seven times greater risk of getting pregnant than girls who did not repeat a grade. The high number of girls’ grade repetition might contribute to early pregnancy by the extended period in which girls are enrolled in school and run a risk of getting pregnant while they are attending school (Grant & Hallman, 2008). However, prior repetitions and low expectations of further progression can contribute to girls’ decision to get pregnant and drop out of school as well (NRC, 1993, in Grant & Hallman, 2008).

In addition to the factors already mentioned, Van Coeverden, de Groot and Greathead (1987, in Macleod, 1999) found that early menarche is related to a short period between menarche and first sexual intercourse and a high prevalence of getting pregnant. Moreover, girls who engage in sexual activity at an early age are more likely to have unsafe sex with risky sexual partners and multiple partners, and as a result run a greater risk of getting pregnant than girls who initiate sex later (Van Coeverden, de Groot, & Greathead, 1987, in Macleod, 1999; UNICEF,UNAIDS, & WHO, 2002, in Maro, 2008). Despite the norm of abstinence, Tanzanian young people become sexual active at an early age. The average age of women at first intercourse is about 17 years but sexually activity has been recorded among girls and boys of 10 years of age (TDHS 2004/05, in Ministry of Health and Social Welfare 2006). 15 percent of the women and 17 percent of the men have sexual intercourse for the first time by the age of 15. By the age of 18, 65 percent of the women are already sexually active and by the age of 20 about 86 percent (TRCHS, 1999, in Ministry of Health, 2008). In urban areas youth is found to become sexually active
even at a younger age. Leshabari (1988, in Fugelsang, 1997) reports that 61 percent of the boys and 35 percent of the girls aged 14 or younger are sexually active in primary schools in Dar es Salaam.

Another factor that is related to early pregnancy is girls’ low self-esteem. Brits (1989, in Macleod, 1999) and Pond (1987, in Macleod, 1999) claims that pregnant teenagers possess a relatively poor sense of identity, low self-image and self-confidence, consider themselves inadequate and inferior and have feelings of insecurity. In a research by Richter (1996, in Macleod, 1999) pregnant teenagers are also associated with lower rates of self-acceptance. Besides the individual factors, pregnancy can be the result of particular risky behaviour (Zaba et al., 2004, in Maro, 2008) for instance, the use of drugs and alcohol (Maro, 2008).

Like the causal model of early school-leaving, the causal model of early pregnancy contains many different factors that concern several domains of life. Within the model individual factors that put girls at risk of early pregnancy are influenced by external factors. Subsequently, to be able to understand the problem of early pregnancy in its entirety and to develop adequate interventions, a broad focus is needed that not only pays attention to girls as individuals who are in danger of getting pregnant, but to their environment as well. Besides individual characteristics of girls, a lack of knowledge and skills about sexual and reproductive health, cultural and social factors, the marginalised position of girls and certain household characteristics are important causes of early pregnancy as well.

As stated earlier, in this research early pregnancy is not an isolated problem, but perceived as part of the broader problem of early school-leaving. After discussing the causal factors of both the problems, it appears that the problems are indeed strongly interrelated. The causes of both problems partly overlap, moreover, different causes of the first problem influence causal factors of the second problem and vice versa.

### 3.3.3 The need for school-based sex education

From the examinations of the early school-leaving problem and the problem of early pregnancy it becomes clear that in sub-Saharan African, including Tanzania, adolescents do not have enough knowledge about their sexual and reproductive health, and are at a loss whom to consult on issues of sexuality and related health issues. The result is that most adolescents rely on the information in the newspapers, on television, or on internet, and on things they hear in the streets. This in turn has led adolescents to be involved in unsafe sex leading to unplanned pregnancy, illegal abortion, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (Mbonile & Kayombo, 2008). Several studies revealed that adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa have a need for information, skills and services about sexuality by which they can decrease risky behaviour and increase protective behaviour (Singh, et al., 2005; Todd et al., 2004, in Mkumbo, 2009; UNESCO, 2009; Senderowitz & Kirby, 2006; United Nations, 2010). An effective way to provide such information, skills and services to adolescents is the implementation of
adequate and comprehensive school-based sex education (Schaalma et al., 2004; UNESCO, 2009; FHI, 2006; USAID, 2007; Mkumbo, 2009). Different studies show that school-based sex education can decrease the sexual and reproductive health risks that many adolescents face. Effective programmes prove to increase adequate knowledge, reduce misconceptions, clarify and reinforce positive values and attitudes, improve skills to make responsible decisions and to act in a protective way, teach adolescents how to deal with peer pressure and social norms, and advance communication with parents and other important adults (UNESCO, 2009). Furthermore, adequate sex education programmes stimulate adolescents to abstain or delay their debut in sexual activities until they are cognitively and emotionally developed enough to have healthy sexual relationships (Kirby, 2001, in Mkumbo, 2009; UNESCO, 2009). Moreover, the provision of sex education has proven to decrease unprotected sexual activity, reduce the number of sexual partners, and increase the use of family planning methods for adolescents who are already sexually active (Mueller & Kulkarni, 2008, in Mkumbo, 2009; UNESCO, 2009).

School settings are considered to be most appropriate to provide sex education (UNESCO, 2009). Firstly, because it belongs to the range of schools’ duties to prepare young people for their adult life. Sex education is considered part of this preparation and as a result, sex education is considered to be part of the critical responsibility of the education sector. Besides this argument related to responsibility, there are several practical reasons that make school settings appropriate places for the provision of sex education (UNESCO, 2009). Because of the high number of children that attend school, school settings offer practical means to reach large numbers of young people, even before they become sexually active (Juárez, LeGrand, Lloyd, & Singh, 2006; UNESCO, 2009). Besides, school settings could afford an appropriate structure to provide sex education, because of the availability of skilled teachers and reliable sources of information, and the opportunity of long-term sex education if it is included in the formal curriculum (UNESCO, 2009).

3.3.4 Evidence-based curricula and their need to adapt to the context

To improve the sexual and reproductive health of African adolescents, many studies were conducted that aim to contribute to the development of effective forms of sex education (Schaalma et al., 2004; UNESCO, 2009; FHI, 2006). Different international health organisations collected the results of those studies and framed evidence-based rationales for the development, content and implementation of sex education. Examples of such rationales are the *International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education*, designed by UNESCO (2009) and *Standards for Curriculum-Based Reproductive Health and HIV Education Programs*, formulated by Family Health International (2006). In both documents, standards for effective forms of sex education are given, by stating characteristics that are based on research into essential components of effective programmes and good practices from field experiences of practitioners. In their introduction, both rationales claim to have a wide application and to be useful for many purposes, because they determine the common characteristics of effective sex education
programmes across different cultures, settings and age-groups and formulate clear guidelines for the development, content and implementation of evidence-based sex education (FHI, 2006; UNESCO, 2009). However - besides the wide applicability and comprehensiveness of their rationales - UNESCO and FHI also emphasise that their rationales are not binding in character and need to be applied flexibly, because in many countries various political and cultural challenges go beyond what is captured within their standards and impede the implementation and delivery of sex education programmes that have been based on their standards. Schaalma et al. (2004) agree with UNESCO and FHI, and state that although theory- and evidence-based sex education programmes are most likely to decrease the number of pregnancies and STIs among adolescents, such programmes may not be implemented or delivered optimally, because of policy and cultural constraints. Schaalma et al. (2004) found that in many cultures, both modern en pre-modern, the traditional content and methods of sex education are strongly embedded within a historical context and depend on particular sexual taboos, religious beliefs, and cultural attitudes and explanations about sexuality. Because adolescents’ sexual behaviour is strongly regulated by cultural and religious standards, evidence-based sex education programmes that contradict cultural and religious beliefs do not produce their desired effects. Nevertheless, the content of evidence-based sex education often does not harmonise with local systems. Kirby (2002, in Schaalma et al., 2004) and Mkumbo (2010) both stated that the need for school-based sex education to address sexually transmitted infections and unintended pregnancy enjoys wide support among both modern and traditional systems, but there is much controversy about appropriate objectives for sex education and about the adequate content. Examples of controversial topics are teachings about sexual relationships, sexual meetings, and competent use of condoms and contraceptives. The controversies in objectives and content create challenges in implementing and delivering evidence-based forms of sex education and impede those forms to produce their desired effects.

An example of a case in which the implementation and delivery of sex education is assumed to be impeded by political and cultural constraints is Tanzania. In 2004, the Tanzanian government implemented school-based sex education in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools, in order to decrease the high numbers of HIV/AIDS, STIs and unintended pregnancies (Fundi, 2010). When the Ministry of Health in Tanzania started this policy, there was a lot of public resistance to launch sex education programmes, as many believed that these would promote promiscuity among youth, because providing sex education and contraceptives to unmarried people is a very controversial issue with a substantial part of the Tanzanian population (Fugelsang, 1997). Five years after the implementation of school-based sex education, in 2009 the number of pregnancy-related drop-out was still increasing and it was concluded that current forms of sex education did not produce their desired effects (Fundi, 2010; BEST, 2010). As stated earlier in this report, Fundi (2010) blames current Tanzanian sex education programmes for being one-sided, based on scientific theories and modern approaches that do not harmonise with traditional systems. She argues that the Tanzanian government needs to stimulate debate within communities about better ways of teaching knowledge about sexual and reproductive health that
do not reject local norms and values. Schaalma et al. (2004) agree with the appeal by Fundi and state that, when policy and cultural constraints exist, developers of sex education need to acknowledge these constraints and target communities and legislators in order to facilitate the adaptation of evidence-based sex education programmes. UNESCO (2009) and FHI (2006) also mark the importance to adapt sex education programmes to the cultural and political context of particular target populations. In their standards, they explicitly require programmes to be adapted to the local context and in addition to their standards, they explore several political and cultural challenges that may impede the implementation and delivery of evidence-based curricula.

To reduce the number of pregnancy-related school drop-out, this research aims to understand why current Tanzanian programmes for school-based sex education do not produce their desired effects, and subsequently, explore possibilities to overcome the difficulties that hinder current programmes in their effectiveness. In line with the appeal of several authors (Zeelen et al., 2010; Fundi, 2010; Horstman, 2005; Schaalma et al, 2004; Mkumbo, 2009), a bottom-up approach will be applied in which current sex education programmes are addressed through the perceptions of local actors. Subsequently, the same actors will be actively involved in a first exploration about how current sex education programmes can be improved. To gain a certain background about the deficiencies and difficulties that may exist within current forms of sex education, the challenges that are mentioned by Schaalma et al. (2004), UNESCO (2009) and FHI (2006) are used to design the model in figure 3.3. In this model five critical areas are presented that encompass political and cultural topics that might affect the implementation and delivery of evidence-based curricula. The term ‘critical areas’ is chosen, because the selected areas have a critical influence on the implementation and delivery of evidence-based sex education and determine whether the implementation of evidence-based curricula leads up to effective programmes in practice. Although the critical areas from figure 3.3 will be used to design the interview guides and focus group discussion, in the formulation of questions, openness to new constraints and possibilities will be preserved and stakeholders will be stimulated to express their own perceptions and ideas.
Responding to the specific risks and needs

Various studies reveal that sex education programmes are not isolated in producing a certain extent of effectiveness, but depend on the experiences of target populations and the particular risks they face (Bartholomew et al., 2001, in Schaalma et al., 2004; Gren & Kreuter, 1999, in Schaalma et al., 2004; UNESCO, 2009; FHI, 2006; Mkumbo, 2009; Mkumbo, 2010). As a consequence, it is assumed that different target groups need different sex education programmes to improve their sexual and reproductive health. Simple forms of implementing evidence-based sex education programmes in new contexts are not likely to be successful. Studies reveal that effective forms of sex education need to be based upon local, collaborative development that takes into account the particular health risks and needs of populations in a specified geographical, economic, and cultural context. Schaalma et al. (2004) found the involvement of students in the development and implementation of school-based sex education to be an important factor contributing to its effectiveness. Other studies confirm the need to address, understand and incorporate the perceptions of students in the development and implementation of sex education (Hilton 2003, in Mkumbo, 2010). Besides the involvement of students in the prevention of early pregnancy, studies advise careful assessment that includes analyses of behavioural and environmental causes that determine whether a schoolgirl gets pregnant or not (Green & Kreuter, 1999, in Schaalma et al., 2004; Witkin & Altschuld, 1995, in Schaalma et al., 2004). The causal models of early school-leaving and early pregnancy that are presented in paragraph 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 are useful as a starting point to do such kind of assessment and as a background to interview actors about the sexual health risks they face and the needs they have.
The existence of favourable school climates

The school context in which sex education is delivered is found to be of crucial importance to its effectiveness. Climates of uncertainty or conflict between managers in schools make the difference between successful interventions and those that fail (UNESCO, 2009). Because of that, sex education is asserted to be the responsibility of the whole school, not only through teaching but also via school rules, in-school practices, the curriculum and teaching and learning materials (FHI, 2006). School managements are advised to create, motivate and support appropriate climates in which sex education can be delivered effectively. Research shows that such climates can be arranged by a clear set of school-wide guidelines that concern issues of confidentiality, discrimination and gender equality and support teachers that deliver sex education (UNESCO, 2009). Furthermore, studies assert that sex education programmes may be accepted easier by teachers and students if they are part of the larger educational structure and system (UNESCO, 2009).

Competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education

Studies suggest that teachers and other educational staff members may be reluctant to provide sex education, because they are not convinced of the necessity of sex education or they lack confidence and skills to teach about sexual and reproductive health (UNESCO, 2009). Other studies find that, in the African context, cultural and moral beliefs about the acceptability of sexual desire and sexual behaviour make teaching sex education more complicated and challenging than other forms of education (Schaalma et al., 2004). It is assumed that in many African countries the experiences and moral views of teachers make it difficult for them to teach about sexual related topics and to facilitate the development of skills that are necessary for safer sex negotiation. Research revealed that teachers’ views, values and morality are significant determinants of the effectiveness of sexual health programmes (Paullessen, Kok, & Schaalma, 1994, in Schaalma et al., 2004). It appears that, if teachers have more conservative beliefs about sexuality, they are less likely to adapt the curriculum, and they have lower confidence in their ability to deliver the curriculum properly. A possibility to make teachers more confident in teaching sex education is the provision of teacher-training. It is assumed that such a training may increase teachers’ knowledge about sexual and reproductive health and may address teachers’ moral beliefs about sexual behaviour, their ideas about the feasibility of classroom procedures, their expectations about students’ reactions towards programme components, and their confidence in their own abilities to teach sex education (Helleve et al., 2009).

In addition to the difficulties with their own values and experiences, it is assumed that teachers also need to be sensitive to different experiences, values, and sexualities among their students. Studies revealed that the effectiveness of school-based sex education depends upon a ‘safe’ classroom atmosphere in which adolescents feel free to ask questions and to discuss topics concerning sexuality (Schaalma et al., 2004). It is assumed to be difficult to create such an atmosphere, because the discussions about sexuality may break taboos that may lead to anxiety and embarrassment among
students. Furthermore, several studies reveal that problematic teacher–pupil relationships are one of the largest barriers to the potential success of sex education. The established teaching culture, characterised by recitation and corporal punishment, contrasts fundamentally with trust-building and participatory methods that are generally promoted in sex education (World Health Organization, 1997 in Plummer et al., 2006). In order to prevent such feelings of anxiety and embarrassment among students, teachers are recommended to incorporate confidentiality ground rules and exercises about feelings and values. To be capable enough to incorporate such rules and exercises, different studies suggest that teachers need to be provided with clearly documented exercises and with skills and confidence to deliver those exercises properly (Paulussen, et al., 1994, in Schaalma et al., 2004; Wight & Abraham, 2000, in Schaalma et al., 2004). Moreover, school-based sex education can be effective if adapted to the realities of the local educational system by such means as simplification of the subject matter, in-service training on alternative teaching methods, improvement of teacher–pupil and teacher–community relationships and close supervision and appropriate responses to abusive or exploitative practices (Plummer, 2006). Other studies suggest that separating students into same-sex groups, partly or during the whole programme, can be effective in this matter as well (Kirby, 2009, in UNESCO, 2009).

Fitting in with local systems and creating local support
School-based sex education is assumed to be more effective if it is supplemented by adolescent-friendly resources within the community that support what is taught at school (Pathfinder, 2005, in Mkumbo, 2010). It may be difficult for adolescents to bring into practice the protective messages they learned at school, if they get contradictory messages from other important institutions, like communities and religious groups (FHI, 2006). Research findings from in depth-interviews with North-Tanzanian people between 24 and 30 years old, who had received school-based sex education at primary school, revealed that especially women had difficulties to implement the sexual and reproductive health messages that they learned at school in real life (Wamoyi, Mshana, Doyle, & Ross, n.d.). According to Peels (2008), the responsibility for the moral education of a child in Morogoro Region is an issue of discussion between parents and school, and according to Jonker (2010) the views of community members and teachers about what should be taught seem to oppose each other, especially at places where traditional practices are still very important. The research of Wmoiyi et al. (n.d.) concludes that strategies for school-based sex education need to focus on a wider socio-economic context to explore the difficulties that may hamper adolescents to implement messages in real life. Other research findings also emphasise the need for programmes to be locally adapted and to address social and cultural factors like beliefs, values, attitudes and skills that affect sexual behaviour (FHI, 2006). To produce the desired effect, sex education programmes could inform community members about their content and gain at least a minimal extent of acceptance and support from those members. In order to create such acceptance and support, Schaalma et al. (2004) recommend the establishment of an ecological approach. An ecological definition of sex education may result in a more strategic approach, in which sexual behaviour is not
only interpreted as a function of individuals, but also as a function of their environment, including families, social networks, organisations and public policy frameworks (Richar, Potvin, Kishchuk, Prlic, & Green, 1996, in Schaalma et al., 2004). For example, in this view the use of condoms is not only determined by individual knowledge and skills, but depends on the attitudes and decisions of legislators, health authorities, schools, communities and other groups as well (Bartholomew et al., 2001, in Schaalma et al., 2004). The adoption of an ecological approach means that sex education needs to be implemented at different levels in order to produce the desired effects. Besides school-based programmes, community-based programmes and other health services and opportunities have to be implemented that reinforce and facilitate the health messages provided at school (FHI, 2006). In this matter, the involvement of stakeholders, such as local government leaders, education and health authorities, religious leaders, community leaders, parents and youth themselves is recommended.

A conducive policy environment

Because sexual behaviour is regulated by policies, whether sex education programmes comply with their desired effects is not just determined by the quality of its curriculum, teaching materials and delivery expertise, but also by the political context in which sex education programmes are delivered. If there are policies that preclude the implementation of effective curricula, health workers are recommended to address issues that can facilitate a more supportive environment (FHI, 2006). A possibility to remove restrictions from political contexts may be the adoption of the ecological approach that was mentioned above. In this approach, individuals from local groups and organisations are involved to assist health workers in changing the policy environment and supporting the continuation of sex education (Bartholomew et al, 2001, in Schaalma et al., 2004).

3.3.5 Presuppositions

Implicitly, in this chapter several presuppositions have been formulated to construct a theoretical framework that will be used to collect and interpret data further on in this research. Because of the importance of these presuppositions, they are explicitly presented one after another below.

- In Tanzania early school-leaving is a current problem that concerns both boys and girls. Although girls advance more rapidly through primary education, during secondary education the number of school drop-outs among girls starts to increase. Overall, girls take a marginalised position in the early school-leaving problem, in particular caused by early pregnancy.

- In most cases, early school-leaving is not the result of one single factor, but caused by a range of interacting factors. To investigate the problem of early school-leaving properly, attention
must be paid to the interplay of the various interacting factors. The causal model relating to early school-leaving (presented in figure 3.1, paragraph 3.2.1) may be helpful in this context.

- Early pregnancy is assumed to be a significant contributor to school drop-out among girls. In Tanzania, pregnancy-related school drop-out starts at primary school level and continues to occur at secondary school level.

- Just like the problem of early school-leaving, the problem of early pregnancy can be explained from different causal factors that concern several domains of life. In order to prevent early pregnancy effectively, attention must be paid not only to the individual characteristics of girls, but to their environment as well.

- School-based sex education is an evidence-based method to prevent pregnancy-related school drop-out. By equipping adolescents with particular knowledge, skills and attitudes, effective programmes of sex education can reduce risky behaviour and increase protective behaviour, and thus prevent early pregnancy.

- For the development, implementation and delivery of sex education, there are several evidence-based rationales. Unfortunately, it turns out that the delivery of programmes that are based on those rationales do not always produce the desired effects. The relation between evidence-based curricula and effective programmes is not linear, but influenced by several critical aspects. These critical aspects encompass different social and cultural factors and require evidence-based curricula to be adapted to its context. In this research, the critical areas that are presented in figure 3.3 (paragraph 3.2.3) are used as a starting point, to explore the perceptions of actors of current sex education programmes and its proceeds and difficulties. Subsequently, actors are stimulated to express ideas about ways to adapt current programmes to their own preferences and needs, and to overcome the difficulties that hinder current strategies of school-based sex education in its effectiveness.
Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology that is used to conduct this qualitative research. First the qualitative research approach is explained with attention to some elements of action research. Next, the research methods and the field of research are discussed and the processes of data collection and data analysis are described. In the concluding paragraphs, attention is paid to the validity and generalisation of this research, to its ethics and to the reflection on the role of the two researchers of this report.

4.2 Qualitative research including elements of action research

The aim of this research is to get a better understanding of the situation in Tanzania concerning the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy. Subsequently this research aims to explore possibilities to better current forms of sex education to reduce the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs. As described in the theoretical framework, on the continuum between quantitative and qualitative research, this study aims to supplement technical ‘know-how’ knowledge from quantitative studies with qualitative research findings that produce contextual rich and useful knowledge. Therefore, in this study the choice is made for an explorative, descriptive research with elements of action research.

Qualitative research makes it possible to get the most complete picture of local perceptions about pregnancy-related school drop-out and current practices of sex education, and helps to get an interpretive understanding of different related contextual aspects from an insider’s point of view (Harris 1980, in De Haas, 2009; D’Andrade 1995, in De Haas, 2009). The goal of qualitative research is not so much as to test the already known but to discover the new and develop empirically grounded theories. In qualitative research a single case is analysed more or less consistently, before comparative or general statements are made (Hildenbrand, 1991, in Flick, 1998).

Action research can be defined by ‘learning by doing’ and aims to contribute to the practical problems of people in problematic circumstances, but simultaneously to further develop social science as well (O’Brien, 2001). These two aims together require active involvement not only of researchers, but of actors from the practical field as well. As a result, action research is a process of active collaboration and co-learning (O’Brien, 2001), in which a cycle is followed of strategic planning, implementing the plan (action), evaluation and self-evaluation and making decisions for the next cycle of action research by reflection (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996). The most important element of action research used in this study is that everyone’s view is taken as a contribution to understand the situation (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996). This study tries to learn from the perceptions of different participants and gather detailed information with
the aim to contribute to improve school-based sex education. In the process of data collection, the subjective meanings that individuals attribute to their environment and activities form the empirical starting point. Furthermore, the role of the social and cultural context of individuals is taken into consideration, because of its crucial importance in understanding the different perspectives (Sacks, 1992, in Flick 1998).

In the scientific philosophy of this research, in reconstructing cases, the reality studied is not perceived as a given reality but as constructed by different actors (Flick, 1998). Consequently, the subjectivities of the researchers and of those being studied are consciously part of the research process (Flick, 1998) and the conclusions of this study are grounded on the perceptions of those being studied (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996).

4.3 Research methods

The aim of qualitative research is to design methods so open that they do justice to the complexity of the object of study (Flick, 1998). However, although qualitative-interpretative research methods are leading for this study, in order to gain at least a certain theoretical background and because of limited resources, instead of a full qualitative method-design, in this study a multi-method design is applied in which data is collected through qualitative methods but also through some quantitative methods. The research methods used in this study are document analyses, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, a focus group discussion, observations and field notes. These methods are discussed shortly one after another and in paragraph 4.5., by discussing the collection of data, the methods are described in more detail.

Document analyses is a suitable way to describe the social situation (Flick, 2007). Through the collection and description of relevant literature in chapter 3, a good insight is gained in the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy and the possibilities of school-based sex education to solve this problem. Document analyses will be used after this methodology again. In chapter 6 statistical documents are used to describe the current state concerning early school-leaving and early pregnancy in Tanzania and Morogoro. In chapter 8 the current practices of sex education will be presented based on the analyses of policy guidelines and other relevant documents. Although in these two chapters document analyses are the starting point, in line with the qualitative research approach, talks with different people about the topic - inside and outside the official research setting - are used as well to verify the data collected from documents.

Semi-structured interviews are an important method to approach subjective viewpoints (Flick, 2007). By using semi-structured interviews, it is possible to get more detailed information about personal perceptions and experiences. The information gathered by using questionnaires is less detailed and less personal but questionnaires are easier to reach a large number of persons and are more anonymous. For this reason too, questionnaires are suitable to get a general view of the situation and perceptions. In this research, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires are used complementary to
each other and will be used in chapters 7, 9 and 10 to address the problem of early pregnancy and current practices of sex education in the Morogoro Region and to explore possibilities to better current sex education programmes through the perceptions of local actors.

The focus group discussion will also be used to explore possibilities to improve current sex education programmes, and also to verify the outcomes of this study. Focus group discussions, often being used in action research, give the possibility to use the personal opinions and experiences of the participants and to connect these with background knowledge in order to extract recommendations for possible changes (Flick, 2007). According to Flick (2007), by means of a focus group, triangulation of data collected with other research methods and internal comparison of the results may contribute to the quality of the study as a whole. Furthermore, through interaction in groups, multiple perspectives about a topic can be generated (Flick, 2007).

An advantage of observation in the research setting is the possibility to register more information about what happens at the setting than can be collected by other research methods. To get an impression of sex education that is given at schools, we planned to observe during a sex education lesson given by a teacher at a rural school. Unfortunately, this was not possible because sex education lessons are not given on a regular basis as the topic is included in the curriculum of subjects like science and biology. For this reason we observed during a sex education lesson at a secondary school, organised by an NGO. During the observation we paid special attention to the reactions, comments, attitudes and body language of students and we observed whether or not the good practices of sex education based on the literature were present in this lesson.

Field notes are written descriptions and reflections on the observation of the participants. They may contain physical descriptions of the site, descriptions of daily routines of the participants and detailed descriptions of observed interactions and participants interviews (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, in Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003). In this research field notes are used to gather additional information that could not be done by other research methods, but were very important to analyse data within its context.

4.4 The research field

In the field of research, data is collected at three levels: the policy level, the level of researchers and experts and the level where the policy is carried out.

The policy level is important in addressing the policies concerning sex education and the goals that policy-makers want to achieve with the policies they made. At the policy level the data collection consists of policy guidelines, newspaper articles, interviews with national policy-makers and interviews with educational officers of regional governments.

At the level of researchers and experts, good practices of the policy delivery are traced and experts’ experiences about the policy goals and its general yields in practice are explored. The level of
researchers and experts consists of literature study, an examination of NGO programmes, interviews with researchers and people from NGOs and a focus group with experts from different fields.

To address whether or not the policy concerning sex education achieves its aims, it is important to investigate the perceptions of people at the level where the policy is carried out. The data collection at the level where policy is carried out includes observations, questionnaires for students and interviews with teenage mothers, students, headmasters, teachers, counsellors, community leaders and parents. An overview about the actors involved at the different levels is given in APPENDIX 2.

4.4.1 Policy level

At the policy level, policy documents and guidelines for school-based sex education and adolescent-friendly sexual and reproductive health services were collected. Also we got the syllabi from the subject science at primary school and from biology at secondary school. In the syllabi the content of the subjects are described, including the topic of sex education. Besides document analyses, at the policy level interviews are used as a research method as well. An employee of the Ministry of Education from the department of the National Curriculum Development was interviewed to get information about the guidelines for sex education at primary and secondary schools and about the process of curriculum development. Furthermore the employee was asked about the outcomes of evaluations and about the existence of possible plans to change the guidelines/curricula concerning sex education. Because in Tanzania the educational system is partly decentralised it is also important to investigate the policy at the regional level. Two health officers (from primary education), the educational officer of secondary education and the cultural officer from Morogoro Municipal Council were interviewed. Also the educational officer from DED Mvomero (a rural district of Morogoro Region) and two educational officers from the Morogoro Regional Office were interviewed.

4.4.2 Level of researchers and experts

A lot of research related to the topic of early school-leaving in Africa, early pregnancy and school-based sex education has been done earlier. To get an insight into the causes of pregnancy-related school drop-out, the current state of school-based sex education and good practices of sex education, a lot of articles, thesis and books on this topic were collected. Also we interviewed a researcher at Mzumbe University, who conducted a research into early school-leavers in Tanzanian rural areas and an employee from the Gender Department of the Ministry of Education who conducted a research into school drop-out due to pregnancy in which she compared different regions. Furthermore, we asked at different places which NGOs dealt with sexual and reproductive health education and promotion or with the support of teenage mothers. In APPENDIX 2, among the level of researchers and experts, an overview is presented of the NGOs we visited. From different NGOs in Morogoro and Dar es Salaam the programmes were collected.
and interviews were done with employees. The aim of those interviews was to collect perceptions of experts to get an overview on the situation of sex education in general, of good practices and difficulties, and of what is done by different NGOs. During the focus group people with different backgrounds were invited.

4.4.3. Level at which policy is carried out

Involvement of both primary and secondary schools

The majority of the data in this study was collected at the level where the policy is carried out. Different schools were visited, among which primary as well as secondary schools. However current sex education programmes largely take place at secondary level, this study was consciously conducted at primary level as well, because research indicates that sex education is most effective if it is taught before adolescents have had their first sexual contacts (WHO, 1997, in Plummer et al., 2007). In Tanzania, girls are sexually active at a young age. By the age of 18, 65 percent of women is already sexually active and by age 20, about 86 percent of women is sexually active (Ministry of Health, 2008). In Tanzania primary schooling is from age 7 to age 15. However, some adolescents continue primary school until age 20, because they start at an advanced age or repeat many years (Kulena, 1999, in Wight et al. 2006). As a result, for most students the effectiveness of sexual and reproductive health interventions that start at secondary school level are less effective compared to interventions that start at primary level (Ministry of Health, 2008). Moreover, because most women in Tanzania attain only primary education, the inclusion of sex education in the primary school curriculum can reach higher numbers of girls in comparison with the lessons delivered at secondary school (Shirima & Kinabo, 2004). For these reasons, this research explores the current practices, perceptions and future possibilities of sex education at both primary schools and secondary schools.

The selection of the schools

During the fieldwork a selection was made of which schools were going to participate in the research. To ensure governmental cooperation, the researchers selected schools that were registered at the Regional Educational Office in Morogoro Municipality. In consultation with different educational officers, two primary schools and two secondary schools were finally chosen. The selected schools reflect different teaching circumstances and are situated in different sceneries to get a complete overview of the situation. Governmental as well as private schools are included, some closer to town in Morogoro Municipal, others more remote in the Mvomero district.

Both primary schools are situated in the Mvomero district, in respectively the villages Makuyu (Makuyu Primary School) and Yowe (Yowe Primary School). The schools from Makuyu and Yowe were chosen after deliberation with the Educational Officer of the Mvomero District because of their rural character. Especially Yowe Primary School is located in a very remote area.
Besides two primary schools, two secondary schools were selected as well. Mgeta Secondary School in the Mvomero district was selected because we expected to find good practices at this school due to the presence of a very active Fema club, a (reproductive) health club. The other secondary school is called Educare Secondary School and is located in Morogoro Municipal, an urban area. This school was selected because the researchers attended an awareness campaign about sexual and reproductive health at this school and thought it would be interesting to evaluate the perceptions of pupils and teachers about this campaign afterwards. A more detailed description of the four schools involved in this research is presented in chapter 5 of this report.

Besides the four schools where we conducted the formal interviews, two additional schools were visited. The first additional school is called Morogoro Lutheran Junior Seminary. The researchers visited this school because they accompanied an NGO that delivered a sex education seminar. At Morogoro Lutheran Junior Seminary no interviews were held, only observations were conducted. The second additional school visited is called SEGA Secondary School. This school, founded by an NGO, aims to give girls a second change to complete their education after they initially dropped out due to several problematic circumstances, for example pregnancy. At SEGA Secondary School two teenage mothers that got the chance to return to school after their delivery were interviewed.

Selection of interviewees
For the selection of the interviewees we used purposeful sampling. The researchers decided to interview the headmasters from every school first, to ask for permission in the first place and secondly to gain an overview of the school as regards statistics and general information about the school and the curriculum. Unfortunately, because the headmasters were not always around, the researchers only had the chance to interview the headmasters of Makuyu Primary and Educare Secondary School. In the cases of Yowe Primary and Mgeta Secondary School the researchers spoke with teachers who replaced the headmasters at that moment. Because sex education is included in the subject science at primary schools and biology at secondary schools, the researchers tried to interview at least one science or biology teacher at every school. Also they chose to interview at least one counsellor or matron if present, because according to the policies, these persons have to deal with students if they have problems concerning their sexual and reproductive health. Furthermore the researchers decided to interview four female students at every school. At secondary schools they interviewed one student from every form. At primary schools they only interviewed pupils from standard 7, because they expected that those interviews would have more relevance to the research than interviews with younger students from lower standards, because these younger students may probably have less knowledge of sex education, teenage pregnancy and other related subjects. Moreover younger students might probably be more shy to talk openly about such topics. An overview of the characteristics of the interviewees is given in APPENDIX 3. To gain as much information from girls as possible, for the interviews with students this research focuses completely on girls. Despite the fact that the attitude of boys is also important, the decision was made to
investigate the attitude of the boys by questionnaires only, because of limited time and resources. As a result, the researchers had the possibility to interview many different girls, and gained much information about the factors that influence girls’ behaviour, which motives are important to them and their opinion about sex education. Next to headmasters, teachers and students, four parents were interviewed at every school. The parents that were interviewed were not the parents of the students that were interviewed, but selected on availability by headmaster and teachers of the schools. In table 4.1 an overview of the respondents interviewed at schools is presented.

Table 4.1 Interviewees at schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Headmaster</th>
<th>Teacher(s)</th>
<th>Counsellors/ Matrons</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mgeta Secondary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educare Secondary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makuyu Primary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yowe Primary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEGA Secondary School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of respondents interviewed at schools

In this qualitative study, in the process of selecting research subjects, it is the argument of relevance to the research that counts rather than their representativeness. Objects are not reduced to single variables but are studied in their complexity and entirely in their everyday context (Flick, 1998). Individuals are selected according to their (expected) level of new insights for the developing theory, in relation to the state of theory elaboration so far (Flick, 1998). At Yowe Primary School the level of education was very poor and it was already very difficult for the students to answer the questionnaire. Consequently, we expected students not to have many new insights and we decided not to interview students at Yowe Primary School. Furthermore, Flick states (1998) that if nothing new emerges, the ‘theoretical saturation’ of a category or group of cases has been reached and the sampling is finished. This was the case with the interviews with parents. In the end we had spoken with so many parents that nothing new emerged from their answers and therefore we decided to skip the interviews with parents from Educare Secondary School. In addition to table 4.1, a more exhaustive overview of the interviews at each school can be found in APPENDIX 2, among the level where the policy is carried out.
4.5 Data collection

*Orientation and literature review*

At the beginning of the research process, literature about subjects of research is used to get a better understanding of the problem and its context. A literature study was performed to contextualise this study and to create a theoretical framework. Orientation in the field took place through conversations with supervisor S. Fundi, talks with students and people from NGOs, and the analysis of documents like national guidelines for sexual and reproductive health. Also a lot of additional literature on this topic by former researchers was found on the internet. The background information that was gained helped to formulate better questions for the interviews.

*Document analyses*

At each school that was visited, drop-out rates were asked from the past five years, but unfortunately these rates were often not available. Therefore, information on drop-out rates from the Morogoro Regional Office and the Ministry of Education was gained. Besides drop-out rates, documents about national policy strategies and guidelines were gathered, as well as the national curriculum of science for primary and biology for secondary school; school books for the subjects science and biology; working plans and programme evaluations from NGOs; researches on a topic related to early school-leaving, early pregnancy, or sex education; documents containing general statistics about Tanzania; newspaper articles and other interesting documents.

*Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were held with students, parents, teachers, teenage mothers, people from NGOs, employees from the Ministry of Education and other important stakeholders to explore their perceptions of early school-leaving, early pregnancy, sex education and their ideas on how to improve sex education.

At the start of the study, with a recommendation letter for this research from the Mzumbe University, permission was asked from the offices of Morogoro Municipal and Mvomero District to collect data in those regions. From both offices a permission letter was supplied to conduct the research, and after selecting schools in those regions and arranging a translator, it was possible to start planning school visits and preparing the interviews.

In the interviews questions were addressed about experiences and perceptions of general and more personal issues, by means of semi-structured interview guides; for examples see APPENDIX 4. In using semi-structured interviews the idea is to develop an interview guide which is used constantly, but flexibly as well, because in qualitative research a necessary degree of freedom is important (Flick, 2007). The structured part of the interview guides increased the similarity of the research situations, so the differences in the data are more likely to result from differences in (the attitude of) the interviewees.
(Flick, 2007). In addition, the open part of the interview guides made subjects’ viewpoints more likely to be expressed compared to a completely standardised interview or questionnaire (Flick, 1998). Besides the fact that semi-structured interviews are suitable in a qualitative research design, there is another reason to choose for semi-structured interviews. Due to the sensitiveness of the topics concerning sex education, the non-response was predicted to be very high with a lot of other research methods. Interviews and their rich and narrative outcomes gave the possibility to get an insight into the perceptions of different actors and to obtain detailed information about the situation.

At the starting point the interview questions and guidelines were formulated based on the research questions and the findings from the literature. Between the interviews, the guidelines were adapted to the next interviewee on the basis of former interviews.

Almost all the interviews were done in Swahili. An interpreter translated the questions and answers, except those of interviewees having a good knowledge of English. Criteria to select an interpreter were: a very good level of English, a good listener, someone who came from the Morogoro Region, no shyness to talk about sexuality, an open attitude and a good approach to youth, some interest in the subject, flexibility and available for whole days, and preferable a woman. Unfortunately, a woman who met the requirements was not found but finally a suitable Tanzanian man was found, who came across as a social and trustworthy person. He did not have experience in translating interviews but he had some experiences with the translation of texts and his level of English was very good.

When the researchers arrived at a school, they always asked to talk to the headmaster first. After an introduction and an explanation of the research, the permission letters from the Municipal and Mvomero District were showed and permission was asked from the headmaster to conduct the research at the school. After the headmaster had given consent, the data collection started with an interview with the headmaster about the general facts of the school and drop-out rates for the particular school were asked at every school. If the headmaster was not present, the researchers spoke to someone who replaced the headmaster. Every school was visited two times within a short interval. On the first day students filled out the questionnaires and as many interviews as possible with the teachers and students were held. A teacher in charge selected the students for the interviews and questionnaires according to the demands of the researchers. After finishing the interviews and questionnaires for that day, an appointment was made for a second visit to do the rest of the interviews. Also someone was asked to arrange for some parents to be present to be interviewed during the next visit. On the day of return the remaining information that was needed was gathered.

At every school the researchers asked for a separate room to do the interviews and if there was no room available, a place with enough privacy and not too much distraction was created. The interviews were always held with one person at the time and if other teachers or pupils were around, they were asked to move. In this way, the setting was made as confidential as possible.

The interviews were done according to a standard division: M. Prick asked the questions, which were prepared together with C. van der Lans, the interpreter translated the questions and answers and C.
van der Lans made notes and checked the recording. If she had any questions to add, she mostly did so in the end of the interview.

*Questionnaires*

From every school a group of students was selected to fill out the questionnaire. At Mgeta Secondary School the group consisted of 100 students and at the other schools the selected groups counted about 50 students. The groups consisted of approximately half girls and half boys. It was assumed that students in the last three years of primary school might have more knowledge of or experience with sex education, sexual activities and other related topics than in the first three years. For this reason students from standard five, six and seven at primary schools filled in the questionnaire. At secondary schools the groups consisted of students from an equal number of every form. For more detailed characteristics of the participants see the table in APPENDIX 5, for the questionnaire itself see APPENDIX 6.

The questionnaires were formulated in Swahili and after a short introduction about the research and the questionnaire the interpreter clarified every question separately at the primary schools. At secondary schools students were more used to make tests and clarification was only needed when students had questions. Despite of the explanations of the interpreter, from the answers of pupils from Yowe Primary School could be concluded that their understanding was not enough and unfortunately, for this reason these data were excluded.

*Focus group discussion*

At the end of our data collection, we organised a focus group discussion with experts and stakeholders in the field (for a list of participants see APPENDIX 7, for the presentation that is used as a starting point for discussion, see APPENDIX 8). During the data collection we asked different stakeholders if they were interested to participate in a focus group discussion. A mix from teachers, people from NGOs, educational officers and other people interested in the subject were invited. Our supervisor from the Netherlands, dr. J.J.M. Zeelen, was also present and was given the task of discussion leader. Unfortunately there were fewer people present during the focus group discussion than expected. However, still there was a mix of teachers and people from NGOs, which resulted in an interesting discussion. All participants had a good command of English so the focus group discussion was held in English. This made it possible for the researchers to interact with the participants. The focus group started with a presentation of the first research findings and the participants were asked if they had any comments on these first findings. In this way the research results were validated. As a result more valid and reliable data were obtained (Flick, 2006, in De Haas, 2009). Subsequently, a few dilemmas were presented to discuss and the participants were asked to give suggestions of how to improve sex education.

At first, it was intended to have focus group discussions with students as well, but the language barrier made this very difficult. During a lesson at the Mgeta Secondary School it was tested how a
discussion with interpreter worked out. Unfortunately, it turned out that in a discussion it is very difficult to translate everything that is said because it interrupts the discussion. For this reason the researchers did not always exactly know what was said and it was difficult for them to participate, to react, to ask questions or lead the discussion. For this reason and because the semi-structured interviews already gave a lot of valuable information, the researchers decided not to organise another focus group discussion.

**Observation and field notes**

By means of observation we collected information from different settings. A presentation of YCI at the Educare Secondary School was attended, where it was possible to have informal talks with pupils. Secondly, a health club meeting organised by YCI at Morogoro Junior Lutheran Secondary School was visited. The observations during this meeting supplement the findings from semi-structured interviews concerning students’ attitudes and challenges in sex education.

Standard field notes made during the interview contained the personal characteristics of the interviewees and the essentials of the interviewee’s answers. Additional field notes were made to register the situation and circumstances, for example at schools, that could not be included in the interviews. To make the data more complete, notes were made from different observations, for example proceedings of interviews, non-verbal messages of interviewees, descriptions of interview settings and portraits of interviewed people. Also if people had interesting opinions outside the interview setting these opinions were written down.

**Other ways of data collection**

Beside the research methods already mentioned, the researchers got the opportunity to organise a lesson with a group discussion among 28 students of the Fema club from Mgeta Secondary School. The interpreter translated the explanations, questions and answers. The lesson started with an introduction of the researchers and the research topic, then the group was divided into five small groups, in which boys and girls were mixed. Each group got a different assignment and students had to discuss certain topics and write down their opinions. When all groups were finished, one student from every group presented their opinions and everybody had the opportunity to react on the opinions presented and to add other discussion topics.

**4.6 Data processing and analysis**

Interviews were recorded with a voice recorder, but in order to make data analysis possible, all interviews were typed out literally. When the data collection was completed, the data were analysed and coded to form broad topics that produce a clear view of the findings and give answers to the research questions. In the process of analysing and coding, use is made of Atlas Ti, a programme that can be used
for qualitative analysis of large amounts of textual and audio data. With this programme codes can be connected to quotations in worked-out interviews. These codes can be classed in so-called families, in order to present the information in a cohesive way. Atlas Ti helped sorting out data, coding, grouping codes, finding connections, and getting an overview of the data.

4.7 Validity and generalisation

“Validity is an evaluation of the extent to which the research evidence supports or justifies the interpretations and conclusions that are based on it” (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003, p. 64). Because it is impossible to maximise both external validity (representativeness of real-world context) and internal validity (precision and control) at the same time, each research needs to make a choice between both. In line with the qualitative research approach, this research prefers external validity to internal validity and seeks to maximise the ecological validity (Camic, et.al., 2003). For this aim, in this study qualitative constructs are grounded in real-life contexts and respondents’ experiences form the starting point of research. As cited before in this chapter, this qualitative research does not intent to give an ‘objective’ description of a phenomenon and the researchers have a vital role in constructing the analytical interpretations (Camic, et.al., 2003).

With its qualitative research approach, this research consciously accepts the internal validity of its outcomes to be low, in order to increase the external validity of its finding. However, at the same time this research still pays attention to its internal validity by the application of a multi-method design in which triangulation creates a more complete picture of phenomenons and is used to establish and secure the internal validity of its outcomes to at least a minimal extent (Mehan, 1979, in Camic, et.al., 2003). Moreover, the findings from this research might gain in internal validity, because two researchers worked together, interpreting the same data and making descriptions and constructs (Lancy, 1993, in Camic, et.a., 2003).

In terms of generalisation, the goal of this research is to provide local knowledge that is meaningful for the field of research. Consequently, this research has an exemplary value and does not necessary provide representative conclusions that can be generalised. However, although qualitative research provides no statistical generalisation, according to Flick (2007), in each form of research it is possible to draw conclusion, make statements and end up with outcomes that have importance beyond the particular situation that was studied.

4.8 Ethics

Researchers are responsible to protect the rights and well-being of people that voluntarily participate in their research (NPSO, n.d.). The ethic responsibility was carried out by the researchers in several ways.
At the start of every interview the researchers introduced themselves and they explained the contents and aim of their research. Before the interview started, the participants were informed that it was completely voluntary to participate, that they had the right to stop the interview at any time and were not obligated to answer questions they did not want to answer. All the answers given were anonymously and completely confidential. They were told that their names would not be mentioned in this study and no one would be able to find out what they had said. When the interviewees agreed, the interviewees orally consented to have the interview recorded by an audio recorder in order for the researchers to listen to the interviews again and analyse them precisely. The researchers tried to make the participants comfortable by an open and friendly attitude and they offered the interviewees a sweet or snack. The interviews started with general questions and the questions were formulated as open as possible, in a way that the interviewees would feel as comfortable as possible with.

4.9 Reflection on the role of the researchers

Although in this qualitative study the researchers consciously have an important role in constructing the analytical interpretations, during the collection of data the role of the researchers has to be as small as possible. Unfortunately, researchers do always have a certain influence on the data collected and in order to interpret the results appropriately, it is necessary to reflect on the role of the researchers in the collection of data. In the case of this research, differences in appearance, language and culture between the researchers and respondents are assumed to have influenced the data at least to a minimal extent.

In this research, the first interference in collecting data might be the white skin of the researchers. When the researchers arrived at schools, some pupils (especially at primary schools) were impressed by their white skin and clearly not used to see white people, in Tanzania called *mzungu*. Although the skin colour of the researchers may have influenced the data, during the interviews the researchers did not perceive that the interviewees were still impressed by their appearance. Moreover, the interpreter used in this research was a local Tanzanian and did very well in making the interview settings familiar by making some jokes and explaining the persons of the interviewers.

Besides the appearance of the researchers, the language barrier sometimes hindered the data collection in this research. Because the level of English of most people was not good enough, it was necessary to work with an interpreter and it has to be taken into account that the information from the interviews is filtered by the person of the interpreter. The language barrier made it difficult to have direct interactions with the participants and due to translation the data loses some of its quality. To reduce the loss of quality, all interviews were recorded and the interpreter got very clear instructions to translate questions and answers as precisely as possible. Furthermore, to improve the quality of collected data, the researchers tried to establish informal contacts with Tanzanian people during their four and a half month stay in Tanzania. Within these contacts, the researchers had many informal talks with students at the Mzumbe University about the research subjects to verify the collected data.
A third interference that has to be taken into account when interpreting the data are the cultural differences between the Western researchers and the African interviewees. The presence of two Western researchers and a male interpreter may have influenced the way the interviewees reacted, especially because sexuality is a sensitive topic. Furthermore, cultural differences have to be taken into account at the side of the researchers, in the interpretations of the reactions of the interviewees. For an outsider, the African culture contains many unfamiliar aspects and sometimes it is difficult to understand these aspects truly. An advantage in interpreting the reactions of interviewees correctly was the fact that the interpreter was a ‘local’. He was able to understand the stories of the participants and to ‘read between the lines’. At the end of an interview the interpreter sometimes asked the interviewees some additional questions and during the interviews he sometimes asked questions to get clear what the interviewees meant. He could also clarify certain cultural situations and expressions to the researchers if necessary.

The last interference that might have biased the data of this study is the fact the subject of study concerns sensitive topics and the fact that being conform to the norm is very important in Tanzania. The answers given might be influenced by awkwardness of people to talk openly about certain topics and by the fear to reveal attitudes and behaviour that contradicts with prevailing norms. This is especially true for the young girls that were interviewed. Clearly, it appeared young girls are not used to be asked their opinion and to give their own views. As a consequence, in some cases young interviewees might not have told their real opinion, but they just told what they were taught (conform to the norm).
Chapter 5. Introduction to the research findings

5.1 Introduction

After the construction of a theoretical framework and the justification of the methodology, the following chapters encompass the findings of this research. In order to give an overview of how the research findings are presented, the content of the following chapters is described shortly. Then, an impression is given of the four schools where most data was collected to lend more colour to the findings presented in the chapters hereafter.

5.2 Design of the research findings

Together, chapters 6 and 7 encompass the answer to the first main research question:

What is the current situation regarding early pregnancy and what are the specific risks and needs of girls concerning early pregnancy in Morogoro?

Although the following chapters are largely based on the results of the semi-structured interviews held in Morogoro and its surroundings, chapter 6 is mainly based on document analyses. Even though some interview findings and news articles are used additionally, the content of chapter 6 is mainly based on the Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) and presents - for both the national Tanzanian level and the regional level of Morogoro - enrolments rates, transition rates, and drop-out rates by number and causes, in which the cause of early pregnancy is singled out and discussed in more detail. After stating the current problem of early school-leaving and the part early pregnancy takes in it, in chapter 7 the causes of early pregnancy in Morogoro are addressed using experiences of local actors from Morogoro. To arrange the causes revealed by actors and to compare them to the causes found in literature, the causal model of early pregnancy is used that has been presented in the theoretical framework (paragraph 3.2.2).

After chapter 7, the first main research question will be answered and from chapter 8 the second main research question will be answered:

What is the current situation regarding school-based sex education as perceived by local actors and how is it possible to improve sex education towards a more effective intervention to prevent early school-leaving due to early pregnancy?

In chapter 8, which is based on document analyses, the legal framework of early pregnancy and sex education is discussed first, followed by a description how school-based sex education is implemented in the primary and secondary school curricula. Subsequently chapter 9 describes to what extent the
national organisation of school-based sex education is implemented at the local level of Morogoro. Through the perceptions of local actors, the current state of school-based sex education is discussed and then evaluated. In chapter 10, the current state of sex education as perceived by actors from Morogoro Region is set out by using the model presented in paragraph 3.2.4 about the critical areas that might interfere with the effectiveness of sex education. Subsequently, both the findings from the actors from Morogoro and from the theoretical framework are used to formulate suggestions for improving the effectiveness of school-based sex education aiming to reduce the problem of pregnancy-related school drop-out.

Although chapters 7 and 9 both have an empirical character and the results will be presented by quotations from actors from Morogoro, findings from other studies are used to underpin the findings of this research. Although the qualitative methods used in this research result in abundant information about the specific situation at four schools in Morogoro Region, it is not by definition representative for other Tanzanian contexts. To make the findings from this research more useful in a broader context, in both chapters 7 and 9 the empirical data from this research is compared to findings from other research conducted in Tanzania. For every topic the findings from this research is discussed first and then, if comparable results are available, data from other research is provided.

In the methodology of this report (chapter 4), it is stated that in this research, data is collected at three levels (the policy level, the level of researchers and experts and the level where the policy is carried out). In spite of the fact that data was collected at all three level, these levels do not return in the description of the findings in the following chapters, because during the collection and analyses of the data the three levels turned out to be strongly interwoven and could not easily be distinguished. As an alternative, we chose to present the data at two levels: at a national level that contains the policy level and part of the level of researchers and experts, and at a local level that contains the other part of the level of researchers and experts and the level where the policy is carried out.
5.3 Impression of the schools

5.3.1 Mgeta Secondary School

*Mgeta Secondary School* is a government school located in the mountains, more than two hours from Morogoro Municipal. In this region initiation practices were found to be the most common in comparison with the other three schools. About 36 percent of girls at this school was initiated. This school was chosen because the students won a prize for the best Fema club in 2006. This club was still active at the moment this research was conducted. The school looked well-organized and decent. It was quiet and it looked like a good learning environment. The school buildings had large, reasonably bright classrooms surrounded by a well-kept garden. Electricity was available and there was a hostel behind the school where girls could stay during the school year. Teachers and students told that a lot of girls came from far (some have to come from 20 or even 50 kilometres) and reports revealed that girls were ‘behaving like prostitutes’. When walking to school, many girls were approached by men who offered them money to have sex. For this reason, hostels were built to protect girls against the dangers they risk when they walk the long distances to school. At the moment the researchers visited this school, new hostels were built in order to house more girls close to school.

At Mgeta Secondary School everybody was really friendly and seemed to be interested in our research. Teachers revealed to do a lot to make pupils aware and to educate them about the problem of HIV/AIDS and early pregnancy. The Fema club appeared to play an important role in the provision of sexual and reproductive health education. Pupils can join voluntary and about once a week they organise activities like discussions. Both biology teachers received a training by FEMINA about the provision of sex education, and during the interviews they were notably open, spoke freely, and had a clear view on sex education. When one of the biology teachers described how he taught his biology lessons on sex education, it was clear that he had really thought about the most effective way to teach this subject.
pupils made the assignments from the questionnaire very seriously and came up with interesting questions. After the assignments students were asked who wanted to be interviewed, thus they could choose to be interviewed themselves. During the interviews the students were very free to talk and they did not hesitate to stress their point of view with a lot of confidence. We interviewed the students in the library where school books and a lot of Fema magazines were available. During the Fema lesson that was prepared by the researchers, the students were very free to talk as well, but the answers seemed to be very socially desirable. As a consequence, the answers might be less usable to discover the personal opinions of students, but they give a lot of information about the norms and values in the society and about what is taught in school.

5.3.2 Educare Secondary School

Figure 5.2 Educare Secondary School

Two pictures of the school building and the schoolyard

_Educare Secondary School_ is a non-governmental school that is located in Morogoro. At this school a mix of different religions was found, with a slight majority of Catholics. Initiation is not common among girls from this school.

The school fee is 400,000 TSH each year (in comparison to 40,000-70,000 TSH for a government school). The school did not have hostels because most of the students live ‘close’ to the school. The school looked very well-organized and radiated quietness. It looked like an appropriate learning environment and during class it was quiet in the whole school and nobody walked around. The classrooms were bright and large and had enough tables. Everybody had enough space to write properly and nobody had to sit on the ground. All the classrooms were in use and it looked like they were building new classrooms.

The time at this school is efficiently spent as real study time and it was difficult for the researchers to organize interviews with students and teachers because the headmaster did not want them to miss too much of the classes. The headmaster was very strict with permission, registration and
formalities. The academic dean sorted out when we could interview which student best and was very strict with the available time for the interviews. Although all teachers were used to teach in English, they preferred to do the interviews in Kiswahili.

The students filled in the questionnaire in the library, a clean room with a big blackboard, enough tables for 50 pupils and bookcases with books sorted by subject. Huge piles of newspapers were archived, and everywhere on the walls were posters and country maps. All students looked well-groomed in their uniforms with the logo of the school on their chest, some students were wearing sweaters (as part of their uniform) despite it being very hot that day. Everybody worked very seriously and quietly, and sometimes a student asked a question. It was clear that the students were used to making tests and assignments. They immediately understood what they had to do. Compared to the other three schools, Educare Secondary School is clearly meant for pupils from quite wealthy parents and the quality of education is relatively high.

During the interviews some girls talked fairly freely, while others were shy, gave just short answers and talked with a soft voice. The teachers and matrons talked quite openly, although their norms were clearly more strict than the teachers at Mgeta.

5.3.3 Makuyu Primary School

*Figure 5.3 Makuyu Primary School*

![The school building](image)

![Pupils get an explanation about the questionnaire](image)

*Makuyu Primary School* is located in a rural area. Some pupils have to walk for one and a half hour to reach the school. In this region Islam seems to be the leading religion and initiation practices for girls seemed not common. However, as most girls undergo initiation from the age of 14, this may have contributed to the small number of pupils that reported to have undergone initiation.

At Makuyu Primary School 800 pupils are enrolled, the building has seven classrooms and 14 teachers in total are employed. Before and after lunch break the pupils had to stand in line and sing, but although this looked all disciplined, the school generally made a somewhat chaotic impression and did
not look like a good learning environment. The classrooms were too crowded and too dark, and not every pupil had a desk. During class pupils were sometimes running around or standing outside the classrooms.

The headmaster was very hospitable and answered all the questions. The teacher and counsellor that were interviewed were both a bit shy. They answered all the question but looked sometimes uncomfortable when answering particular questions. The pupils we interviewed were very shy and clearly not used to talking about topics regarding sexual and reproductive health. All their answers were in line with prevailing norms, like abstinence. These pupils were not used to give their own opinions and they gave just short answers. The parents were more open and gave a lot of information about their perceptions of the value of education, youth, initiation culture and sex education.

When data collection was finished, the headmaster asked for money and t-shirts for all his 800 pupils. Three months later he gave the researchers a call to ask for money again and to inform about the possibilities to join them when they went back to Europe.

### 5.3.4 Yowe primary school

*Figure 5.4 Yowe Primary School*

*The dirt road towards Yowe Primary School*  *The school building and part of the school yard*

*Yowe Primary School* is situated in an extremely remote area. When the researchers inquired about the distance and possibilities to reach this place, nobody had ever heard of Yowe. The school is reached by taking a dirt road for more than an hour. We crossed maize fields and the road looked like there had been no cars for a long time. A four-wheel car with a good driver is required to reach this school and it is not reachable with heavy rain. On the way a lot of kids were passed who were probably supposed to be at school at that time. When the researchers arrived, all people were very excited, hospitable, humble and happy. They explained that it does not happen often that people from outside visit their village, because there is not much to find, except for some primitive houses and a lot of farmland.
Yowe Primary School has about 580 pupils, even though the building has only three classrooms. In total three teachers and a headmaster make up the teaching staff, but on the day that the researchers visited the school, only one teacher was around. The headmaster had not shown up for two weeks and nobody knew where he was. One teacher was visiting his family far away from Yowe and the other teacher had gone to town (about a three-hour drive on a motor bike) to collect his salary. The only teacher that was present assisted the researchers the whole day instead of teaching the other pupils. As a consequence, all pupils were hanging around without getting any education. The lack of teachers was explained by the fact that teachers normally come from other villages but nobody wants to teach in such a remote area as Yowe.

During the interviews, the actors revealed that in the area of Yowe it is very normal to marry soon after finishing primary school. Catholicism seems to be the most present religion and although initiation is common in this region, because of religion the importance of initiation is decreasing. Despite the fact that religion and initiation culture are not necessary related to each other, initiation practices are discouraged by the Catholic religion.

Every year, only two to four pupils pass their Primary School-leaving Examinations to transfer to secondary school. However, because there is no secondary school in the surrounding area, some pupils who pass their exam decide to get married instead of continuing their studies. This fact gives information about the quality of education and about the life and future expectations in Yowe. It seemed a really poor area with a very low level of education. It became clear that the pupils were not used to making tests when they had to fill out the questionnaires. Although they all said that they understood the questionnaires, the data turned out to be useless because the majority did not make the assignments correctly, despite the fact that the whole questionnaire was translated in Kiswahili and that the interpreter gave an extensive explanation of all the questions. During the assignments the classroom was packed but there were also a lot of pupils wandering around or arriving a few hours late.

Compared to Makuyu Primary School, the pupils at Yowe looked very young. Some children were wearing flip-flops or shoes but most of the children had bare feet. A lot of the school uniforms looked a bit worn out, most were bought several sizes too large, and blouses that used to be white were often no longer white. Two children wore normal clothes instead of the school uniforms. Some children had plastic bags with some books in it, but not all of the children had their own books. Moreover, when the questionnaires were filled in, it even appeared that not all children had a pen.

The head of community and the parents from Yowe were quite open to talk and were all very concerned about the quality of education in their village. They nursed hope that via this research, the government would react on their calls to improve their primary school and found a secondary school closer to their village. During the interviews it became clear that modernisation was not yet clearly present in this area. Nevertheless, due to the growing influence of religion traditional practices like initiation appeared to be clearly decreasing in importance and perceptions appeared to become more
polarized about traditional practices nowadays. Traditional and religious aspects clearly affected the answers of the parents. One mother in particular strongly adhered to Christianity.

5.4 Concluding remarks

At all four schools people were very hospitable and cooperative, and it was striking that people were very willing to help organise respondents and realise the conditions the interviewers demanded without any problem. Beside the fact that hospitality is characteristic of the Tanzanian culture, it seemed that all actors were really aware of the problem of early pregnancy and the HIV/AIDS problem, and therefore saw the importance of (improving) sex education. It was remarkable that all schools employed none or very few female teachers and that the teaching staff was almost completely male.

Besides these common characteristics, the four schools visited in this research were all very different concerning school facilities, educational quality and the attitude of teachers and students. In general, older girls talked more freely than younger girls. Especially at primary school, girls were very shy to talk and only gave short answers. Furthermore, in the regions where the primary schools are situated, traditional norms seemed to be more prevailing compared to the regions of the secondary schools, where both students, teachers and parents appeared to be generally more educated and were better informed about sexual and reproductive health. This might have contributed to the fact that students at secondary schools talked more freely, although there was a clear difference between Mgeta and Educare Secondary School. It seemed that the Fema club and the accompanying activities at Mgeta resulted in teachers and students that are more used to talk freely about sexuality.
Chapter 6. Current situation as regards early school-leaving due to pregnancy

6.1 Introduction

In the theoretical framework of this report much information is already given about school drop-out and early pregnancy in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this chapter both subjects are placed in the context of Tanzania and especially of Morogoro. By means of the Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (MOEVT, 2009; MOEVT, 2010a; MOEVT, 2010b), the current situation of early school-leaving and early pregnancy is presented. Although the BEST is an official document by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, the statistics from the document need to be interpreted prudently. Firstly, because the document does not provide information about how the statistics were collected, nor about its reliability. Secondly, because comparable rates in different tables do not always match and the field experiences of the researchers of this report and other reports as well (Tromp, 2008; Zijlstra, 2008) suggest that the dependability of the sources from BEST are disputable. Individual teachers and headmasters are responsible for keeping up different kind of rates and they are not always equally accurate in doing this. Sometimes their inaccuracy is unconscious, but other times it is purposeful, because headmasters are reprimanded for passing on negative rates, like high number of pregnancy-related school drop-out, as this is said to endanger the general discipline and good name of the school. Although the statistics from the BEST are probably not fully reliable, they still give the best available insight into the current educational situation in Tanzania and Morogoro. However, after presenting the statistics from the BEST, other sources of information and field experiences from this research are used to supplement the statistics from the BEST and to examine to what extent the statistics do reflect the actual facts.

6.2. School enrolment and drop-out rates

In order to interpret the rates of school drop-out properly, it is important to know something about the enrolment rates in primary and secondary school. Significant questions are:

How many children are enrolled in school, how do students generally pass through the successive levels of education, and are there any gender differences between the enrolment rates and school careers of boys and girls?
As in other Sub-Saharan countries, in Tanzania primary school enrolment increased dramatically during the last decades. In the middle of the nineties, primary school fees were introduced and as a result high numbers of children were out-of-school (Plummer et al., 2007). In 2001 the fees were abolished and the Net Enrolment Rates (NER) increased rapidly, from 57 percent in 2001 to 85 percent in 2002. After 2002, the NERs continued to increase to a NER for primary schools of 96 percent in 2009 (MOEVT, 2010).

The enrolment of secondary school also increased sharply during the last years. In the past, Tanzania had one of the lowest secondary school NERs of the world (NTC, 1999), but this position changed after 2005, when the Secondary Education Development Program (SDEP) was initiated. This development programme requires every ward to have a secondary school and so gave a boost to secondary school enrolment. In 2005, the Tanzanian secondary school NER was only 10 percent, while in 2009 the secondary school NER already increased to 31 percent (MOEVT, 2009). Although this increase is considerable, there is still a long way to go. Still 69 percent of the adolescents within the secondary school-age bracket are not enrolled in school and therefore risk the various negative life expectations mentioned earlier in this research.

In the Morogoro Region, the NERs for primary and secondary school are comparable to the national rates of Tanzania. In 2009, the primary school NER was 96 percent (MOEVT, 2009). The Morogoro secondary school NER is unfortunately not available, but the number of students enrolled in secondary schools is consistent with the national average of enrolment per region (MOEVT, 2009).
In addition to the total enrolment rates, for this research it is important to know if there are any differences between the enrolment of boys and girls. As is shown in figure 6.2, during primary school the Gender Parity Indexes (GPI) for boys and girls are almost equal. At the national level of Tanzania and the regional level of Morogoro the number of schoolgirls is mostly just less than 50 percent, with a range from 47 to 51 percent (MOEVT, 2009). The enrolment of girls in secondary school is lower compared to their enrolment in primary school and, moreover, the enrolment of girls drops as secondary school careers of girls progress. In 2009, at the national level, 45 percent of form 1 students were girls, while in form 6 only 39 percent of the students were girls (MOEVT, 2009). On average 45 percent of the total secondary school population were girls. This is a decrease compared to the situation in 2005, when 47 percent of the total secondary school population were girls. Regarding the Morogoro Region no statistics are available for 2009, but in 2008 44 percent of form 1 students were girls, opposed to only 32 percent of form 6 students. On average 44 percent of secondary school students were girls (MOEVT, 2009).

The statistics presented give insight into the number of Tanzanian children that are enrolled in school, but do not reveal anything about how those children go through the different levels of education. The fact that 96 percent of Tanzanian children are enrolled in primary school does not mean that all those children remain long enough in school to take the final exam. To gain insight into how Tanzanian children advance on their education, the transition rates of 2008 are used from both primary and secondary schools.

Figure 6.3 National transition rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Std I-II</th>
<th>Std II-III</th>
<th>Std III-IV</th>
<th>Std IV-V</th>
<th>Std V-VI</th>
<th>Std VI-VII</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropout</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Form 1-2</th>
<th>Form 2-3</th>
<th>Form 3-4</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropout</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2008, on average 92 percent of primary school pupils moved up to the next standard, five percent of primary school pupils had to repeat a standard, and three percent dropped out. The drop-out percentage corresponds to 260,263 pupils, 48 percent of them were girls. The majority of pupils dropped out during
standard IV. In the same year in secondary school 94 percent of Ordinary-level students (form 1-4) moved up to the next form, three percent of students had to repeat their form, and another three percent of students dropped out. The drop-out rate corresponds to 31,435 students, 63 percent of them were girls. Most students dropped out during form 3.

The promotion, repetition and drop-out rates given in figure 6.3 reveal something about the transition rates of all school children during 2008, but still do not say anything about the educational careers of individual pupils. The question is still how many pupils who once enrolled in standard I remain long enough within the educational cycle to finish standard VII.

**Figure 6.4 National school survival**

The follow-up of standard I pupils in their way to standard VII - 2002-2008 (BEST, 2006 and 2009).

To answer this question, in figure 6.4, the school careers of the pupils that enrolled in standard I in 2002 are presented at the National level. From the 1,632,141 pupils that entered standard I in 2002, 65 percent remained in school until standard VII. The pupils that left school too early to sit for the final exam count for 35 percent, which corresponds to 566,322 pupils. Most of them dropped out during standard IV.

The pupils who made it into standard VII have to sit for the Primary School-leaving Examinations (PSLE). Around this PSLE and the following transition towards secondary education, far the most pupils drop out every year. In 2008, at the national level 1,017,865 pupils sat for the Primary School-leaving Examinations (PSLE). From these candidates, 53 percent passed the exam and 47 percent were finally selected for secondary education form 1. This percentages correspond to 539,468 passed pupils and 480,529 selected pupils. From the 1,632,141 children that entered Standard I in 2002, only 35 percent passed the PSLE in 2008 and only 31 percent made it into secondary education. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available about further transitions of the 480,529 standard VII pupils that were selected for secondary education in 2008.

As appears from the BEST (MOEVT, 2010a), thousands of children do not remain long enough within the educational cycle to take the primary or secondary final exams. In addition to the BEST (MOEVT, 2009, 2010a, 2010b) different newspapers have been searched for articles about the state of the art.
regarding school enrolment and drop-out. In several news articles various quotations have been found. Most quotations call attention to the increasing numbers of school drop-out and mark the necessity for urgent measures.

‘The country is close to attaining UPE (Universal Primary Education), with 99 percent of children enrolling in the first year of primary school. Retention and completion rates are among the lowest in the East African Region, however. The transition into secondary school locks out many pupils from accessing any further education, and drop-out rates are high. School life expectancy stands at 5.3 years, and of that, 5.1 years of schooling are actually achieved’ (The East African, 2010).

‘The increasing school drop-out rate, especially in the rural areas, is a source of serious national concern. It is now estimated that more than 50 percent of the pupils enrolled in primary schools fall by the wayside’ (The Citizen, 2011).

‘East Africa has made undeniable progress in attaining universal primary education – overcrowding in school, shortage of teachers and infrastructure notwithstanding. The fact is more children have at least entered a standard one classroom than ever before in the region’s history. The ability of schools to retain students is wanting however. East African governments must do more to close the huge gap between the access to primary education and that of secondary education. Only 27 percent of East Africa’s youth are enrolled in secondary school at the age group when they should be – compared with a Sub-Saharan average of 34.1 percent, and a world average of 67 percent’ (The East African, 2010).

The quotations above support the facts from the BEST that, despite the increased enrolment rates, still many pupils leave school before taking the final exam. Moreover, the enrolment rate of secondary schools is still far below world average.

6.3 Causes of early school-leaving

The high number of children out-of-school and the negative life expectations associated with early school-leaving require increased attention to address the factors that hamper children to stay at school and complete their education (Bastein, 2008). In order to reduce the high numbers of school drop-outs, it is important to know what causes children to leave school too early. The BEST (MOEVT, 2010a, 2010b) differentiates seven causes of school drop-out: death, lack of school needs, illness, parental illness, pregnancy, truancy and others.
Because this research focuses on the cause of pregnancy, in figure 6.5 the percentages of pregnancy are given in relation to the other causes. In 2008, at the national level, on average six percent of primary school drop-outs left school too early due to pregnancy. This corresponds to 4,362 pupils. The cause ‘pregnancy’ started to be a significant factor in school drop-out from standard V. In 2008, on average seven percent of the pupils that dropped out during standard V, did so due to pregnancy. In the same year, in both standard VI and VII, 14 percent of drop-out was pregnancy-related. In the Morogoro Region, the situation of pregnancy was worse compared to the national situation. In 2008, pregnancy became already a significant factor in standard IV, when pupils were on average less than 11 years old. In standard IV, three percent of school drop-out was caused by pregnancy, in standard V 11 percent, and in standard VI 23 percent. The peak of pregnancy-related school drop-out was during standard VII, when 31 percent of drop-out was due to pregnancy. In the Morogoro Region, on average ten percent of school drop-out was caused by pregnancy. This amount corresponds to 322 pupils.

*Figure 6.6 Causes of early school-leaving in secondary schools*

Drop-out rates by level and causes in secondary schools, 2008 (MOEVT, 2010a, 2010b).
As for primary education, in figure 6.6 the percentages of pregnancy-related school drop-out for secondary education are given in relation to the other causes of school drop-out. In 2008, at the national level 22 percent of school drop-outs was caused by pregnancy. This corresponds to 3,965 students. Most of them dropped out during Ordinary level (form 1-4). In form 1 34 percent of school drop-outs was due to pregnancy, in form 2 18 percent and in form 3 and 4 both 17 percent. In 2008, in the Morogoro Region a larger part of drop-out was pregnancy-related compared to the national situation. In the Morogoro Region on average 29 percent of drop-out was caused by pregnancy. This corresponds to 285 students. Most of them dropped out during form 1 and 2. The percentages of form 5 and 6 needs to be interpreted prudently, because according to the statistics in the whole Morogoro Region, in total only two students dropped out in form 5 (both for pregnancy-related reasons) and not more than eight students dropped out in form 6 (two of them for pregnancy-related reasons).

As done above for the total problem of early school-leaving, newspapers were scanned for articles about the problem of early pregnancy as well. In total many articles were found that mention the problem of early pregnancy and its harming effects on girls' schooling. A selection is presented below.

‘Education and Vocational Training deputy minister Mwantumu Mahiza has expressed profound shock after she was informed that over 300 girls dropped out of school in Tanga Region last year alone due to pregnancies. (...) ‘This number is too big... It’s sad to hear that some of my teachers are also involved in impregnating these pupils ... this is a great sin...I am an activist and all these are happening in my region. It’s a big shame and I won’t accept it,’ said the irked deputy minister’ (The Guardian, 2010).

‘Teenage pregnancies are not a new problem, though it is an emotive subject that always sparks off a bitter national debate. It has been established that this is the leading cause of drop-outs among schoolgirls, with some 25 percent of all Tanzanian women under 18 reported to be already mothers. The problem is aggravated by the fact that the young mothers are prevented from returning to school even after giving birth. (...) It simply means that the measures taken by the government to reduce the number of girls falling pregnant at school have failed to reverse the trend’ (The Citizen, 2010).

‘Government efforts to construct ward secondary schools may not be useful if the problem of school pregnancy will not be dealt with effectively, the executive director of Tanzania Media Women Association (Tamwa), Ms Ananilea Nkya, has said. Considering the high drop-out rate of girl students at both primary and secondary schools due to pregnancy, the country would not succeed in attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the year 2015, she noted. (...) Most surprisingly, Ms Nkya said, some of those students were of lower classes in primary schools, including standard two and three. Available reports show that for the last five years, students whom were impregnated were two of standard Two, 26 were Standard Three, and 218 were in Standard Four’ (The Citizen, 2010).
In one of the quotations, early pregnancy is cited as the first cause of school drop-out among girls. This is not confirmed by the statistics presented in figure 6.5 and 6.6. A first explanation for this difference is the fact that figure 6.5 and 6.6 are based on the total primary school population, including both boys and girls. The use of the whole school population actually misrepresents the part of school drop-out due to pregnancy. In Tanzania, only girls are forced to leave school if they get pregnant, while boys can continue their education when they have impregnated a girl. Because of that, in practice only girls drop out due to pregnancy. If boys are excluded from the population the picture would be better. In figure 6.7 the drop-out rates due to pregnancy are presented against the total number of girls that dropped out in 2008 both at the national and regional level.

Figure 6.7 Causes of drop-out among girls

If the part of school drop-out due to pregnancy is presented against the total number of girls that dropped out, the part is more significant. In 2008, at the national level, at primary schools 11 percent of drop-out among girls was caused by pregnancy and at secondary school 35 percent of drop-out among girls was due to pregnancy. In the Morogoro Region 21 percent of primary schoolgirls and 42 percent of secondary schoolgirls that dropped out, did so due to pregnancy. Field experiences from Morogoro confirm this high rate of pregnancy among primary and secondary school drop-outs in Morogoro.

‘When girls reach form 4, the number of girls is almost half of the number of girls in form 1. The number of drop outs increases when the forms becomes higher. When girls reach form 4, the drop-out
rates are very high and the reasons are almost always the same’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School).

'There are two main reasons, one is school fees and the second is pregnancy. Students get pregnant and there is no way that they know how to continue with their studies and because of that they drop out’ (Matrons, female, Educare Secondary School).

Although pregnancy becomes a more important factor if boys are excluded from the population, according to the statistics from the BEST (MOEVT, 2010), pregnancy is still not the leading cause of school drop-out among girls. In figures 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7 far the biggest reason for school drop-out is the category ‘truancy’. In the interviews actors from Morogoro confessed the high number of truancy due to a lack of value on education, failing registrations of teachers and the possibility for school children to earn money instead of attending school. ‘Absen teism contributes to the drop out problem in many angles. In some cases, children don’t like to go to school and they need somebody to push them. If parents aren’t really motivated to send their children to school, those children drop out. But it is also because the village committee, they are responsible for supervising the school and because of that they should meet together to make rules, but they don’t meet to discuss such things, because they think it’s the responsibility of the teachers. And then the teachers, they don’t make a good follow up about which people are present and which ones are not. All the things together contribute to the problem of absenteeism’ (Head of community, male, Yowe). In addition the educational officer of Mvomero cited: ‘We have a problem in Mvomero with parents toward education. There is a lot of truancy for boys and girls. The truancy is very high, because of the markets, mining activities and labour on sugarcane plantations. Children, especially boys go to work and because of this there is a lot of truancy’ (Educational Officer, male, DED Mvomero). Although the high number of truancy is confessed by several actors from Morogoro, other actors revealed that the reported number of truancy is assumed to be higher than the actual number. A Tanzanian woman who devotes herself to the empowerment of girls explained to be sceptical about the statistics from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. She wondered what exactly is meant by truancy and argued that most students she has known dropped out due to pregnancy (Lenana, 2010). On her website she stated: ‘There has been only one school pregnancy reported in the seven districts of Arusha Region in 2010, says a story in today’s Arusha Times. That’s strange because I can personally name three, and I don’t even know many school girls’ (Lenana, 2010). In line with Lenana, actors from Morogoro explained the cause of truancy to be higher than actual numbers, because it is used as a kind of remaining category, especially to class shameful cases of school drop-out without revealing their real cause. An example of such shameful cases are drop-outs due to pregnancy. ‘My friends didn’t like to sit or to talk with me anymore and many people said that girl is sleeping around. I felt shy and I was afraid. Every time when I sat with my mother, she said like, this is a problem for us, that many people tell that you are sleeping around’ (Teenage mother 1, SEGA Secondary School). Another student from SEGA revealed: ‘Because I got pregnant, my
mommy, aunty and neighbours were angry and they all said: ‘Why did you get pregnant?’ My grandparents told me, stay in your home until you get your baby. So I did’ (Teenage mother 2, SEGA Secondary School). A girl who falls pregnant out of wedlock is considered a curse on the family and her reputation is destroyed in the entire community. The same is true for girls who attend school; due to the norm of abstinence while in school, sexual activity is not accepted at all. Expulsion is used as a punishment for falling pregnant and to prevent other pupils from getting involved in such misbehaviour. Also when a girl may be pregnant as a result of rape, she will nevertheless be expelled from school without considering the circumstances under which she got pregnant.

Because of the cultural taboo against schoolgirls who get pregnant, a lot of schoolgirls hide their pregnancy and disappear from school without revealing that they are pregnant. In a research conducted in Lindi Region - another Tanzanian coastal region - actors revealed that the majority of pregnant girls leave school not because they are forced, but of their own accord, because of shame and embarrassment due to harassment by other pupils (Forrester Kibuga & Kainamula, 2007). While those girls actually leave school due to pregnancy, teachers think those girls play truant and consequently, they are recorded as cases of truancy.

Next to the fact that girls and their families feel ashamed after a schoolgirl gets pregnant, an employee of SNV mentioned that teachers also find themselves in a difficult position when one of their pupils gets pregnant. ‘Head teachers don’t like high numbers of pregnancy, because it has implications for them. They can lose their employment’ (Employee SNV, female). As a consequence, students revealed that they were sent home when they revealed their pregnancy. ‘After getting pregnant my teacher forced me to go back to home and to come never back again, because I was pregnant’ (Teenage mother, SEGA Secondary School). Because teachers are reprimanded when they pass on high numbers of pregnancy drop-outs, some pregnant girls that leave school are never recorded as such. Different actors from Morogoro assumed that teachers use the category ‘truancy’ to conceal the drop-out cases due to pregnancy. In line with these actors, Baxen (2009) asserts that the official number of pregnancy-related drop-outs probably does not reflect the reality and that true rates of early pregnancy are estimated to be higher than reported rates. According to Baxen (2009), the chain of reporting pregnancies frequently leads in losing cases and a number of pregnancies are never reported because many girls drop out of school or perform an abortion before their pregnancy is noticed.

To conclude the doubtful numbers of truancy and pregnancy, the statistics form the BEST (MOEVT, 2009, 2010a, 2010b) should be interpreted with caution, because different arguments show that the numbers of reported pregnancy-related school drop-out might be higher in practice. In addition to the arguments above, the experience of the researchers of this report also indicate dubious registration of pregnancy-related school drop-outs. Employees of the Municipal Council in Morogoro Urban, the Regional Educational Office responsible for administrating local data, revealed only two cases of pregnancy at all secondary schools in the whole area of Morogoro Urban for the last two years, while students at Educare Secondary School already reported several cases of pregnancy.
Despite the real number of pregnancies probably being underestimated in the BEST (MOEVT, 2009, 2010a, 2010b), it still is relevant to question what proportion current rates of pregnancy-related school drop-outs bear to rates of former years according to the BEST. In figure 6.8 the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs is given for the period between 2003 and 2009. The number of drop-outs due to pregnancy are diagrammatized for primary school, secondary school, and the cumulation of both.

Figure 6.8 Pregnancy-related school drop-out

Pregnancy drop-outs ratios on the national level from 2003 till 2009 (MOEVT, 2006; MOEVT, 2010).

As is evident from the charts, since 2003, the number of pregnancy-related school drop-out increased continuously, with a peak between 2006 and 2007. The total number of pregnancy drop-out seems to stabilize after 2007 at the disturbing number of almost 9,000 girls that leave school too early due to pregnancy each year. In an article in The Citizen (2010), the executive director of Tanzania Media Woman Association (TAMWA) said: ‘...for the last five years, the problem had been worsening as for secondary school the number of students drop-out in 2004 was 772 while in 2008 the number shot up to 4,965 students. Similar situation is evident in primary schools whereby in 2004 drop-outs were about 2,590 pupils while the number kept increasing to 3,370 pupils recorded in 2008’ (The Citizen, 2010).

For the specific situation of Morogoro the BEST does not reveal any statistics after 2008. However, an employee of the Gender Focal Point, an official in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, supplied an unpublished overview of the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs at primary schools for 2008 and 2009. Although eight out of ten Tanzanian regions that were involved in the research show a decrease in the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs, in the Morogoro Region the number increased from 296 primary schoolgirls who dropped out due to pregnancy in 2008 to 322 in 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2009). With the number of 322 pregnancy-related primary school drop-outs, the Morogoro Region ranked first in 2009, while in 2008, the Region took the fifth highest position. In Mjasiri (2011) a research from the Tanzanian Gender Focal point is cited that indicates pregnancy as the second largest reason of early school-leaving at the national level, while the number of pregnancies strongly varies between regions. According to Ms Winfrida Rutaindurwa from the Gender
Focal Point (Mjasiri, 2011), studies have revealed factors that explain the regional differences in the number of schoolgirls’ pregnancies. When regions with low pregnancy-related drop-out rates are compared with regions with high rates, several contributing factors can be distinguished. For example, the Kilimanjaro Region has the lowest number of schoolgirls’ pregnancies and the commitment of parents to education turned out to be relatively high. Moreover, separation or divorces in families were lower in this region compared to regions with higher numbers of pregnancy-related school drop-outs. In regions where rates of pregnancy-related school drop-outs are higher, like the coastal region Mtwara, most pregnancies happened after family break-ups. Another factor that decreases the risk of getting pregnant for girls in the Kilimanjaro Region is the availability of role models within communities. Many parents from the Kilimanjaro Region are educated well and hold high positions within society. For these parents it is more easy to stimulate their children to finish their education, because their children are able to see the benefits of education in their environment. Besides the commitment of parents to education, household composition and the availability of role models, another factor that is assumed to increase the risk of schoolgirls to get pregnant includes cultural rituals that require girls to undergo initiation regarding sexuality. Results from a questionnaire, distributed by the ministry in the Kilimanjaro Region, revealed that cultures that incite girls to have under-age sex are not present in the Kilimanjaro Region, while in Mtwara Region, these cultures are common and deeply rooted in communal live (Mjasiri, 2011). Although the Morogoro Region is not involved in the research of the Gender Focal Point, like Mtwara, the Morogoro Region belongs to the coastal regions and is comparable to Mtwara as concerns culture. Therefore it might be assumed that the regional differences between the Kilimanjaro and Mtwara, and the factors that are assumed to influence the number of pregnancy-related school drop-out, are true for the Morogoro Region as well.

6.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter enrolment and drop-out rates are discussed for primary and secondary school. The enrolment rates for both primary and secondary school increased rapidly in the last years. In 2009, the Net Enrolment Rate of primary school was 96 percent. In the same year the NER of secondary school was 31 percent and despite its increase still lagging behind. The enrolment of boys and girls is almost equal during primary education, but during secondary education it is getting more unequal. In form 1, still 45 percent of students is female, while in form 6 girls make up only 39 percent. In 2008, three percent of both primary and secondary school students dropped out. In primary school girls accounted for 48 percent of drop-outs, in secondary school girls accounted for 63 percent. In 2008, after truancy and others, the third cause of school drop-out was pregnancy. On the national level, six percent of primary school drop-outs did so due to pregnancy and 22 percent of secondary school drop-out was pregnancy-related. In the Morogoro Region the situation concerning pregnancy was worse compared to the national situation, with ten percent of school drop-outs related to pregnancy in primary schools and
29 percent in secondary schools. Because only girls drop out after they get pregnant, it paints a better picture of pregnancy-related drop-outs if boys are excluded from the population. At the national level, 11 percent of drop-outs among primary schoolgirls was caused by pregnancy, while at secondary school 35 percent of drop-outs among girls was due to pregnancy. In the Morogoro Region, 21 percent of drop-outs among primary schoolgirls was related to pregnancy and among secondary schoolgirls 42 percent of drop-outs was due to pregnancy. Different actors assumed that in fact the numbers of pregnancy are even larger than presented in the BEST and pregnancy is the leading cause of school drop-out among girls. Since 2003, the numbers of pregnancy-related school drop-out has tripled to a total number of almost 9,000 Tanzanian schoolgirls that leave school too early due to pregnancy each year. In a research of the Gender Focal Point, which involved ten Tanzanian Regions, in 2009 the Morogoro Region ranked first as regards the number of pregnancy-related primary school drop-outs, after an increase from 296 pregnancy-related primary school drop-outs in 2008 to 322 pregnancy-related primary school drop-outs in 2009. According to the Gender Focal Point, the regional differences concerning the occurrence of teenage pregnancy are related to the commitment of parents to education, household composition, the availability of role models, and cultural rituals that require girls to undergo initiation regarding sexuality.
Chapter 7. Causes of early pregnancy in Morogoro, Tanzania

7.1 Introduction

‘I was twelve years old and I studied in standard 6, but then I got pregnant. My teacher forced me to go back home and to come never back again, because of my pregnancy. So I went back home and told my parents that I was pregnant. My mother was angry, and my dad, sisters and brother as well. I tried to explain them and said sorry. I told them that it was on a Sunday, as I did more often, I was going to Saba Saba, a place where they sell clothes. Then sometimes, a boy, said I love you so much. I do not know if he was cheating me, but we shared many things and I got pregnant. My parents said, can you find this boy? And I said yes, I think so. I found him, but he went far away of his origin, because he was afraid of the policeman. So he run away and I stayed at home and I was going to the hospital every month to check my stomach and my back, they checked for HIV, but thanks to God I did not have anything. I got my baby in the hospital and went back home and stayed there with my mum. I sold mandazies and cakies, because it was very difficult to find money for soap and food. I made the mandazies and cakies by myself and sold them at the market. After it happened, we did not have enough money, because my dad is a Muslim and he has two families. I tried to explain my dad that we needed more money, but he did not give me enough. He has two marriages, so he has to give money to two wives and eleven children’ (Teenage mother 1, SEGA Secondary School).

The story above is just one out of many. In 2008, in the Morogoro Region 607 girls dropped out of school due to pregnancy and at the national level, from 2003, the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs tripled to 8,408 girls that got pregnant in 2009 (MOEVT, 2006, 2010a, 2010b). With this number, Tanzania has one of the highest adolescent pregnancy rates in the world (United Nations, 2010). The Tanzanian government is conscious of the high numbers of girls that drop out due to pregnancy and tries to come to grips with it. In 2008, the then Minister for Education and Vocational Training demanded attention for the 18,000 girls who had left school too early due to pregnancy within a period of five years (Fundi, 2010). In a reaction, the Tanzanian President Kikwete claimed the rising number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs to be a problem of national concern and stressed the need for pressing interventions that can turn the tide (Fundi, 2010). However, in order to develop such adequate interventions and to evaluate the already existing ones, first it has to be clear what causes so many Tanzanian girls facing the problem of early pregnancy (Macleod, 1999).
7.2 The causes of pregnancy

In chapter 3 of this research a model is presented in which various causal factors of early pregnancy are grouped into four categories: lack of knowledge, cultural and social factors, marginalised position of girls, and household and individual factors. This chapter examines to what extent the causal model of early pregnancy is suitable for the causes of pregnancy in the Morogoro Region. For this purpose various local actors were interviewed about the situation of early pregnancy in their environment. Among those actors were schoolgirls, parents, teachers, headmasters, teenage mothers, employees of NGOs, regional educational officers, and employees from the Ministry of Education. While figure 7.1 (earlier presented in paragraph 3.2.2) is used as a guide for the interviews, the model was not strictly followed, in order to preserve openness to the actors’ own perceptions and ideas.

Figure 7.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LACK OF KNOWLEDGE</th>
<th>CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Insufficient information at home / within the community</td>
<td>• Initiation culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insufficient information at schools</td>
<td>• Early marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• SRH services: poor quality and adolescent unfriendly.</td>
<td>• Negative assumptions about condom use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Custom to obtain rewards in exchange for sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Secrecy about sexual relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Permissive norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Peer pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Impact of modernization on traditional structures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early Pregnancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARGINALISED POSITION OF GIRLS</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLD AND INDIVIDUAL FACTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Gender inequity at schools</td>
<td>• Household’s wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of valuing girls education</td>
<td>• Household’s structure and function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Low socio-economic status</td>
<td>• Girls’ educational career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sexual abuse</td>
<td>• Girls’ individual characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sexual intercourse with older men</td>
<td>• Drugs and alcohol abuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Causes of Early Pregnancy’, this model is based on literature, but developed by the authors of this report themselves
7.2.1 Lack of knowledge and misconceptions about sexuality

To investigate the sexual and reproductive knowledge of adolescents, 48 primary school pupils and 141 secondary school pupils filled in a questionnaire. The results indicate that only 51 percent of respondents are convinced that a girl can get pregnant when she has sex for the first time, 67 percent does not know how to use condoms, 21 percent thinks it is not good to use a condom, and 38 percent does not know where to get condoms. Besides from the questionnaire, during the interviews the lack of knowledge among adolescents emerged as well. An employee from an NGO in Morogoro explained the following concerning adolescents’ sexual and reproductive knowledge. ‘There were a lot of misconceptions and still there are. But things are getting better, because of all the sexual and reproductive health programs. But about condoms there are still a lot of misconceptions. A lot of students comment them, for example that there are holes in condoms, that condoms don’t protect against HIV/AIDS or that their religion does not allow using condoms. In general there is a negative perception of condoms, but it is getting better’ (Employee YCI, male). Despite the fact that the employee of YCI cited misconceptions were reducing, most students from the interviews were not convinced about the usefulness of condoms and did not know how to protect themselves in other ways. Different actors mentioned the lack of knowledge as a significant factor in the practice of unsafe sexual activities and the problem of early pregnancy. ‘People relate teenage pregnancy with poverty, because of poverty girls are tempted to engage in sex. This is what many people think. But for me the main reason is the lack of knowledge of sexual and reproductive health, that is one, secondly it seems to me also a lack of life skills. If girls are not well informed and have sex, they can become pregnant. And also with a lack of life skills, if the girl is not able to make good decisions and to be responsible what happens afterwards. She is a victim, because of those two areas, lack of knowledge and skills’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). In line with the comment of the employee of GTZ, a teenage mother from SEGA Secondary School explained that she did not know how to protect herself from getting pregnant. ‘At home, they didn’t talk with me about how to protect from getting pregnant. And at school, we studied it within the subject science, but I didn’t knew how to protect myself from getting pregnant’ (Teenage mother 2, SEGA Secondary School). Although the lack of knowledge is present in urban areas as well, different actors revealed that it is more harming in rural areas, because of poorer access to sexual and reproductive health information and services. ‘We receive more questions from the country than from Dar es Salaam. In the regions they write more letters to us and they also have more questions when we visit them. I think in the city they have more sources to get their information. Girls ask questions about their body changes, about having big or small breasts, about having sex or not, about menstruation, skipping periods, pregnancy, etc. Boys ask questions about the size of their penis, about using alcohol and marihuana, about relationships with other people. Also how to make love etc. but those questions are more often from boys than from girls’ (Employee Femina, female).
Traditional preparation for adult life is decreasing

During the interviews, different actors revealed much information about the difficulties for adolescents to acquire knowledge about their sexual and reproductive health. One factor that is mentioned to contribute to the lack of sexual and reproductive health knowledge are the traditional socio-structures involved in teaching adolescents about issues related to sexuality. Actors explained that traditionally grandparents are responsible for the sexual upbringing of adolescents to make them behave according to their cultural norms and values. This sexual upbringing is part of an initiation culture, in which special elderly women and men are engaged in the initiation of adolescents to adulthood. Actors from Morogoro revealed that the initiation of boys mainly contains circumcision and boys do not have to undergo initiation at a particular age. For girls however, the situation is different. Comparing to boys, the initiation culture of girls is perceived as more important, takes longer and traditionally has to be practised at a fixed point in time, namely soon after a girl’s menarche. Actors from Morogoro Region explained that the initiation of girls is called *Unjago* and includes two parts. The first part consists of a teaching program in which girls are prepared for their life as a woman. The second part consists of a ceremony. ‘*After the teaching program, which take place little by little, on the last day the girl gets a special lesson. This lesson follows into the night and next day. During the following day or night, the music people come in and the party begins and follows into the following day till the evening, at about 4 or 5 pm. When the sun is already cooling down, the girl comes out of the house and has to dance a little and she receives some gifts. When the girl is tired and gets into the house again, the other continue the party’* (Head of Community, male, Yowe). The teaching part of initiation aims to prepare girls for their role as a wife and encompass the traditional form of sex education. In this research it was difficult to find out the precise content of the teaching part. First because initiation practices differ within different tribes and communities. *There are big differences between tribes, for example in language, life styles and norms and values. There are also differences with reference of initiation ceremonies. The way how they teach is different, however most teachings are the same’* (Cultural Officer, male, Morogoro Municipality). Secondly, apart from local differences, the specific content of *Unjago* is secret and only known by the traditional teachers and the girls and woman who have undergone initiation. ‘*The content of the teaching is a secret between the one who teaches and the girl. Even afterwards girls are not allowed to share the information with younger people, they only are allowed to share the information with people who have already undergone initiation’* (Mother 1, Makuyu). Despite the local differences and the secrecy around its content, most actors revealed the same general content of initiation. During the teaching part, most girls learn how to take care of their own mature body and how they have to take care of their prospective husband. In the past, when puberty girls were not used to be enrolled in school and married soon after initiation, the traditional system of sex education was appropriate. However in present times, different actors from Morogoro Region revealed that life has changed and the teachings during *Unjago* are no longer sufficient. ‘*Some people believe that traditional customs are enough to abstain, but the reality improves that it isn’t. So we need other information, it is important that*
adolescents learn how to protect themselves’ (Father 1, Makuyu). With the rising rates of HIV/AIDS infections and the increasing number of schoolgirls that face the problem of early pregnancy, several actors recognised the need for clear and detailed information about sexuality. However, the teaching content of Unjago does not include such clear and detailed information. ‘During initiation, teachings are correct about customs, but it lack details and that’s why the Tanzanian government has stressed those things in school’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School). Moreover, some Morogoro actors revealed that girls are not always allowed to ask questions about things that are not clear to them. ‘During initiation girls are not allowed to ask questions, and if they would be allowed, they will only answer the questions they are able to answer. Many questions they aren’t able to answer, because they don’t have the knowledge. And after initiation girls are not allowed to ask questions anymore, because closed is closed’ (Mother 1, Makuyu). However, other actors said it is possible for girls to ask questions during initiation. Probably this contradiction might be attributed to the regional differences in initiation practices. Although in addition to the parent from Makuyu, several other actors from different regions revealed that girls who have undergone initiation, still have a need for sexual knowledge. Most of them explained the main focus of initiation is on abstinence before marriage and information about condoms and contraceptives is not included, while it is found that most adolescents are already sexually active from a young age (Ministry of Health, 2004). ‘They teach the general consequences of sexual activities, but they do not teach anything about using condoms. The message is not to sleep with a man before marriage, the main focus is simply don’t do it’ (Mother 1, Makuyu).

The interview findings about the insufficient supply of information during initiation teachings corresponds to what is found in the theoretical background of this report. In chapter 3, based on the National Adolescent Health and Development Strategy 2004-2008 (Ministry of Health, 2008), it is stated that in current times the information that adolescents receive during initiation is no longer adequate, because traditional teachers do not possess enough knowledge about current health issues and about methods to prevent the problems caused by those issues.

Apart from the girls that have a lack of knowledge about their sexual and reproductive health after undergoing initiation, in Morogoro Region an increasing number of girls does not undergo initiation anymore and actors revealed that the importance of the initiation culture is reducing. While in some tribes traditional socio-structures are still important, in many communities religion, modernisation and migration have eroded most of the structures that were involved in the initiation from adolescence to adulthood. ‘In the past, whole families lived as extended families together. Because of that, there was always someone present to inform about sexual issues. Nowadays many people are moving, for example to town and there are less extended families’ (Employee SNV, female). Actors explained that, especially in urban areas, the practice of initiation culture is decreasing and although in rural areas the traditional customs may still take place more frequently, it is subject to change as well. ‘The practice of initiation is going down comparing with before, because of two reasons. The first is Christianity, that religion becomes like a new enlightenment for some people, they start thinking in a different way. The
second thing is the economic costs of initiation. It costs a lot to arrange a party. Nowadays parents will sit down first and make all the calculations and decide if they can afford or not’ (Head of Community, male, Yowe). The special old people responsible for Unjago are traditionally the only persons involved in teachings about sexual topics. Other members of the community, among which parents, are not used to speak about sexual topics with their children.

Lack of provision of sex education by parents

In accordance with the literature, which cites that parents are traditionally not involved in sex education and generally do not take over this role from their seniors (Tournas, 1996, in Meekers, 1999; Wight, et al., 2006), Morogoro actors revealed that most parents do still not provide information about sexuality, not even when their children do not undergo initiation. Consequently, with the decline of initiation a gap emerged between the reducing number of grandparents who teach their grandchildren about sexuality by means of initiation and parents who are not used to talk about sexual issues with their children. ‘Initiation ceremonies, that was the case in former times, in the past it was ordinary. It was included in the tradition that some people taught the children about sexual things. Those people knew how to do it in detail and had their own ways to teach that kind of things. At the moment things have changed and because of that there is a kind of confusion to the parents, because they are not used to teach their own children about sexual issues’ (Father 1, Yowe). The Cultural Officer from the Municipal Council in Morogoro explained the traditional custom which causes parents to face difficulties in talking with their children about sexuality. ‘People are talking about sexuality in different levels, children have their levels and there are also other levels. Within these levels, people learn about sexual things, but the levels cannot mix. Girls can only talk to their grandmothers and boys can only talk to their grandfathers. They cannot talk about it with their parents. That is not easy somehow. Most adolescents may have sexual knowledge from their grandmothers and grandfathers, but not from their parents. Young people don’t have the chance to talk with their parents’ (Cultural Officer, male, Municipal Council Morogoro). In addition to the custom that complicates discussing sexual topics between generations, there is also a custom that embarrasses parents to talk about sexual topics with their children from the opposite sex. A father from Makuyu revealed that he is able to talk in detail about sexual issues with his boys, but not with his girls. He told that in a general sense he is able to guide them both, but in detail it depends on the sex. These findings confirm the outcomes of the study by Wight et al. (2006), in which they cite that parents do not provide sex education sufficiently due to pervasive taboos around discussing sexual topics.

Besides the awkwardness to discuss sexual issues due to traditional customs, parents revealed more reasons why they do not feel comfortable to talk about sexual issues, for example the feeling to lack knowledge to do it properly. ‘In my opinion it is the role of the mother for her daughter and the role of the father for his son. As a father I accept my responsibility, but on the side of knowledge not everyone knows enough, that’s the main problem’ (Father 1, Makuyu). In addition to this quotations
from a father from Makuyu, a mother from Yowe revealed that because parents lack knowledge to sufficiently inform their children about sexuality, many children have to trust other sources to acquire the sexual knowledge they need. ‘Parents do not have enough knowledge to provide their children with enough information, so the children have to search for their needs somewhere else and they have to trust other people than their parents to get the right knowledge. For example when children read something, there is no appropriate person who can tell if the information is correct or not’ (Mother 1, Yowe). These quotations are in line with the conclusion of Tournas (1996, in Meekers, 1999) that parents do not provide sex education because they feel to lack knowledge to do it properly. Next to the lack of knowledge, some parents also explained to feel distress to talk about sexuality with their children, because they are afraid to incite their children to practise sexual activities. Several parents revealed that improving the sexual and reproductive health of their children by explaining how to practise (safe) sex, feels contradictory to them. ‘I believe that if you teach them that kind of methods, you teach them how to have sex. That is a contradiction and not a valuable kind of information. They have to be told that they are not supposed to do it before they get married. I insist that the way in which I believe, it is contradicting with my faith to teach the youth how to use contraceptives, because it will encourage them. So they have to be told to abstain till completing school’ (Mother 2 Yowe). Within the Tanzanian society, it is a general standard that adolescents are not allowed to have sexual relationships before marriage and it is shameful for families if it turns out that their children are sexually active, especially when they are still enrolled in school. To prevent such shamefulness, parents forbid their children to have sexual relationships completely and do not like to reveal any kind of information that might encourage their children to initiate sexual activities. ‘According to the traditional way, people should not engage themselves in having relationships until they get married. (…) Most parents do not dare to talk about sexuality, because of the fear that if they start with telling, their children think that they allow them from that moment to do what they have learned. The parents are afraid that by teaching they take the initiative for their children to begin with sexual activities’ (Head of Community, male, Yowe).

Insufficient information at schools
At school, teachers are aware of the difficulties parents face with providing sex education. A teacher from Makuyu explained that although parents may talk about sexuality at home, adolescents rely on teachers for openness and more detailed information. However, although most teachers perceive providing sex education as the responsibility of school, they are ambiguous about their own role in teaching about sexuality. ‘We are all educated and informed, but not all of us have changed their mindsets. The problem is that a lot of teachers say that it’s good to talk to the children, they have the opinion that the children have to be educated, but they also say it is not me who can do that. The same is true for parents’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). Several teachers, students and NGO employees explained that due to several causes the majority of teachers does not feel comfortable to
teach sex education. Firstly, due to the traditional customs teachers feel to be perceived as too young to teach about sexual issues; secondly, teachers mentioned contradictions between what is taught at school and home, for example about the reliability of condoms; and thirdly, like parents, teachers explained the contradictory message of providing knowledge, while demanding abstinence at the same time. ‘I face some difficulties in teaching sex education. According to the area where the school is situated, the culture here is to practice initiation ceremonies. And because of this ceremonies some feel that it is not good when young people like me teach about sexual issues. They think it has to be taught by an older person. And second, there is some contradicting information between the knowledge at home and what is given at school. (...) I don’t know exactly where it contradicts. I think the knowledge during initiation is partial, there are not many details in it’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). Actors revealed there are not enough teacher who can deal with sexual-related topics and consequently, alike the situation at home, schools do not provide enough detailed information about sexuality. The findings from the interviews concerning sex education at school corresponds to the literature discussed in chapter 3 of this report. According to Wight et al. (2006), teachers do not feel confident to teach sex education because they think that sex education encourages sexual activity, while the norm is abstinence for adolescents that are enrolled in school. And as cited by Sing et al. (2005), traditional norms do not allow teachers to discuss sexual issues in public and in particular not among individuals of different generations or sexes.

Adolescents do not ask questions
Despite the fact that parents and teachers observe the norm of abstinence and prohibit sexual relationships, many primary and secondary schoolgirls do have sexual relationships. However, in line with findings from Plummer (2006), Plummer et al. (2008), and Wight et al. (2006), these relationships are kept absolutely secret, because of the risk of getting punished by parents or teachers. ‘Many schoolgirls have a boyfriend, I estimate in form 4 about 70 percent has a boyfriend. (...) Of course, most girls practice sex with their boyfriend. They are just hiding it, because they are scared. Because at school it is not allowed to have a lover, they are just doing it as a secret. If teachers discover that someone has a relationships those students get punished and some of them are even send from school. (...) At home, they are lying as well. They talk like, mother I’m going to a friend, I’m going to take a book from someone, or I’m going just somewhere. So when she is going, she is going to meet her boyfriend’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). Although students revealed to hide their sexual activities for their teachers and parents, several teachers and parents mentioned to be aware of the sexual activities of the youth around them. ‘Several students are practising sex, even the older ones at primary school. It is forbidden for schoolgirls to have sexual relationships, but the children go around and do such things. It is a secret for their parents, the girls tell their parents that they go out for study groups or films during the evening and this is how they get the chance to do such things’ (Mother 1, Makuyu). The concealing of sexual relationships hampers children to ask their parents and teachers
any questions about sexuality, because asking questions implies the suspicion of being sexually active. A student from Mgeta explained why many adolescents do not dare to ask their parents questions about sexual issues. ‘Adolescents do not like to talk about sexuality with their parents, because they are afraid that parents will ask questions about the reason why they come up with particular questions’ (Female student 4, form 1, Mgeta Secondary School). Another student from Mgeta explained the concealing of relationships to teachers. ‘If students have a relationship they are afraid that they reveal it to the teachers if they ask certain questions. If they ask questions, there is a risk that the teachers get know that they have a relationship. So if it is not necessary to ask the teacher, they will ask someone else’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School). Furthermore, apart from the difficulties to ask their questions about sexuality to parents and teachers, adolescents may face difficulties to go to health workers as well. ‘It is difficult for adolescents to ask questions about sexuality to their parents, but also to teachers, and even in Health centres, because the nurses are there for years. Especially in small places, those nurses assist people from the moment they are born and then it is not easy to talk to those nurses about certain topics, because they know you very well. Even to ask for an HIV-test can be difficult, because the nurses meet all the people from the community every day and can talk to them. So they feel their secret is not safe.’ (Employee Femina, female). Beside the fact that adolescents are afraid to reveal their sexual relationships, another reason why they do not like to ask their parents and teachers is that they expect to get the advice to abstain instead of the required information about how to practice safe sex, and therefore asking seems useless to them. ‘Adolescents do not like to ask their parents questions about sexuality, because they think that if they come to their parents they will get advice in the other direction. The will anticipate on that, because they don’t want advice in a contradictive way. So they will go to somebody else and the parents will not know’ (Father 1, Makuyu).

No trustful sources of information

The literature discussed in chapter 3 suggests basic knowledge about sexuality to be necessary for adolescents to behave in a protective way, and at the contrary, states that a lack of basic knowledge might lead to risky sexual behaviour and thus to early pregnancy (Singh, et al., 2005). In line with this statements, actors from Morogoro mentioned a lack of knowledge jeopardising adolescents to practice unsafe sexual behaviour. Due to the lack of information at home and at school, the norm of abstinence and the accompanying secrecy about sexual relationships, adolescents have a lack of trustful sources to get information about their sexual and reproductive health. Nowadays, there isn’t anyone to inform the children about sexuality and because of that children have to deal with a lack of knowledge. I know stories about girls who menstruate for the first time and the secrecy about it. Mothers run away, because they can’t talk about such things with their own daughters. Sometimes it is better to ask a stranger from the street to explain things than talking with your own child about sexuality’ (Employee SNV, female). Although parents and teachers know that many adolescents have no other option than to acquire their knowledge about sexual issues on the street, they do not value people from the street as
trustful sources and consequently they are not sure whether their children do have the appropriate knowledge. ‘In the street it is hard to know the right thing and there are a lot of misconceptions in the street as well. (...) At the street they don’t know who to trust and which information is correct’ (Mother 1, Makuyu).

Gap between knowledge and behaviour

In line with the literature presented in chapter 3 of this report, actors revealed that in the Morogoro Region a lack of sexual and reproductive knowledge is a significant cause of early pregnancy. However, in contrast with the lack of knowledge, there were also actors who revealed that during past years the knowledge of sexual and reproductive health has improved a lot due to efforts of the government and various non-governmental organisations. Thanks to different forms of sex education, in present times there are also many adolescents who have the right knowledge about the risks of unsafe sexual behaviour and its possible consequences. However, actors revealed that many of these adolescents that possess the appropriate knowledge still practise unsafe sexual activities. Instead of a lack of knowledge, these actors mentioned a gap between knowledge and behaviour as the most important cause of unsafe sexual activities. ‘The level of sexual knowledge is not a problem. For me the biggest question is, what is the relationship between knowing and doing. How do people live according to the information that they have’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). In accordance with other actors, the employee of GTZ mentioned a lack of life skills as an important factor in the gap between knowledge and behaviour. ‘The challenge is always, do you have enough skills? People know the information, but why do they fail to live according to the information they have? I think this is because of a lack of life skills. Life skills is not about knowing, but about living. Young people, but adults as well have a lack of life skills. Life skills like decision making, problem solving, goal setting, self awareness and self esteem. It is about step making (...) When it is about sex and you have to make a decision, you can’t just say yes or no, that are just words, not a decision. There is a gap between the knowledge and the living. And to solve that gap we need skills’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project).

Besides the lack of life skills, other actors revealed that although some adolescents know about the consequences of unsafe sexual activities, they may not personalize them. ‘The consequences, some understand them others don’t. But even the one who understand them don’t personalize the consequences.’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School). In addition to this student from Mgeta, a teacher from Educare Secondary School explained the following. ‘Although people have been educated about using condoms, the attendance of using condoms is diminishing from time to time. When people were educated for the first time they were using condoms but nowadays they are very poor using it. (...) Most of them think that using condoms is just a waste of time because they feel nothing when they use condoms. They are aware of it, but they don’t take care of it. You know, they just think that at that age they think it will not happen to them, they are not serious at all’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). Furthermore a student from Mgeta cited that even if people experience the
consequences, they may not incline to attribute them correctly and keep on neglecting. ‘People know that they can either become pregnant or get certain STIs or HIV, but still some people are neglecting that, they think the symptoms are just part of other health problems, like malaria. I still believe that they are not really worried about the consequences’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School).

Finally, an employee of a NGO explained, that even when girls perceive the consequences correctly, they may still not behave safely, because they do not understand the impact of the consequences for their own future lives. ‘Many girls get pregnant, due to a lack of future goals and a lack of seeing the impact of getting pregnant for the future. In the past it wasn’t a serious problem, but now it is.’ (Employee SNV, female).

Concluding remarks about lack of knowledge

To conclude the level containing the lack of knowledge and misconceptions about sexual and reproductive health, in line with the research findings, different interacting factors lead up to a lack of knowledge among adolescents in the Morogoro Region. However, apart from this lack of knowledge there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour. Within this gap, adolescents that have the appropriate knowledge still practise risky sexual behaviours, because they do not personalize the negative consequences or neglect them, or they lack the life skills necessary to behave according to their knowledge.

7.2.2 Cultural and Social Factors

As is evident from the model presented in figure 6.1, according to the literature several cultural and social factors might impede adolescents to practise safe sex. In line with Fundi (2010), several actors from Morogoro revealed that traditional practices like initiation ceremonies may have a negative influence on girls' schooling, although the practice of initiation is reducing and its content is subject to change. Especially in urban areas, actors explained tradition is becoming less important, due to religion, influences of modernisation and migration. As explained in the former paragraph, nowadays many people live more independently without an extended family and as a result, the elder persons responsible for the execution of initiation are not always present anymore, family members are less likely to contribute to the initiation of another people’s daughter, and the cultural pressure to undergo initiation declines. As a consequence, the practice of initiation is reducing, even among parents that actually still value initiation as important, but do not have enough financial resources. ‘When the parties were organized in former times, it always consist of two stages (the teaching and the party), because in former times it was easier affordable for people, because they were used to live together, in extended families people lived their lives together. Because of moving, nowadays people live more independently without an extended family. They can only afford a party later or cannot afford at all. Sometimes they
cannot afford the celebration and sometimes they cannot afford the teachings neither and then their children don’t receive any knowledge.’ (Father 1, Yowe).

School absence due to initiation practises

While in urban areas initiation is not always a matter of course anymore, in rural areas many girls still undergo initiation. Different actors from the rural Mvomero District explained that initiation still takes a big part in the absence and drop-out at primary and secondary school. ‘Initiation ceremonies are part of the local tradition, parents try to pick the girls from school because they have to undergo initiation. It depends when girls have to undergo initiation, it happens in form 1, 2 and 3. The majority have to undergo initiation during class 2 and 3. But is also happens at primary schools during standard 6 and 7. (...) A lot of girls don’t come back after initiations and if they come back, they can’t concentrate very much on their studies anymore. It’s another problem that there are some interferences because of initiation. Sometimes it’s during the holiday and they come back at school. Sometimes before initiation girls perform good, but then, after initiation, they lose their interest in school. The majority of girls get to know of things during initiation that interferes their schooling. But I don’t know the content exactly, because it’s a secret’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). According to the Educational Officer of the Mvomero District, many people still practise initiation at times when girls should be enrolled in school. Although most girls return to school after initiation, many girls drop out soon after they return, because they got pregnant or are going to marry. To prevent the cases of school absence and drop-out due to initiation, the regional government tries to encourage parents to practise during holidays or to wait after the completion of standard 7. According to the Educational Officer, these encouragements fail to be successful yet, because many parents still do not wait and practise the initiation during school periods, because of the importance to practice initiation soon after a girl’s first menstrual period. However, in contradiction to the Educational Officer, most parents and teachers from the Mvomero villages Makuyu, Yowe and Mgeta revealed that in former times, the initiation culture was indeed practised soon after a girl’s first menstrual period, but nowadays things have changed. Although girls formally still have to undergo initiation soon after their menarche - that mostly occurs from primary school standard 6 till secondary school form 3 - many parents and teachers explained that in current times, most initiation practices are postponed or shortened, due to the increased value of education and the government’s obligation to complete primary education. Nowadays, many girls get the opportunity to finish their primary education before they have to undergo initiation, or if they still have to undergo initiation during school going, they may undergo a shortened variant to reduce the time that girls are absent from school. In years past, the practice of initiation in Morogoro Region took several months up to a whole year. During that time, girls had to stay home and were not allowed to attend school. In present times, many initiation practices are shortened to two weeks or only a couple of days. Moreover, during that shortened period, the Yowe Head of Community explained that the timetable of initiation can be adapted in order to enable girls to attend school and undergo initiation at
the same time. 'Many people practise initiation. The ones who do not practise are converted into Christianity, they do not practise initiation because their religion does not allow to practise it. The ones who practise initiation behave in that way to prepare and teach their girls the things which have to be told to a girl. The age to undergo initiation depends on the girls, some are aged 11, some undergo initiation at older ages. It depends on the first menstrual period. On average the initiation for girls takes a month. When girls are enrolled in school while they undergo initiation, two things can happen. The first way is that the initiation takes only one week. The girls are off from their studies during that week and stay the whole week at home. The second way is that girls are going to school every day, but when they leave the house during initiation, they have to cover their face. They have to go straight to school, and are not allowed to go to any other place, except from school. After school they have to go straight back to home or to their room. If a girl undergoes initiation in this way, it takes one month. When she has finished the month, on the last day of training, they tell the girl the appropriate time for the celebration. Until the ceremony she still has to cover her face. After the ceremony, the normal life of the girl can start again.' (Head of Community, male, Yowe).

Girls’ shifting minds due to initiation

Although the Yowe Head of Community stated that after initiation, ‘the normal life of girls can start again’, other actors disagree with his statement and explained that after initiation many girls are less focused on school than they were before. During initiation girls are taught about their changed bodies and get practical information about how to handle a relationship. Several actors revealed that girls are exactly taught how to have sexual intercourse and they are approached like they will marry soon. Afterwards many girls perceive themselves as grown-up women and they feel mature enough to marry. As a consequence, girls are more interested to practise what they have learned than in continuing their education. Several actors revealed that after initiation many girls drop out after a while, because they engage in sexual relationships and get pregnant. ‘One major problem is that shifting mind of girls from an ordinary girls’ life to how to handle a man and how to have sex. In a short time they make girls stop thinking in a student way. After initiation they start thinking beyond their age, they start only to think on how she can actually behave like she has been told during initiation. This kind of shifting ruins the girls way of thinking as a student.’ (Father 1, Yowe). In addition to this father, a researcher at Mzumbe university who did research into the value of education by parents in Mtwara, explained the following. ‘After initiation, girls are no longer interested in school. Actually, initiation ceremonies are not bad, but they become bad. During initiation, they prepare a girl to be a mother, for example here in Morogoro, they teach young girls how to handle a husband. What do you think girls will do after they have undertaken the initiation ceremonies, what do you think that will happen? Exactly, they put it into practice, after the initiation the girls will test what they have learnt, and girls get pregnant end they end up getting married’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University).
However, in contrast with the interviewees who revealed initiation to shift the girls’ focus from school to family life, other interviewees revealed that during initiation teachings do focus on the negative consequences of sexual activities and do equip girls with the information that enables them to make good decisions. ‘It is not enough to just tell her not to have sex. During initiation, they try to explain things to her that she may understand this has this consequence, this may destroy your studies, this is the consequence if you meet men who are interested in you at the moment, you may think that you are mature, but you are not yet mature. So it is not just one word of like abstain, don’t have men. They try to give her the reasons to understand herself and to understand the circumstances to make good choices’ (Cultural Officer, male, Morogoro Municipality). In addition, a parent from Mgeta explained that, nowadays, most girls choose to continue their studies after initiation and finish their education before they get married. ‘Nowadays because there are some opportunities to proceed with their studies. So likely most girls even after initiation they don’t choose to get married, they choose to study on, because they have chances to study. But it may also depend on the family. If the family puts pressure on a girl to study, then the girl continues her study. If the family is loose, the girl gets slowly more interested in a man and she will not pursuit into further studies’ (Mother 2, Mgeta).

High costs of initiation practices

Besides the focus of girls being changed or not, different actors mentioned the high costs that are attached to the ceremonies that conclude the initiation of girls with a party. Tanzania is one of world’s poorest countries (Tanzania NBS 2008b in World Bank 2009) and especially the rural areas are poor (World bank, 2009). In the farming region Morogoro, many people do not possess high amounts of money and have to contribute a lot to organise the initiation ceremony of their daughters. Afterwards, there is not much money left to pay for girls' schooling. As a consequence some parents finally stimulate their daughter to leave school and marry soon, or girls drop out after a while because they cannot afford the money to pay school contributions. ‘Here in Morogoro, life is very poor and they have to contribute a lot of money to initiation ceremonies. And because of that, there isn’t any money left for school fees or other school contribution’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University).

Early marriages

In relation to the initiation culture, different respondents mentioned early marriage as a cause of early pregnancy and school drop-out. ‘...and early marriages, especially the Massaai, they start negotiating about a child even before the child is born. They are even not yet sure whether the child that’s not even born would be a girl or a boy, but they make a contract and start paying, like: ‘if the baby turns out to be a girl, she is going to marry my son.’ So the parents do that arrangement and when a girl is born she is already somebody’s wife without her knowledge. So she gets prepared that way when she’s around class 3 or 4 and then the mother-in-law says: “Now I want my daughter, I want to rise her in a way that is beneficial to my son. So they take the girl who is very small to stay with their mother-in-law until they
are grown up enough to get married.’ (Employee SNV, female). Although all interviewed girls revealed to prefer finishing school and finding a job before marriage, parents were more divided. Most parents mentioned the age of eighteen as an appropriate age to get married and they explained the importance for a girl to complete at least primary education and if possible even secondary education. However, some parents revealed the importance of marriage above education and stated that if a suitable man would announce himself, they would encourage their daughter to marry. ‘If you are lucky to meet the right man you can marry soon after initiation. But some girls have to wait for four or even more years and others will never marry. If my daughter drops out after initiation in order to marry, for me that would be okay, if that’s the case, she can go marry’ (Mother 1, Makuyu).

The findings about the harming effect of initiation on girls’ schooling and the appearance of early marriage are in line with the literature presented in chapter 3. Alike the interviewees of this report, Fundi (2010) revealed that initiation teachings might encourage sexual activities among schoolgirls, because after initiation several girls feel ready to engage in sexual activities and some parents perceive their daughters as sexually mature. In line with the interviewees from the Morogoro Region, Fundi (2010) stated that as a consequence of initiation teachings many girls get pregnant or get married soon after they have undergone initiation.

**Negative assumptions about condoms**

Besides the impeding effects of the initiation culture and early marriage on schooling, remarks from different actors indicate negative assumptions about condoms to harm adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health. Among adolescents, but among their parents and teachers as well, doubts exist about the usefulness of condoms and the correctness to use them. More and more people are converted to religion and several respondents revealed that the use of condoms is against their religious convictions. ‘There are religious and traditional believes that are against the use of condoms. Some tribes are fighting against condom use, for example in some tribes it is common that when a husband died, there is a purification process and a inheritance process. During this processes it is prohibited to use condoms. But it is also forbidden according to the Roman Catholics. They say that using a condom kills sperm and because of that kills children and it is a murder. They don’t encourage it’ (Employee SNV, female). Out of the primary school pupils and secondary school students that filled in the questionnaire, more than 70 percent revealed their religion does not allow them to use condoms. In the same questionnaire more than 20 percent thought it is not good to use a condom and only 10 percent admitted to use condoms. The interviews revealed that, in addition to the prohibition of religion, several cultural beliefs hamper the use of condoms. Some actors equated the use of condoms with masturbation and other actors explained that condoms are only meant for married people and not for adolescents.
Misconceptions about condoms

Next to the hindering effect of religious and cultural beliefs, doubts about the dependability of condoms impede many people to use them. ‘There are very big doubts in communities, not only for adults but also for others. Sometimes they feel that the condom will break and they don’t continue using it. They feel that they are not helpful, because the statistics show that the amount of sold condoms is big, but there is still HIV. The difference is not big, HIV is even getting higher and higher, they don’t understand the statistics and because of that they don’t trust condoms’ (Employee Femina, female). Especially in rural areas, a lot of misconceptions exist, for example the existence of little holes in condoms, the belief that condoms are like any other kind of plastic and that every kind of plastic can be used as a protective measure, or the conviction that condoms do not protect against pregnancy. ‘When I was 11, some teachers came to tell us about condoms and other medicines. When they told me about such things, I thought this is not good, because there are small holes in it. So you can’t know, even if you use condoms. Condoms might be better, but not better than everything. Maybe you buy a package which is already open or with holes. So you don’t know that you can get pregnant or can get many other dangerous things. So condoms are not good. (…) You can’t see the holes with your eyes, because they are very small’ (Teenage mother 1, SEGA Secondary School). An employee from SNV mentioned that some negative beliefs were enhanced due to the activities of certain organizations that were against condom use. These organizations aimed to decrease the use of condoms by spreading misconceptions about the reliability of condoms. ‘Condom use is still low. There were some NGOs which discouraged condom use by showing movies about condoms which told that there are holes in it, through which the HIV-virus could pass. The NGOs which are concerned in this story were of a particular religion and the government had to intervene to stop the movies’ (Employee SNV, female). In addition a Matron from Educare Secondary School explained that many adolescents are confused about what to think about condoms, because of different contradicting messages. ‘There are different organizations that say that they are helping young people to understand the role of contraceptives. But every time there come people with their own opinions. First of all there are people who are against condoms and who say you don’t have to use them, and there are others who come and say this is how you use condoms, but they say in this or that situation you can’t do like this. There are lot of contradictive facts with which people come to teach them’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School).

Different actors linked the misconceptions of condoms to the fact that many adolescents do not use condoms. ‘Condoms you know, condoms are not hundred percent effective. Sometimes when doing sexual intercourse they may burst or they get off while doing sexual intercourse, so that’s why they say they are not hundred percent effective. And that’s why most of the adolescents are not using condoms.’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). Because of the perceived unreliability of condoms, several actors revealed people find themselves to have no reasons to use condoms and perceive it as time-wasting to use condoms. Moreover, several people argued they do not like to use condoms, because having sex without condoms is more pleasurable. ‘There aren’t many adolescents who use
condoms. It’s like eating a candy with the whole wrapping around it. It is better, more pleasurable or sweeter to have sex without a protection like a condom. So most of my friends don’t use a condom. Furthermore, the problem is that people don’t have one hundred percent confidence that condoms are protective. They know condoms protect them somehow, but they don’t believe they will protect for the whole. So why should they use condoms then?’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School).

Concerning the negative assumptions and misconceptions about condoms, the interview results from this report fit almost completely with the information found in literature. In chapter 3, due to the same negative assumptions about condoms that are mentioned by the interviewees of this research, Plummer et al. (2008) stated that only a smart minority of young woman uses modern methods of family planning.

**Lack of access to condoms**

On top of the misconceptions and negative assumptions that may impede adolescents to use condoms, the accessibility to condoms is not always a matter of course. Different actors revealed that although the willingness to use condoms might be there, it would make no sense, because condoms are not available. ‘I think condoms are not around here, I think they don’t have access at the moment, but I think they must be brought to here. In this area even in the shops there are no condoms. So even if they teach it, it is too far to buy condoms, so they wouldn’t use them neither’ (Head of Community, male, Yowe).

Furthermore, if condoms are available and students are not impeded to use them by negative assumptions, condom use might still be low, because adolescents do not dare to buy them. An Employee of SNV revealed that due to the earlier mentioned taboo to talk openly about sexuality, adolescents face difficulties to ask shop owners for condoms. ‘Although adolescents know where to get condoms, they don’t buy them because of shyness. Sellers are adults and because of the age-difference adolescents are afraid to ask sellers for condoms.’ (Employee YCI, male). Moreover, due to the secrecy around sexual activity (as discussed in paragraph 7.2.1, caused by the norm of abstinence), adolescents might not dare to ask for condoms, because it may indicate that they have a sexual relationship. ‘The act, the very simple act of going to a shop and buy a condom, can be very intimidating, very feel shy, feel afraid to be knowing that.. oh, you buy a condom, so you have sex. But if there will be a way to distribute condoms for everyone, even for those who don’t use, in that way it would be helpful, for those who actually use them. That should help a lot.’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School).

**The custom to obtain rewards in exchange for sex**

Beside the negative assumptions about condoms and difficulties to use them, other traditional and cultural factors have been mentioned to influence a girl's risk of getting pregnant. A topic which all actors mentioned is the African custom to obtain rewards in exchange for sexual intercourse. ‘The main reason of early pregnancy is temptation, especially for money because some parents don’t have the money to provide what schoolgirls need, while there are some people who have enough money and can
give money away. But they don’t give money away just for nothing. They give the money today and girls spend it but it keeps in their memory that they have given you some money. So another day, they either continue doing that or they start to demand to relate to them. So it actually begins with the capacity of the parents to give money to their daughters’ (Father 2, Mgeta). Students revealed that many girls have sexual intercourse because they desire money or gifts. Other actors confessed that money is used by men to tempt girls to agree with practising sex. Some of the tempted girls live in poor families and have a desire for money to buy clothes, soap and sometimes even food. Other families cannot afford enough money to pay their daughter’s school contributions. ‘I felt like I had no choice, that boy cheated me for money, clothes, exercise books and other things. Maybe other girls sleep around as well, because they have no money. They selling their body to get money, they think it is nice to have a man that can help them with soap and food’ (Teenage mother 1, SEGA Secondary School). Another actor shared this statement of a teenage mother from SEGA and explained that girls with a lack of money find practising sex is an accessible mean to reach their need. ‘It is hard for girls and women to get money. It is very common that girls don’t have enough money to take care of themselves. In that situation, girls need the sex to get money. Boys know that girls need money and they use this knowledge to persuade a girl to have sex. If girls don’t have enough life-skills it is very hard for them to resist’ (Employee YCI, male). Apart from the girls with a lack of basic needs, other girls are provided with daily necessities by their families but still have a desire for money or material gifts, because they want to attain respect from their peers. ‘That are things that attract a girl, because of economic purposes for their families. But also for things like dressing their hair, girls don’t have enough money, and the men can bring them money, so that is how it happens’ (Health Officer Primary Education, male, Municipal Council). A parent from Mgeta explained that many girls want to be equal to their friends, but do not have the money to buy things with which they can rise in their friends’ estimation. ‘In every community there are some girls who look like the modern ones. They wear new things, like trousers and tell the younger ones how they have to behave’ (Mother 1, Makuyu). If the girls do not have money, they find another strategy to get what they desire and may think the way to get material needs fulfilled is to have a man who can do that for them. ‘It may begin that just one girl has a telephone and she comes up with that to school and tells others how she got the telephone. With that she pushes other girls, if they do not have a boyfriend they remain without a telephone and couldn’t link up with friends. So they sit down with a soda and end up agreeing’ (Female student 4, form 2, Educare Secondary School). Girls increase each other’s desire, by showing off the gifts they receive from their boyfriends. Moreover, actors revealed the material world girls are exposed to by media, increases the material desires of girls and the peer pressure they face. Several girls revealed that girls are so willing to receive certain rewards that they are easily tempted to practise sex, if they have the prospect to receive some nice things afterwards. ‘Girls who don’t have the means, they talk about that they don’t have enough money, maybe to buy food or something else. But when it happens that one of them has gone with a certain man and that certain man has provided maybe money for this girl, the others will be surprised and would say: ‘how can you suddenly have money?’
And when they press on the girl she will reveal: ‘oh, I went to have sex with that person and that person gave me this amount of money.’ Then the other girls are tempted to do the same. Because they heard from somebody else that this is how you can get money.’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School).

Boys are acquainted with girls’ needs and desires and approach girls by holding out the prospect of money and presents. According to a student from Mgeta, especially schoolgirls are vulnerable to the temptations of boys or men. ‘It is partly from the side of the boys, because boys think that girls who are in school are more valuable. But it is also because the girls who attend school have more needs and these needs involve money. A girl could think: ‘how can I get enough money to go to school’ and then she could think that she can get it from boys. But this is also from the side of boys, because they know that the girls who go to school need more money. Sometimes they come with more money to convince schoolgirls than to the girls in the villages. So on both sides there are contributions’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School).

Again, the findings from the interviews corresponds to what is found in literature. Wight et al. (2006), Wight (2009), and Vavrus (2003) found sex to be a common resource to obtain rewards. In common with the interview results, literature states that the obtainment of rewards is linked to poverty, but to girls’ self-respect as well, because of the importance of consumption (Wight et al., 2006, in Macleod, 1999).

**Permissive sexual norms and peer pressure**

In chapter 3, Wight et al. (2006) was cited that besides the restrictive norms like the abstinence for school-going youth there are contradictory permissive norms that regard sexual activities among adolescents as normative behaviour and allow adolescents to have various sexual partners at the same time. In line with these findings from literature, actors from Morogoro Region revealed that boys want to persuade girls to practise sex so much because of permissive sexual norms that prevail among adolescents. Actors cited that for boys permissive norms are based on the conviction that boys who do not have a girlfriend, surely have to be impotent. According to the permissive norms, boys are freer to explore sex than girls and they are not so easily dismissed by the community, because their sexual behaviour is not publicly apparent as they do not fall pregnant. An employee of an NGO explains the difference in the social norms for boys and girls: ‘Boys are pressured to come into relationships by their peers and girls not. If girls don’t have a boyfriend they are not stigmatised by their peers. If they don’t have circumstances, like they need money or what else. Girls have to be more secretive, they have to keep it quiet. It is more accepted for boys to have relationships, parents do not mind for boys but do mind for girls. Boys have more freedom to go out with whoever they want. Even in schools, girls at school are not allowed to leave the gate, but boys are’ (Employee Femina, female). Girls themselves explained that most boys perceive love as tantamount to sexual intercourse and face a lot of peer pressure to practise sex in order to prove they are not impotent. These permissive norms are already
present at primary school and as a result, curious young boys experiment with sex and are often ignorant about the consequences.

However, not only boys are sexually active under the influence of permissive norms. Girls cited that they also face difficulties in refusing approaches to practise sex because of the reactions from their peers. ‘Many boys take love as sexual intercourse. Without sex no love, that’s what they say. If girls refuse to practice sex, boys say that maybe she is disabled. Because they think that, there is no girl who can refuse to have a boyfriend if she is not disabled. So they say to her maybe you are disabled that’s why you don’t accept to have a boyfriend anymore’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School).

Impact of modernisation on traditional structures

Among the cultural and traditional level, another causal factor of early pregnancy that is mentioned by actors from Morogoro is the disappearance of the naturalness of traditional norms. Several actors cited that the world in which today’s youth grows up differs from the world in which their parents grew up. In former years, whole families lived as extended families together and all members had their part in the upbringing and control of children and adolescents. ‘In Africa, especially in Tanzania a child is a community child. All community members are very free to take action on other community children. But nowadays, a child is someone other’s child. You can’t take any action on someone other’s child anymore and this has impact on education. Everybody has to follow his own child and you can’t say anything about another child. This is a problem in many sectors.’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University). Due to globalisation and modernisation, traditional social-structures are decreasing and many extended families have made way for single-parent families. ‘For example students struggle with their single parents. We have discovered that some circumstances causes a certain kind of problems in most students, their problems are related to only having one parent. It has effect on the way they behave and the life that they live at home’ (Matrons, female, Educare Secondary School). According to an employee of SNV, as a consequence of the processes mentioned above, less social control is carried out to control children’s behaviour. ‘I don’t know what has happened, but you see mam and dad are going to church every Sunday and the kids are not there, they are going to the beach, they are playing somewhere. And parental control is lacking. Parents have a lot of things on our mind, they are very busy because of the competition, they have no employment, they have to struggle here and there, it’s because of the globalisation.. So parents are too much concentrated to survival, to get money to take the kids to school, that they don’t cherish anymore to waste time by sitting along the corner with firewood discussing issues with the kids, they don’t do that. This trend is mainly present in urban areas, people leave their relatives in the village and stay here with their kids in town. No aunts, no uncles, no whatever from their own club are present. So they have to depend on their friends in the city who are from different tribes, have different social values, and different cultural practices. Maybe it’s suitable to do a research about the social values, how they are disappearing. Because generally we are not
exactly as we were in the past’ (Employee SNV, female). It appears that in modern times in many situations only the parents themselves control their own children’s behaviour and there are fewer adults around that take a part in the social control of other people’s children. During daytime, when a lot of parents are away to earn money or to farm their land, in many situations there are no elder persons present to keep an eye on the youth. Consequently, adolescents are corrected less and are more free to do what they want compared to earlier. In line with these findings, in chapter 3, Fugelsang (1997) mentioned urbanisation to make many people live in poor unstructured conditions in which youth’s behaviour is no longer controlled by the presence of extended families.

In addition to reduced social control, migration induced people from several tribes to mix and marry cross-culturally. It is found that within these mixed-marriages, traditional norms make way for more permissive norms that allow adolescents more freedom and make fewer demands on a girl’s choice for a spouse. ‘Things are changing, we are getting away from our social values. It is part of the globalisations and modernisations, we are losing our ethics. Extended families are disappearing and the issue of intermarriage is increasingly there. So before, if I where Dutch then I would marry to a Dutchman and my kids would be Dutch. But in the new situation, you are Dutch, but you marry an American, which culture do they belong then? In one part it helps a lot to reduce this tribalism but on the other hand, which culture do you now maintain? Cause mammy is from a different culture, daddy is from another culture and aunty is getting married to someone from a new culture too. So even when the aunt comes back to her niece which culture is she going to pursue? So that intermarriage in Morogoro society and other parts of Tanzania has contributed to diminish some values. Because one part believe in those values and the other part doesn’t. They have others. They are more permissive. They allow adolescents more freedom. There were a lot more social sanctions in the past. Nowadays kids have a lot of freedom and especially when we are talking about human rights, nationwide. So there is a lot of space now for the kids to be free to express their views and opinions and also practices of behaviour. But then what is lacking? Guidance, for example on how they can practise safe behaviours. When we say in reproductive health components. Everyone has a right to have sex whenever you feel it, any time you want it, anyhow you want it. But there is responsibility as well. Now combining right and responsibility is the problem’ (Employee SNV, female). In line with this quotations, in 1986, Cherlin and Riley already indicated that the social control on adolescents sexual behaviour was diminishing (Meekers, 1999) and during the nineties other researchers found a process of acculturation that broke down the traditional control systems of adolescents’ sexual behaviour as well (Macleod, 1999).

Besides the process of acculturation, literature findings also marked a decline of traditional respect (Mfomo, 1990, in Macleod, 1999; Bodibe, 1994, in Macleod, 1999). In line with Macleod (1999), different interviewees mentioned, besides the fact that fewer adults are present to keep an eye on their youth, social control also diminishes due to the adolescents’ increased level of education and their modern ideas about autonomy. Nowadays, adolescents have more knowledge about certain topics than their parents and obey less easy to the rules of their parents. ‘Nowadays in some homes children are
free, they don’t pay attention to the wishes of their parents, it is the other way round. In that cases it is hard to control the behaviour of the child. As long as they feel that they can decide everything and they don’t have to account on anybody else, then yes, they will engage in sexual activity (Father 1, Makuyu).

Several actors explained that in current times, girls may practise sex with the wrong man more easily, because girls feel more free to make their own decision and feel less restrictions from parental control. ‘In former atmospheres, girls were able to trust their parents and their rules about relationships. Girls were not as free in those situations as the girls who are nowadays able to make their own choices. And these ones who are free to make their own choices, they are very easily to be cheated by this old men’ (Mother 1, Mgeta). Moreover the structures that were involved in the careful selection of an appropriate husband, are not a matter of course anymore. ‘Regarding the decisions of spouse after initiation, things have changed. Before the youth they were respectful to adults and they were able to follow when they were told this is the limit, and this is what you should do, and this is what you should not do. So they were able to pay attention and did not go beyond the limit. But in the modern time, the idea of having your autonomous decision, making your own choices is part of the norm nowadays. So it is hard for the youth to be told you should not do this and they would listen, they make their own decisions about relationships. It is hard to say how much it has changed, but it has changed a lot. (...) Because people themselves are changing and life circumstances are changing, people can simplify things. The strict rules, the strict approaches of things that existed earlier, do not really exist in the modern time. For example, when I was looking for a girl to marry, I didn’t approach the girl by myself. I went to my grandmother and my grandmother talked to somebody and they arranged which kind of family they should approach. When they were accepted, they arranged also that they should test the boy. How hard he can work, how he can behave in the middle of people. So they arranged a group of people to come and work together and then later they had a small celebration. All this was to test one man and to decide to which girl he is later allowed to marry. But nowadays young man, because he owns a radio or he owns whatever, is enough to make music and call girls and choose a wife’ (Father 1, Mgeta).

More exposure to sexual-related topics through media

On top of the already mentioned topics around modernisation, several factors cited that today’s youth has more exposure to sexual-related topics, due to media, like television, films, newspapers, et cetera. ‘I’m not so old to talk about the past, maybe you can better ask my grandmother, but still I feel at my age we are also different from the new generation now. There is a lot of issues influenced by the media. In the time of my mother they were not there, so they contribute a lot in the mind of the child. Look at the field, for example the pornographic things’ (Employee SNV, female). Nowadays, adolescents have many sources to obtain information about sexuality and several actors revealed that those sources contribute to the fact that a lot of adolescents have an increased desire to practise sex. ‘Their freedom comes from the circumstances that prevail now. Adolescents are more informed about sexual matters than formerly. In former times, people would not hear about the things where the younger ones are
already aware of today. Nowadays, they are able to go everywhere and to pick different kind of things. (Mother 1, Yowe).

Spare time activities that put girls at risk
Apart from the fact that exposure to modern communication methods influences youth’s sexual behaviours (Fugelsang, 1992, 1994, 1995; WHO, 1993; Tumbo-Masabo & Liljestrom, 1994, in Fugelsang, 1997), in chapter 3, modern spare time activities, like video shows, local bars and discos are mentioned to increase the risk for girls to get pregnant. During the interviews, actors also mentioned the existence of a kind of discos where girls face the risk of getting pregnant. ‘Especially in rural areas, for example Mgeta, a number of girls goes dancing during the night and face the risk to get pregnant’ (Health Officer, male, Morogoro Municipality). Different interviewees revealed that if girls attend many parties, it might interfere with their studies. Moreover, during the parties girls might be under the influence of alcohol and drugs, and consequently, more easily tempted to practise unsafe sexual activities. ‘Sometimes the disco takes place at a place near to my house, other times it is more far. People get attracted to go to the disco and then anything can happen. They can force the girls to have sex or do other things that they don’t want. (…) This kind of discos don’t always take place in such ‘holes’. Sometimes they take place at home with family or members of the community. Anything could happen then, they could convince you to smoke marihuana or take alcohol. Because of your friends you will one time say, okay I try it and then you don’t know the limit and you will behave in a different way and they force you to do things. In some streets there is almost one party every weekend, they move from one house to another, there is always one reason or another to celebrate something. And with so many parties it is hard to study. Sometimes parents encourage their children to go to the parties to meet people and learn from the things which happen at the party. Then those children get used to go every weekend and it is hard for them to concentrate on their studies then. You will focus more on other things in the weekend than on your study’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School).

Furthermore, during the interviews a lack of spare time activities was also mentioned as a contributing factor. When young people have a lot of freedom and not a lot to do, they will wander around and the chance that boys will approach girls will increase. ‘It is also a issue that boys don’t have much things to do. There are a lot of boys which don’t have much activities, like a job or practicing sports. If they don’t have much to think about, they will think about sex’ (Employee YCI, male).

Concluding remarks about cultural and social factors
From the interview results concerning cultural and social factors, it is evident that in line with the literature from the theoretical background girls in Morogoro are susceptible to getting pregnant and dropping out of school as a result of several traditional and cultural factors. Especially in rural areas, still many girls are absent or drop out of school as a consequence of initiation. During the teaching part of initiation, girls receive information that might shift their focus from school to family life. Although
after initiation most girls return to school at first, several actors revealed that a substantial number of girls drops out soon, because they lose their interest in school, get pregnant, or get married. Despite the fact that in some areas initiation is still a matter of fact, nowadays the importance of initiation is decreasing and specially in the urban areas traditional teachings are losing relevance for adolescents in modern society. However, with the decline of initiation, another problem emerged, because the traditional teachings are not adequately replaced by parents' teaching. Besides the practice of initiation and early marriage, girls are at risk of pregnancy, because of traditional and religious beliefs that impede the use of condoms. Furthermore, the taboo to talk about sexuality and the secrecy around sexual relationships cause adolescents to not dare buy condoms and if they do dare, condoms may not be available at every place. Another cultural factor jeopardising girls to get pregnant is the African custom to receive rewards in exchange for sexual activities. Many girls have a desire for daily needs, money to pay school contributions or materials that might increase their esteem among peers. Boys are acquainted with the needs and desires of girls an approach girls holding out the prospect of money and gifts. Boys are so willing to tempt girls, because of permissive norms that contain the conviction that healthy men have to be sexually active or otherwise surely are impotent. Yet another social and cultural factor that is mentioned by actors from Morogoro is the disappearance of the naturalness of traditional norms. Due to globalisation, modernisation and migration, social control has diminished. Adolescents decreasingly obey parental rules and feel to have the autonomy to make their own decisions, among other things about their sexual behaviour and choice of spouse. Furthermore, exposure to modern life styles and modern spare time activities, like dancings, but also a lack of spare time activities make girls more susceptible to practise unsafe sexual activities and increase the risk they run of getting pregnant.

7.2.3 Marginalised position of girls

Gender inequity at schools

The third level from the causal model encompasses different factors that cause girls to face more risks of getting pregnant and consequently dropping out of school. The first factor among this level offered by literature is the gender inequity at schools. Different studies revealed that in many African schools gender gaps exist because girls are less encouraged to attend schools than boys (Mensch, Clark, Lloyd, & Erulkar, 2001). However, this gender-biased atmosphere is not found in Morogoro. The four schools involved in this research were all conscious of the marginalised position of girls in education and all attempt to better the girls' position at their schools. Especially at Educare Secondary School, high priority is given to equal the position of girls compared to boys. 'I am Head of this school since eleven years and one of my objectives is to have more girls than boys in this school. But that's a difficult thing. In form 1 we have a lot of girls, even more than boys. But at the end of the day, we don't get as many girls as we need, we not reach our objective in that way. When girls reach form 4, the number of girls is almost half of the number of girls in form 1. The number of drop-outs increases when the forms become
higher. I think a lot of things are involved in that case. First the parents don’t value girls’ education, they don’t give it equal importance. But also the attitude of the girls, if they don’t attain, if they don’t have the fighting speed to compete, to reach more, then they will not succeed’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School).

Parents value education for girls less than for boys

The first cause of drop-out mentioned by the Educare headmaster is the lack of value for girls’ education by parents. However, all parents interviewed in this research perceived education as very important, also for girls. ‘All my children have to complete their primary education, and secondary education is also important. There are two sides why education is important. On their own side, because it’s better for their own life, they can become a teacher or a doctor. But also on my side, because with education they can assist me in the future’ (Father 1, Makuyu). All parents told that their sons and daughters had to complete at least primary education, and if possible, even secondary education. ‘It is important that my children finish their education, not only here at primary level, but when they get the chance to go further, she should also have to finish there, because it is to better her future life. (…) Education will improve my daughter’s chances, for example when she is a teacher or she works somewhere else. It is for her own better life, education will help her’ (Mother 2, Mgeta). Although all parents involved in this research revealed that they value the education of their daughters, they said as well, that despite the increased value of girls’ education, girls generally still take a marginalised position compared to boys. ‘I value the education equal for boys and girls, but it’s from my experiences that some people have taken the conclusion that it is better to educate boys than girls, because the risk of drop out is higher for girls. (…)Yes, that’s true, more girls drop out comparing to boys. It’s due to the way how people perceive girls’ education, they put less importance on the education of girls, so girls themselves are also less interested in school. They are less motivated to complete their education’ (Father 1, Yowe). In addition to this parent from Yowe, the headmaster of Educare Secondary School explained the relation between parents’ value of girls’ education and the high numbers of girls’ that drop out. ‘There are a lot of reasons why so many girls drop out, but mainly it is the attitude of the parents. Sometimes they bring their girls to school simply because they feel that it is their obligation, but they are not committed to that. They are not committed to the education of the girls, but because of the obligation they don’t want to give a sign of that. So, they bring them to school first, but in the long line it turns out that they fail to pay the school fees and that they keep their girls home. At the moment when you start demanding for school fees, they find an excuse not to continue paying for educating the girls, simply because they think that it is wasting of their money. On the way, if there come things to interrupt, maybe paying school fees, then they find a reason to take out the girl from school’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). Other actors told about the conscious decision of parents to pay their daughters’ school fees or fail to do so. ‘There are still some parents who make options about which of their children go to school and which children don’t. I know a story about a girl who was talented
enough for secondary school, but her parents decided that they would no longer pay for her education. The case was taken to the government and the parents were forced to send their daughter back to school’ (Counselor, male, Makuyu Primary School). Poverty might induce parents to quit paying their daughter’s school fees. However, different actors revealed that poverty is not the only reason why parents do not like to pay their daughter’s school fees. ‘In the case of Mgeta it is still a remote area, it’s a village. The people in this area don’t really encourage the students to finish their studies. The second hinder is the motivations of parents. They stimulate the education of their children very little. Some don’t have the resources to send their children to schools, but it is not only about the money. It is true that most people around this place are very poor, but they have money to spend, but not all parents prefer to spend their little money to educate their children’ (Headmaster, male, Mgeta Secondary School).

In line with Biddlecom et al. (2007), Al-Samarrai & Peasgood (1998), and Grant & Hallman (2004), who stated that parents are less likely to value girls education due to cultural norms and financial motives, different actors explained that parents do not like to invest in their daughters’ schooling because of a traditional norm that prescribes the family in law to become the only profiteer of a girl’s education after marriage. As a consequence of this norm, the parents of the married girl do not get anything in return for their investment in their daughter’s education. ‘The difference between the value of education for boys and girls comes from our tradition. It is related to customs that parents value boys’ education more than that of girls. Parents think that they have to spend a lot of money to educate a girl, but in the long line it is not going to pay back. Because maybe she will get married somewhere else and it is the other side which is going to benefit of the girls’ education, not the parents who invested. I think that is the connotation they have’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School).

In addition an employee of the NGO SNV explained the following. ‘When we talked to community members some parents don’t value education so much for the girl child. Partly because they see it as a loss, you’re educating somebody’s wife. When she finished the education so what, the husband is going to benefit not the parents because once she get married she’s taken away to their husbands family and some of them take years to come back to say hello to their parents. Boys remain in the community and inherit everything’ (Employee SNV, female).

Although the literature revealed that parents’ lack of valuing girls education differs between different socio-economic classes (Hallman & Grant, 2003; Lloyd & Mensch, 1999, in Grant & Hallman, 2008), actors from Morogoro also mentioned differences between certain areas with respect to the value of education. According to several respondents, people from the coastal regions (Morogoro, Mtwara and Lindi) generally do not value education as important compared to other regions, like the Kilimanjaro. ’It depends, in the urban areas they value more. But like in Dar-Es-Salam, there are also many temptations. But especially in rural areas a lot of people don’t see the importance of education. In the coastal regions people are very lazy, they don’t like to go to school. In the Kilimanjaro region, the ‘Chagga’ people value education more’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University). Notable, as
discussed in chapter 6, the coastal regions possess the highest numbers of school-girl pregnancies whereas, the Kilimanjaro Region has one of the lowest number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs (BEST, 2010; Mjasiri, 2011). Apart from the differences between regions, there are differences within regions as well. According to the interviewees, urban people generally value education as more important compared to people from rural areas. ‘In town they know the importance of education, but in rural areas it is different. I think 60-70 percent of people in town is well-educated and is employed, this is a larger percentage than in rural areas. Most people in rural areas have local jobs or they are farmers. The village people know also about the importance of education, but because of the environment the country people know less’ (Cultural Officer, male, Morogoro Municipality). Most parents living in the countryside are farmers, they are not educated themselves, and they do not see the importance of education to better their future lives. ‘The value of education is a problem in this surrounding. Some parents try to pull their children away from school, because they think it’s expensive. They don’t see the direct importance of school. After school most students have to do the same farming work as their parents, so they don’t see a clear advantage of school. Other parents see the importance but their financial abilities are insufficient. Others think the most important ambition for a girls is to get married rather than going to school. From the age of 14/15 they think it’s better for a girl to stay at home with a husband than going to school. According to the tradition girls can get married immediately after initiation, so going to school after a certain age is a waste of time then’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School).

Consideration of the investments in girls’ education

Beside the fact that many people from rural areas do not see the relevance of education with respect to their farming activities, many country people are poor and do not like to spend their little money on the educational careers of their children. According to different actors, the unwillingness to finance their children’s education is enhanced by the presence of well-educated people that do not succeed in finding a good job. ‘At one side, parents are poor, they have to struggle so much for live. In those situation it seems not important to put all effort to education. And at the other side some people who are qualified to get a job don’t succeed in getting an employment. This discourages people to go to school, because if you don’t get a job after completing school, what is then the importance of school?’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School).

From the quotations above it appears that a substantial number of parents does not value girls’ education as important. As a consequence different actors revealed that for girls there are not many people around that stimulate them to finish their education. Moreover, after school, girls are obligated to do many household chores and consequently do not have much time left to study. ‘The main issue that distracts girls from their study is time. At home girls are always involved in a lot of activities. If they stay at the boarding school they have more time to concentrate on studies. (...) And it also the value of education, because here at the hostel you hear different perspectives and goals of students who value
education as important. At home you have to think that by yourself, because there are no other people around with the same goal to become educated’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School).

In addition, another student from Mgeta explained the following. ‘At home a girl has many responsibilities. She has to cook, to clean and to do other chores. In that way, girls have not enough time to study. Moreover if I stay at home some friends should tell me to join them to see videos or go to music or disco. They will convince me to go there. In the hostel it is easier to concentrate on my study and to think about the reasons why it is important that I am at school to study and not at home’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School).

Value of education by girls themselves

It appears that their parents’ value of education has an important influence on girls’ educational careers. The same holds true for initiation, early marriage and the material temptations that girls face. But how about girls’ perceptions of their own educational career? Do they themselves value education as important? The girls interviewed in this research all claimed to see the importance of education and all cited they want to continue their education in order to find a good job afterwards. However, the same girls revealed that many girls around them do not share their positive perceptions of education. Even when their parents value education and provide all the requirements, some girls are not committed to school and do not see the importance to finish. ‘I think the girls, even when it comes to this non-governmental school, it’s not really a commitment to education. Even when the parents are committed, if they want their girls to get education, it is not within some girls that they want to pursue their education. So that lack of commitment in the long run makes girls not strong enough. So with that lack of commitment, in the fact that when they reach maybe form 2 or form 3 they drop out’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). In addition, a student from Educare Secondary School explained: ‘Some girls value education, they remind and try as much as they can to use the opportunity to study and to improve their lives. But the other girls, some have each and everything to study, but they value not enough. Their parents want them to go to school and once they join school, whatever the reason, they join other groups for people who don’t value education and their mind is going to another direction than education, they get involved in all kind of problems and they might easily get pregnant and at the end they leave school’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). The interviewees mentioned several causes for the girls’ lack of valuing their own education. Firstly, due to cultural gender roles, some girls do not feel the need to finish their studies and find a well-paid job afterwards, because they do not perceive that as their future role as a woman. ‘In following our culture, in the way we live, a lot of responsibilities in the house are for the man. A boy grows up with the idea to become a man with all that responsibilities. They struggle hard to reach the highest level that they need for that kind of life. For girls that is not the fact of life, they have a double chance. They can struggle themselves to achieve the things of life by their own effort and then they study very hard or they maybe have the chance to marry or to be involved in a relationship with someone who earn a lot of money. So
it depends on which chance they want to focus. They can focus on the opportunity to study, so that they achieve the things by themselves or they may focus on how to attract other persons with somebody with money. There are also girls who choose for a combination of both options in a average. They complete education until a certain level, for example form 4 and after that they think it is enough and they try to find a man who can support them. It is very individualistic of how they perceive the importance of education’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). Next to cultural determined gender roles, some girls do not value their education as important, because they do not experience the benefits from education by role models. ‘Adolescents don’t see their future possibilities. They are born in a particular village and grow up in that particular village, and there is no one being successful after completing education in that village. Then they will think, I have to finish 7 years of primary education and that will be the end of my school. It is because, they are still living in the same village in the same situation, with or without completing standard four. You will not get more opportunities in that particular village after completing another standard more. The same holds true for parents. In my research, most of the parents revealed that when pupils completed school they don’t get employment. If there is no employment, why won’t a girl get married? When girls got pregnant during school age, some parents don’t care that she is expelled. They ignore it, the parents don’t take it serious. They don’t see the importance of education. It is just ok to get pregnant. What is the use of education if they don’t receive employment?’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University). The cultural fixed gender roles and the absence of role models both lead up to a lack of future goals among girls. Because some girls do not strive for particular goals in their future, they do not see the importance of education and are not motivated to stay at school. However, another student nuanced the role of future goals in the problem of girls’ lack of valuing their own education. She explained that even girls who have future goals might be not interested in their studies, because they do not consider good school results necessary to achieve their goals. ‘Most of them think that to have a rich life it is very easy. They don’t believe that it is hard to get work. Most of them who say so, they are not concentrated in their studies. They are just concentrated on love affairs’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School).

The lack of valuing girls’ education put girls in a marginalised position in which they may get pregnant more easily. The pregnancies might be unintended, because girls are involved in love affairs and do not practise sex safely, but purposefully as well, because they have the desire to quit their education and find getting pregnant an excuse. ‘We have some girls who don’t value education and as a consequence they lack that commitment. So in the long run, it is just like finding an excuse to leave school, because their studies cut them in their prospects’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). In addition, a student from Mgeta explained: ‘Maybe they are not very interested in their studies from the beginning, so they want a reason to discontinue. Pregnancy is the main reason to discontinue’ (Female student 1, from 3, Mgeta Secondary School).
Low socio-economic status and power imbalance

Unintended or purposefully, in the situation above the girls themselves make the choice to be involved in sexual relationships. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Several actors from Morogoro mentioned the frequent occurrence of sexual intercourse between schoolgirls and older men. Many girls mentioned that a lot of their classmates who are sexually active have sexual intercourse with people from outside school. ‘Those girls practise sex with other people from the community, not with students, they are older’ (Schoolgirl 1, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School). Actors explained that schoolgirls practise sex with older man, because they can afford high amounts of money that make the temptations for girls greater and more difficult to resist. ‘There are also a lot of girls who have sex with older men, because these older men promise high amounts of money. The government has started a program to tackle this problem. This program is called FATAKI. It is an awareness campaign to convince girls that they have to resist the older men’ (Employee YCI, male). Moreover, many girls lack the life skills and confidence to refuse men’s approaches, especially when they are much older than the girls themselves. ‘The girls have no life skills, they can’t negotiate with older men. Older men are very clever to manipulate the girls. So most of the time it is not their own choice to get pregnant’ (Employee SNV, female). This statement from the employee of SNV corresponds to the findings from the Ministry of Health (2003-2005) that states that age differences between sexual partners can result in unbalanced decision-making and thus increase the risk for girls to get pregnant. Rwebangira and Liljeström (1998) reported that young girls with STIs among which HIV/AIDS are mostly affected by older men, sometimes old enough to be their grandfathers. Because those men who are infected with HIV/AIDS cannot get other women, they use girls to satisfy their sexual desires.

Besides older men from outside school, in line with Plummer et al. (2007) several girls revealed the high numbers of girls who are approached by their teachers to practise sex. Girls described that in the case of teachers, they often do not feel any possibility to resist, because they fear bad marks and unfair punishments during the rest of their school career. ‘There are some teachers that teach how to avoid those boys, but there are also ones who sometimes come to you. And if you refuse them you will always fail the exams, even if you do good. (...) If a teacher is reprimanded for abusing a girl, you are putting the girl in danger. The teacher will always enter the class and the student will always be there, so what is going better when that teacher will always hate that student.’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School).

As cited above, literature shows that when girls practise sex with older man, there is a power imbalance in which girls face difficulties to make their own decisions, for example about using condoms (Ministry of Health, 2003-2005). However, the interview results from Morogoro Region revealed that this power imbalance is not limited to sexual intercourse with older men. Different actors revealed that girls also face difficulties in persuading boys of their own age to use condoms. Several actors mentioned that due to a power imbalance, boys or men generally take the decision to use a condom or not and many girls do not dare to ask for a condom. ‘There are not many girls who do dare to ask boys for a
condom. (…) Some are shy to say, because they have agreed with the boy and they like the boy, so they think the boy will decide everything. Some are thinking if they say to the boy ‘you have to use a condom’, the boy would say ‘ok, in that case you have to bring it’. And the girls will feel like ‘I have not the possibility, how will I buy’ and at the end they are afraid to even ask, they don’t ask, because they are afraid to ask from their side’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). In line with this student, an employee of the NGO YCI explained that gender inequity is a problem. ‘Girls talk a lot about sexual issues with each other, but it is difficult for them to talk about such things with boys. (…) Boys have the final decision, for example if they use a condom or they don’t. Boys do not always respect girls, they do not pay attention to the feelings and wishes of girls. Things will change if girls are more confident, have better jobs and receive better education’ (Employee YCI, male). Reasons cited for the power imbalance in the negotiation for condom use are the lack of life skills, but also the low socio-economic status of girls and women. ‘Most men, when they want to have sexual intercourse with girls, they say that they don’t want to use a condom and when a girl insists to use a condom then he just ends up being angry to say that you don’t love him. As you know, we girls are very weak we cannot afford to lose our men. So we end up accepting them and do sexual intercourse without using condom’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School). In addition to this student, an employee of SNV explained: ‘It is the man who takes the decision. Girls have a lack of negotiating skills. There is a gender issue, there is a power imbalance. Decision about sex or other decision in a relationship, it is the man who decides. That applies even in marriages. There is also an economic issue. For example me, I have work, I have an income of my own, so I am independent. But what about other women, the majority is very poor. If they resist sex, then the men don’t want to give them money or food during the next day. There are a lot of other contributions to the power imbalance in relationships. Women have to be passive, they have to wait whatever the man does decide’ (Employee SNV, female).

Concluding remarks marginalised position of girls
Among the level of the marginalised position of girls, several factors increase girls’ risk of getting pregnant and finally drop out of school. Despite the awareness of girls’ vulnerable position concerning education, still many girls drop out of school before they take the final exam. To explain the marginalised position of girls in education, actors from Morogoro mentioned the parents’ lack of valuing girls’ education as an important factor, but also the lack of commitment to their studies by girls themselves. Because the lack of valuing girls education, some parents do not care if their daughters drop out because of pregnancy. Moreover, actors revealed that some girls do not mind if they get pregnant, or they even use their pregnancy purposefully as an excuse to evade the government’s obligation to complete education. Besides the lack of valuing girls’ education, sexual abuse by teachers and older men who tempt girls with money are frequently mentioned. In this situation, but also when they practise sex with their peers, girls face a power imbalance in which they lack the life skills to negotiate on using condoms and feel insecure due to their low socio-economic status.
Household and individual factors

Household’s wealth
The fourth and last level in the causal model of early pregnancy encompasses different household and individual characteristics of girls that increase their risk of getting pregnant. Far the most frequently mentioned topic in this level is the poverty among many households, especially in rural areas. Because of poverty, parents cannot fulfil the needs of their children and girls have a lack of basic needs, like food, clothes, soap, and money to pay their school fees and other contributions. With all these needs, many girls may think that obtaining rewards in exchange for sex might be the solutions to their problems. ‘There is much poverty in the families of the children. They have a lot of needs, basic things like food, clothes, and other material things. With all this needs it is easy to think the way out is to start a relationship which can provide money’ (Headmaster, male, Makuyu Primary School). In addition to the Headmaster of Makuyu, the Headmaster of Educare explained: ‘Sometimes the parents don’t pay the school fees and then the pupils go home with a lot of things in their head, like the problem that they are missing classes. And if they meet some people on the way, a lot of things might happen. We try to tell them that this is not the way, but it’s difficult, a lot of girls come from poor families’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). From the interviews, it is evident that due to the low economic wealth of their family, girls finally choose to satisfy their needs by practising sex, to fulfil their daily necessities and get the opportunity to continue their education. This is consistent with the findings of Mkize (1995, in Macleod, 1999) that revealed that in poor areas some girls accept the risk of getting pregnant because of their need for money.

Household composition
Besides the relation between poverty and early pregnancy, actors revealed household composition to influence girls’ risk of getting pregnant and dropping out of school. According to several actors, children that grow up with single parents or with none of their parents are more likely to face problems, among other things due to a lack of guidance and support. The two matrons of Educare Secondary School cited that many of their students live in single parent families and face difficulties due to that circumstance. ‘We have discovered that some circumstances cause a certain kind of problems by most students, their problems are related to only having one parent. It has effect on the way they behave and the life that they live at home. So some problems to them maybe could not happen if both parents would be at home. (...) If students only have one parent and they are not on good terms with that one, that might be a problem. This is also the case in families where there are two parents, but one of them is the step mother or father, not the biological one. In that cases it would be more difficult, if the students have a problem, because they are not going to them and they keep their problems to themselves or they go to another, probably a wrong person and they create other problems that come across’ (Matrons, female, Educare Secondary School). In addition to children that live in single parent families, an employee of
SNV mentioned the high number of orphan pupils, who grow up in marginalised positions and thus face more risks of getting pregnant or dropping out of school. ‘There is also drop-out because a lack of support by the parents. Some parents have died because of HIV/AIDS. The orphan will grow up by family members, but the majority of them is very poor and they cannot provide education for the orphans and the orphans have to generate income. So they went out of school to get payments’ (Employee SNV, female). This quotations from the employee of SNV is in line with Barnabas (2006), who found that some Tanzanian orphans are in such harmful financial circumstances that they have no other choice than to be engaged in child labour.

**Household location**

Besides household’s wealth, in line with Hunt (2008), different actors mentioned households’ location to have an influence on girls’ final decision to choose for sexual intercourse because of the prospect of money. ‘We have hostels for girls who come from far. Some have to come from twenty or even fifty kilometres away. These girls are only going back home during holidays, and food and each and everything is provided. Most of the girls stay in the hostel but they are now building more hostels to accommodate all the girls, because there were reports, from parents and other people living in the neighbourhood, that some girls were behaving like prostitutes. On the way, while they walked to school, businessmen offered girls money to have sex with them. (Headmaster, male, Mgeta Secondary School). Several actors explained that if girls have to travel a long distance to school, they face more temptations, for example because of transport problems. ‘Money, it might be that a girl is coming from a house which not provide her enough of what she needs. But it can also be, maybe a transport problem, because of the place where she stays. It may happen that there is someone who can give her a drive with no paying. So maybe she will like the comfort, especially when she really comes from far away. Or maybe it will be other needs that she would have and in the end she will think it is an easy way to reach it in this way’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). According to the experience of a schoolgirl who walks to school every day: ‘Sometimes when I walk to school young men call me and come to me. They ask me if I can become their girlfriend, but I always say no, because I want to finish my studies’ (Female student 4, form 2, Educare Secondary School). Moreover, some poor girls live so far from school that they cannot make the journey every day and have to rent a room near school. The girls that live in such rooms are even in a more vulnerable position, because of the money they have to spend to rent the rooms and because of the limited social control over them. ‘The relevance of a hostel, especially for the girls, is very big. Most girls come from very far and when the girls stay in the hostel they don’t have to rent rooms, which can cause more temptations, because then there is less social control. If they have to rent rooms and live by themselves, they have a lot of freedom and a lot of chances to meet with men and also they probably have a bigger need for money while they have to rent rooms’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School).
Girls’ educational career

Besides poverty, in line with Grand and Hallman (2006) actors from Morogoro revealed girls’ educational career to have influence on the risk for girls to get pregnant. The Headmaster from Makuyu explained that when girls enter school in delay, their risk to get involved in sexual activities during school attendance increases, because girls have to complete more years of education while they already have reached puberty and have desires to start sexual relationships. ‘There is a lot of delay, some girls enter school when they are already twelve years old. When the starting age of school is later, the chance is higher that girls in standard 7 are already sexually active. She has to mix study and relationship and the possibility to drop out is bigger then’ (Headmaster, male, Makuyu Primary School). In addition a teacher from Mgeta revealed: ‘Other students delay in beginning with their studies and they are already mature during their primary education and some of them are involved in relations with the other sex. It is not something new that some students already begun sexual relationships when they enter secondary education’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). Other actors added that girls who entered in delay are even more at risk, when they lack the future goals that give sense to completing education. If girls do not see the importance of education for their future possibilities, they feel to be none the worse for getting pregnant first. Next to the enter in delay, another characteristic of girls’ educational career that might interfere with school attendance is school performance. A researcher who conducted a research into the value of education explained that some girls leave school early due to disappointing results, which discourages them to continue their studies. ‘And it also happens that they score a four on their exams and they have to double a year and then they will choose to quit’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University).

Initiation of sexual activity and multiple partners

Apart from girls’ school careers, literature findings by Van Coeverden, de Groot & Greathead (1987, in Macleod, 1999) revealed that girls who engage in sexual activities at an early age are more likely to practise unsafe sexual activities with multiple partners and thus run a greater risk of getting pregnant. During the interviews all actors revealed that many adolescents initiate sexual activities while they are enrolled in primary school. ‘Pupils from primary school are already practiseing sex, some are doing it from the age of 10’ (Employee SNV, female). The counsellor and science teacher at Makuyu Primary School estimated how many pupils would be already sexually active at their school. ‘We think around 60 percent. Mainly in standard 7, especially the pupils from the group pupils who delayed and because of that have a higher age than the other ones.’ (Counsellor and biology teacher, males, Makuyu Primary School). The particular standard in which actors said pupils to initiate sexually activity differed, but most actors mentioned sexual activities to occur up from standard 4 or 5. ‘Last year we had a girl in standard 7 who left school because she got pregnant. But it also appears in lower standards, it starts from standard 4. In standard 4,5 and 6 we have drop-outs due to pregnancy as well’ (Health Officer, male, Morogoro Municipality). The early age at which Morogoro actors explained youth to initiate
sexual activities is consistent with the findings from Mkumbo (2009). In this research, a study in North-West Tanzania revealed that 80 percent of primary schoolboys and 60 percent of girls aged 12-20 already had initiated sexual activities. Furthermore a study conducted in the rural areas of Tanzania revealed 50 percent of schoolboys and 20 percent of schoolgirls aged 14-17 to be sexually active (Todd et al., 2004, in Mkumbo, 2009).

Beside the low standards in which adolescents are already sexually active, different actors revealed that many girls are used to having multiple sexual relationships at the same time. Many girls have a lot of different partners. Most of the time they have three partners, one for getting money, one for getting gifts and one who they really love. The boys don’t know anything about the other partners, but it is very common, so they suspect it’ (Employee YCI, male). An employee from Femina revealed that girls are stimulated to have multiple sexual partners by the circulation of particular permissive norms. ‘There are certain tabloids. Those are written in a certain way that is not good for the behaviour of adolescents. For example to be successful as a female, you need as many partners as you want. How many male partners she can have or had after each other is reflecting her success. That kind of stories are written. Just for training women in sexual topic. This kind of information is not good for adolescents, they must know that even if successful, you don’t have as many partners as you want, because it can be dangerous’ (Employee Femina, female).

**Concluding remarks household and individual factors**

To conclude the fourth and last level of the causal model of early pregnancy, in line with the literature presented in chapter 3, different household characteristics are influencing the risk for girls to get pregnant. First a household’s wealth has impact on girls’ risk of getting pregnant via influencing the girls’ final decision to practise sexual activities in return for financial rewards. Secondly household composition might increase the risk that girls face to get pregnant or drop out of school, via financial difficulties and a lack of parental guidance and support. Thirdly, a household’s location, or in other terms, distance to school, has influence on the risks girls face to get pregnant. Girls may face more temptations on their long route towards school and might have a need for money because they have to pay for transport. Finally, some girls come from such a long distance that they need to rent a room near school. The girls who live in those rooms may easily be tempted, because of their lack of money and the lack of social control. Besides particular household characteristics, the interviewees from Morogoro also mentioned several individual characteristics that increases the risk for girls to get pregnant. In line with literature (Grand & Hallman, 2006) girls’ educational careers influence the risk girls face to get pregnant. Girls who enter school in delay or have a disappointing performance are more likely to practise risky sexual behaviour with multiple sexual partners. Finally, different interviewees mentioned girls to be sexually active from a very young age and several girls having multiple sexual partners at the same time.
7.3 Concluding remarks

Considering the most important causes and their interrelations

After stating the causes of early pregnancy as revealed by actors from Morogoro Region, a wide range of causes turned out to contribute to the risks that schoolgirls face to get pregnant. In the preceding paragraphs, the variety of causes are discussed one after another, without qualifying the impact and frequency of individual causes. To summarise of the most important risks and needs, a short statement about the most important factors and their interrelations is presented below.

Among the most frequently mentioned causes, the lack of knowledge takes a leading position. Almost all actors revealed that a lot of adolescents have a need for information about the risks and consequences of sexual activities and about means to protect themselves. Furthermore a vast majority of actors mentioned that many misconceptions are present, for example about the reliability of condoms. Besides the lack of knowledge, many actors revealed a gap between knowledge and behaviour. To explain this gap, several factors have been mentioned, but above all they are, the taboo to talk about sexuality, the norm of abstinence and the subsequent secrecy around sexual relationships.

The lack of knowledge and the gap between knowledge and behaviour are not harming in itself, but become harming when sexual activities are practised. Actors from Morogoro Region cited different factors that incite adolescents to initiate sexual activities. Concerning girls, far the most mentioned cause is the widespread custom to receive rewards in exchange for sex. Due to a lack of basic needs or particular material desires, actors said that girls are easy to be tempted by boys. Furthermore, a lot of girls revealed the importance or naturalness among mature adolescents to be sexually active. Many girls, but especially boys, have the conception that there is no love without sexuality. This conception is related to permissive norms and peer pressure that both stimulate adolescents to practise sexual activities. As a consequence a significant percentage of the school-going youth is assumed to be sexually active.

Beside the possibility to receive rewards and the conception about love, particular risky places (among which the road from home to school) increase girls’ risks of getting pregnant, especially in combination with the frequently noticed decrease of social control. Furthermore the low socio-economic position of girls, their lack of future goals and the insufficient value attached to girls’ education make many girls more likely to fall pregnant. Boys and men are aware of girls’ marginalised position and generally posses more financial resources compared to girls. The privileged financial position of boys and men gives them an important means of power to tempt schoolgirls, especially those in hardship or with a lack of commitment to their studies.

An umbrella factor that enhances almost all other factors is the increasing influence of globalisation and its accompanying processes of modernisation and migration. Concerning adolescent’s lack of knowledge, these processes contribute to the decrease of initiation cultures and enlarge the gap between the experiences of different generations; concerning the custom to receive rewards, increased
materialism enlarges the temptations that girls face to practise sex. Lastly, the processes of globalization, modernisation and migration enlarge girls' risk of getting pregnant as there are increasingly more risky places whereas social control by traditional structures is declining and protective traditional norms are decaying.

**Considering the causal model about early pregnancy**

To do justice to the perceptions from actors from the Morogoro Region, we aimed to maintain as much openness in the collection of data as possible. However, as a starting point for the design of the interview guides and to order the findings afterwards, use is made of the causal model of early pregnancy, presented in the theoretical framework. When the results from the Morogoro Region are compared with the findings from literature in the theoretical background, some factors are found to have more or less relevance for the Morogoro Region than expected on the basis of literature. For example, the role of initiation cultures in changing girls' focus from school to family life appeared to have less relevance than expected from the theoretical background. The majority of actors cited that the importance of initiation and its practice is reducing in the rural areas of Morogoro Region, especially in its urban areas. As a consequence, in the Morogoro Region, initiation culture seemed to interfere with the early school-leaving problem to a decreasing extent. A factor that appeared to have more relevance than expected on the basis of literature, is girls' insufficient value of their own education and their consequent lack of commitment to their studies. The most frequently cited causes of girls' value of their own education are the girls' marginalised socio-economic position and their lack of future goals. On the other hand, gender inequity at schools was never mentioned. On the contrary, school heads attached importance to a gender-equal environment and aimed for gender parity in their schools.

Beside differences between factors as regards the relevance of factors, in the discussion of the findings from Morogoro Region some factors had to be stressed differently. For example, the taboo to talk about sexuality and the secrecy about sexual relationships was found to be strongly interwoven with the lack of knowledge and has been largely discussed among the level regarding lack of knowledge instead of the level that concerns social and cultural factors.

To summarise this chapter, it can be stated that the findings from Morogoro Region fit in quite well with the causal model of early pregnancy presented in the theoretical background of this report. As appeared from the model in chapter 3, the causes of early pregnancy in Morogoro Region are related to individual characteristics of girls themselves, but for a much bigger part to external factors. As a consequence, girls have needs related to deficits regarding their own person - like the need for sexual and reproductive health knowledge, future goals and valuing their own education -, but girls have a bigger need for strategies that enable them to cope with the external factors that put them at risk of pregnancy. After presenting the current state of sex education at the national and local level in chapters 8 and 9, in chapter 10 we address how school-based sex education might respond to the specific needs of girls from the Morogoro Region.
Chapter 8. Legal framework and national organisation of sex education

8.1 Introduction

Having answered the first main research question, this chapter answers the second main research question (What is the current situation regarding school-based sex education as perceived by local actors and how is it possible to improve sex education towards a more effective intervention to prevent early school-leaving due to early pregnancy?). In this chapter, school-based sex education is presented as organised by the national Tanzanian government. The way in which school-based sex education is implemented in the primary and secondary school curricula is addressed, and in addition, the extra-curricular activities that are promoted by the government are discussed. However, in order to understand government’s organisation of school-based sex education, it is relevant to know the legal framework concerning early pregnancy and sex education, and on which policy guidelines sex education is based. Therefore, before presenting the organisation of sex education at the national level, the laws and policies concerning early pregnancy, education and sexual and reproductive health are addressed first.

8.2 Laws and policies in Tanzania

To understand the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy and the legal framework of school-based sex education, some relevant Tanzanian laws and policies are explained in this paragraph. First the policy concerning school expulsion is addressed, followed by the ages at which a person is legally seen as a child and has the right to be protected against certain prejudicial matters concerning marriage and sexuality. Finally, different policies and guidelines that developed since the ratification of the UN convention in 1996 are described in short: just the most relevant topics concerning education and the promotion of sexual and reproductive health are addressed.

8.2.1 Early pregnancy and expulsion from school

Tanzania is one of the UN member states which have ratified the convention on the Rights of the Child. “Every individual shall have the right to education” is stated in article 28 of this convention (United Nations, 1996). In line with this convention, the National Education Act of 1978 stipulates that it is compulsory for every child between 7 and 13 years to be enrolled in primary education. In violation with this fundamental right to education, article 25 provides expulsion from school of ‘mischievous’ children. Although early pregnancy itself is not mentioned to be a reason for expulsion (The National Education Act, 1978), in practice early pregnancy is actually considered a reason. Therefore the practice
of expulsion is not based on a legal framework. It rather reflects the common interpretation of teachers, schools and local authorities of pregnancy as misbehaviour. Often pregnancy is considered “the girl's fault” and pregnancy in school is classified as immoral and punishable. Without considering the circumstances, expulsion is used as a punishment for falling pregnant and to reduce future occurrence (UNFPA/AYA, 2003).

However, denying pregnant girls and teenage mothers the right to basic education has big implications. If girls do not complete their education they are less likely to find a job and then career and future opportunities will decrease. Furthermore, pregnant schoolgirls are stigmatised, they are a shame for the family and are sometimes chased away from home. Pregnant schoolgirls are likely to become single mothers, because impregnating a schoolgirl is an offence and therefore the man or boy who impregnated the girl often does not take his responsibility. Consequently, teenage mothers often face economic hardship as they are not able to find enough money to feed themselves and their child, which can put their child and them at risk of undernutrition and poor health (Olengurumwa, 2008). As a result of these severe implications, the number of abortions is high. Abortion is against Tanzanian law and is considered immoral, besides it is very dangerous for a girl's health. In Tanzania, abortion causes up to 24 percent of the pregnancy-related deaths (Ministry of Health, 2003-2005).

The consequences of girls being expelled is not only an individual problem but it affects society as a whole. By denying girls education, the potential contribution to society will decrease and the state loses out on a lot of manpower. Therefore, addressing the growing number of girls dropping out due to pregnancy, the Tanzanian government has recently developed national guidelines that allow pregnant girls to continue their studies when pregnant or given birth (United Nations, 2010). Unfortunately, in practise teenage mothers are still not likely to finish their education due to practical reasons like nursing the baby, but also due to stigmatisation.

In addition to the guidelines that allow teenage mothers to return to school, guidelines are designed within the National Education Act that provide possibilities to punish a man that impregnates a schoolgirl. According to the National Education Act, 1978: “Any male person who impregnates a schoolgirl shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment of a term not less than three years and not exceeding six years with no option of fine” (Education Act, 1978, No 25 of 1978, in Fawe News, 2004). However, despite the design of the legal framework, as discussed before, it is really rare that a case reaches the court. Furthermore, the act punishes parents and men who are responsible for marrying off a schoolgirl.

The discussion above shows that for the implementation of the new promising guidelines the design of legal frameworks is not enough. In paragraph 10.6 possibilities are explored to facilitate the effective implementation of conducive policies and guidelines in practice.
8.2.2 Legal framework concerning sexual and reproductive health

To understand the laws and policies that aim to protect children, adolescents and youth in general against several threats, it is important to know which definitions are used to explain the concepts ‘child’, ‘adolescent’, and ‘youth’. In the convention on the Rights of the Child, a clear definition of child is stated that encompasses anyone aged under 18 years. However, in the Tanzanian legal framework there are contradictions with regard to the legal age of the child. To illustrate this, the content of some acts will be explained below.

The *Tanzanian Marriage Act 1971* states that a boy can get married at the age of 18 and that a girl from age 15 to 18 years can get married with the consent of parents or guardians. Under special circumstances the court can give consent for a girl of 14 years to get married. Similarly a boy of 16-18 years can marry with consent of the court (UNFPA/AYA, 2003).

According to the *Penal Code 1972* any person below 12 is legally recognised as a child and this law states that any act of cruelty to children is illegal. This act also stipulates that sanctions will be given to persons who have sexual intercourse with girls below age 15, even if married to them.

The *Provision Act 1998* states that it is an offence of rape to have sexual intercourse with a girl below 18 years with or without her consent (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare 2006).

The Acts presented above show that the Tanzanian definition of a child varies from one law to another. In some laws a child is described as a person below 18 as is done in the *Provision Act*, but in contradiction the *Tanzanian Marriage Act* allows a girl to get married from the age of 15 years old. It appears that some Acts take people below the age of 18 as adults and consequently deprive children from their basic rights that are stated in the Rights of the Child (Child Development Policy, 1996).

As appears from the legal framework with regard to adolescents, they have been gradually recognised as a specific population category whose stage of development and conditions lead to unique health and social welfare needs (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006). The World Health Organisation defines adolescents as those aged between 10 to 19 years, and the youth as 15 to 24-year-olds (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare 2006, p.10). In addressing adolescent health and development, the access to information and services is recognised as an important right besides education,(Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006). The *Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act 1998* addresses the provision of education and counselling of adolescents in areas of gender relations, equality and responsible sexual behaviour. This act is a milestone in the legal framework for promoting adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health by creating a legal framework that facilitates adolescents health and development programmes to effectively address adolescents’ issues and rights. (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006). Besides the *Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act 1998*, Tanzania has ratified different international and regional conventions that promote adolescent health and development. A few examples of these conventions are: The International Conference on Population and Development
(ICPD), Programme of Action (PoA), UN 1994, The convention of the Rights of the Child UNICEF 1990 and The Fourth World Conference on Woman, UN 1995 Platform for Action, and Beijing Declaration. Although many countries have ratified these conventions, it depends on national policies and guidelines to what extent the global treaties are carried out. With respect to the conventions above, the Tanzanian government did not fully act upon all conventions (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006), but several policies have been drawn up to promote young people’s health and development in compliance with the international conventions. Below, the Tanzanian policies concerning young people’s health promotion will be discussed, starting with the policies ratified in 1996 and ending with the most recent policies. Again, this will not be a complete description but a short overview of the relevant issues concerning sexual and reproductive health.

The Child Development Policy of 1996 states the basic rights of the child. This policy advocates the removal of legislative and policy barriers that deny access to reproductive health information and services provided to young people. The act advocates among other things education and mobilisation of parents, guardians communities and institutions for a better understanding and upholding of rights of children; reviews and abandons outdated laws; and passes appropriate laws which outlaw violations of children’s rights and strong punishment of all acts of defilement, rape and exploitation of children (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006, p. 11).

The National Youth Policy 1996 recognises that youth have many problems and it promotes development of youth in economy, education, culture, responsible parenthood, politics and health. The policy focuses on five problems affecting youth, namely STIs and HIV/AIDS, Mental Health, Childbearing at an early age, Poor Nutrition and Harmful Traditional Practices. The policy requires the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to ensure that youth-friendly health services are accessible to young people; reproductive health education is included in school curricula, and health services are available to young mothers (UNFPA/AYA, 2003).

The National Population Policy 1996 acknowledges that some adolescents are sexually active. It demands promotion of public awareness of individual sexual and reproductive health rights, promotion and expansion of quality reproductive health services and the creation of an enabling environment that will facilitate the acceptance of gender concerns and reproductive health issues.

The Community Development Policy 1996 calls for the education of communities about proper upbringing and guidance of young people to enable them to contribute to the development of the community. It also promotes sexual reproductive health services that meet adolescent needs and promotion of public awareness on individual Sexual and Reproductive Health and rights. Five categories of people who warrant special care are identified, these groups are: women, children, youth, elderly and disabled people (UNFPA/AYA, 2003).

The Cultural Policy 1997 requires education and training institutions to recognise and utilise good customs and traditions in preparing youth for responsible parenthood. It discourages evil practices
such as drug and other substance abuse, sexual abuse, sexual promiscuity and gender discrimination (UNFPA/AYA, 2003).

The National Health Policy 1990 describes the provision of health care services and health education in schools. The Health Policy does not address problems and needs of adolescents directly but through the following documents: National Policy Guideline on Reproductive and Child Health Services, National RCH strategy, Essential Reproductive Health services package, National Adolescent Health and Development Strategy, and lastly Standard for Adolescent Friendly Reproductive Health Services, which is recently developed by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. The Family Planning Guidelines state that both adolescent girls and boys, irrespective of their parity and marital status, should not be denied access to contraceptives, family planning information and services (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2006).

The Woman and Development Policy 1992 provides more educational and training opportunities to girls to increase their abilities. It also strengthens social services and sets up special services for women and girls (Ministry of Health, 2004).

From all these policies can be concluded that, at the national level, adolescents’ rights to a good health and development are recognised and a lot of attention is given to the problems surrounding sexual and reproductive health of young people. Many policy documents describe problems with regard to adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health and state possible solutions, like the facilitation of adolescent-friendly sexual and reproductive health services. One of the government’s most important strategies to facilitate adolescent sexual and reproductive health in practice was the implementation of school-based sex education in the curricula of primary and secondary schools in 2004.

8.3 Sex education in the national school curriculum

Besides early pregnancy prevention, the main reason to implement school-based sex education was the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to UNAIDS, 1,6 million Tanzanians were living with HIV/AIDS in 2003 and this number was rapidly growing. This was a major concern of the government and school-based sex education provided as early as primary school is seen as the primary way to protect the population from further infection (World Bank 1993, in Gallant & Maticka-Tyndale, 2003). For this reason, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) developed a policy on school-based sex education. In 2004 this policy was published under the title “Guidelines for Implementing HIV/AIDS and Life-Skills Education Programmes in Schools” (URT, 2004, in Mkumbo, 2009). The guideline was designed and developed by the Tanzanian Institute of Education with support from The United Nations Population Fund. The main goal of introducing sex education, in the guidelines named Family Life Education, is to reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies, STIs and HIV by informing about transmission and prevention and furthermore to promote responsible sexual
behaviour, including delaying sex and protected sex. The guidelines prescribe that sex education has to be integrated into the core curriculum through science and social studies for standard 5 and 6 at primary schools, biology and civics at ordinary secondary school and general studies and biology at advanced secondary school level. The content of sex education at various levels is described in the syllabi of the subjects involved. The science syllabus for primary schools describes teaching about the human body including the reproductive system and physical changes during adolescence (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2005). The only message about the prevention of HIV/AIDS that is given in the science books is: “Adolescents should not have sexual intercourse. In this way they will prevent infection by HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases” (Karaka, Nyangasi, & Githui, 2003, p. 5). In addition the consequences of HIV/AIDS infection are mentioned and the importance of testing for HIV. According to the syllabus of biology at secondary schools, one of the objectives in form 1 is “to acquire basic knowledge and apply appropriate skills in combating problems related to HIV/AIDS and STI’s, gender, and sexual and reproductive health” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005b, p. 83). The content of the syllabus includes basic knowledge about HIV/AIDS and STIs and about avoiding risky behaviour. The syllabus for form 2 does not include topics related to sexual and reproductive health. In form 3 the syllabus describes that pupils learn to “develop positive attitudes, values and practices for enhancing positive gender relations and sexual and reproductive health” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005b). According to the syllabus they learn about the concept of sexuality, social and cultural factors that influence sexual behaviour, fertilisation, pregnancy and child birth, differentiating between responsible and irresponsible behaviour, life skills to cope with adolescent sexuality and the concepts of family planning and contraception (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005b). According to Mkumbo (2009) in total there are three topics of sex education covered in the curriculum of primary schools, namely, HIV/AIDS, family types and roles, and social norms and values. The secondary school curriculum includes six topics concerning sex education which are life skills, gender, responsible decision-making, personal hygiene, HIV/AIDS and STIs, and reproduction.

### 8.4 Extra-curricular activities concerning school-based sex education

Besides the intra-curricular teachings, the strategy of the government also includes extra-curricular components such as peer education, school counselling services and the establishment of School Counselling and AIDS Education Committees. According to the guidelines from the Ministry of Education, every school should have a Counsel or Guidance Committee. Different NGOs play an important role in the provision of the extra-curricular components. One of these NGOs is GTZ which cooperates with the MOEVT and supports the PASHA-project that is executed by the Ministry of Education. An employee of GTZ described the aim of the PASHA-project as follows: ‘The main purpose of this Prevention and Awareness in Schools of HIV/AIDS project is to empower young people in schools with knowledge, skills and attitudes to make informed decisions in the case of sexual issues.
The overall outcome has to be the prevention of HIV, pregnancy and other risky behaviour’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). PASHA tries to achieve this goal by establishing peer education programmes and the provision of training for school counsellors in primary and secondary schools, in order to provide pupils with the right information about sexual and reproductive health. Furthermore, the PASHA-project introduces materials that are approved by MOEVT to provide contextually relevant situations which pupils can relate to.

Besides the obligation that every school should have a counsellor, the guidelines of the Ministry prescribe that pupils should be encouraged to involve in activities such as clubs, drama, sports, debates and peer education (Corrigan, 2008). Femina HIP is another nationally operating NGO that plays an important role in the provision of these extra-curricular activities. Femina HIP provides the Femina (later named Fema) magazine to NGO partners, workplace programmes and secondary schools. This ‘edutainment’ magazine promotes open talk about healthy lifestyles, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Health clubs, or so-called Fema clubs, are established at secondary schools. Within these club associations, teachers and students discuss topics concerning sexual and reproductive health, in some cases on the pupils’ initiative, but more often on teachers’ or headmasters’ initiative, mostly inspired by the Fema magazine which regularly provides information and instructions on how and why to start a Fema club. ‘A Fema Club is a group of five or more people who believe in healthy lifestyles, brought together by their trust in and devotion to the Fema magazine’ (Corrigan, 2008, p. 5).

8.5 Concluding remarks

Summarising this chapter, over the past years the Tanzanian national government has developed many policies and guidelines that aim to improve adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health. One of the most important means used by the Tanzanian government to try to improve the sexual and reproductive health of the Tanzanian youth is the implementation of school-based sex education in the curriculum of both primary and secondary school and the promotion of some additional extracurricular activities. Although the policies and guidelines concerning sex education seem to be promising, the same is not necessarily true for the execution of those policies and guidelines. Therefore, the next chapter will address the local implementation and delivery of the nationally organised school-based sex education at primary and secondary schools in the Morogoro Region.
Chapter 9. Local implementation of national policies

9.1 Introduction

After presenting the organisation of school-based sex education at the national level, this chapter addresses to what extent national policies are implemented at the local level of the Morogoro Region. To address the current state of school-based sex education, at four different schools the current practices of school-based sex education are investigated as perceived by different actors. The perception of the actors is important, because a significant condition for school-based sex education to be successful is that key actors are supportive (Plummer et al., 2007). Moreover, according to a research from Schaalma et al. (2004), school-based sex education programmes are more successful when perceptions and attitudes of different actors are taken into consideration in the processes of development and implementation.

The data discussed in this chapter represent the perceptions from different actors about sex education at four schools in the Morogoro Region. Firstly the general attitude from different actors towards sex education are described, secondly the perceptions about when to start sex education are set out, thirdly the views about the content of sex education are expressed, and lastly the delivery of sex education is discussed. After expounding the perceptions of Morogoro actors on different aspects of sex education, the findings from the interviews are used to evaluate the intra- and extra-curricular sex education activities at the local level of Morogoro Region. Lastly, to supplement the governmental activities regarding sex education and to give a complete overview of the entire provision of sex education, the teachings about sexual and reproductive health that are carried out by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Morogoro Region will be discussed.

9.2 The perceptions towards school-based sex education in general

9.2.1 The perceptions of pupils towards school-based sex education

The findings from this research indicate a strong support for sex education at schools among pupils. The argument pupils mention frequently, is that because a lot of pupils are sexually active, it is important that they are informed about the risks and about how they can protect themselves. All pupils that were interviewed had positive attitudes towards school-based sex education and they realised the importance of sex education. ‘Sex education is important, because there are pupils who practice sex but do not know how to do it safe. But also for the ones who don’t practice sex yet it is important, because they will practice it in the future and they will need the knowledge’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary
School). Also the pupils who did not receive sex education valued sex education as important: ‘Here at school it should be much better if they teach it’ (Schoolgirl 1, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School).

9.2.2. The perceptions of teachers towards school-based sex education

At all four schools teachers confirmed that sex education is incorporated in the curriculum of either science or biology, although the provision of school-based sex education highly depends on the attitude of the teacher. Although all teachers interviewed confirmed that sex education is provided, the findings from the questionnaires showed that not all pupils on these school received sex education. From the questionnaire emerged that only 33 percent of the pupils in standard 6 and 7 at primary school had ever received sex education at school and 77 percent of secondary school students ever received sex education at school.

Overall, teachers were supportive of the idea to provide sex education at school. ‘Teachers are okay with it, they don’t have a negative attitude, they support it. Teachers are also mothers and fathers, you know. They are aware of the problem’ (Manager Umati, female). The main argument teachers use to teach sex education at school was because of the lack of right information at other places. ‘It is good that it is included in the curriculum now, because schools are the only place where children can get the right information about sexuality’ (Headmaster, male, Makuyu Primary school). In addition, a biology teacher from Mgeta Secondary School argued: ‘It is very important for them to have knowledge, if we give them the right knowledge now, it will be easier for their children to get the knowledge in the future’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). However, other teachers did not see it as their task to teach pupils about sexuality. A third year student from Educare Secondary School reported: ‘No, they don’t teach about sexual issues. Our teacher says that we have to learn it from the society. From television and radio or in the street, so they don’t teach about it. He is shy’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). Because this teacher is not interviewed, it is not clear if he does not value sex education as important or that he is just not comfortable with teaching it. However, in general it is clear that some teachers are more committed than others. Some teach sex education just because it is in the syllabus, others are firmly convinced of the importance of sex education and are more dedicated to teaching it. A science teacher from Makuyu Primary School said the following about teaching sex education: ‘Generally I fulfil tasks, which one I like or not. I teach what has to be taught according to the syllabus’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School). In the words of a science teacher from Yowe Primary School: ‘We think it belongs to our responsibilities to teach about abstinence and condoms, because that is part of our job’ (Science teacher, male, Yowe Primary School).

In conclusion, although some teachers are more committed to teach sex education than others, none of the interviewed teachers had a negative attitude towards sex education at school. The argument that was mentioned by teachers several times is that pupils do not receive this kind of information anywhere else. This argument fits in with the ground for the positive attitude of parents, who often
revealed to rely on school for open communication about sexuality, because at home it is not always provided.

9.2.3 The perceptions of parents towards school-based sex education

Beside students and teachers, it appeared that parents also support sex education at school. As stated above, the most important ground for the positive attitude of parents is that many parents rely on sex education at school to assure the protection of their children. ‘Because at home, only a few parents can really provide sex education. So they have to depend on someone else, like the school’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School). Derived from the questionnaire, only 21 percent of all pupils received sex education at home and from the interviews it appeared that most parents teach only abstinence, while just a few mentioned to their children to use contraceptives when they are not able to abstain. Nowadays there is still a taboo in Tanzania to talk about sexual issues. Parents find it often difficult to talk openly with their children about sexual issues and some parents feel they are not equipped with the right knowledge to teach their children about sexual topics. An employee of the NGO Care International stated: ‘The problem is, parents don’t have the right knowledge. Parents also should be educated themselves’ (Employee Care International, male). The taboo to talk about sexual issues is perceived as a big problem by different actors. ‘It is a problem that most of the parents feel distress to talk about sexuality with their children, they should be open’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School).

When parents talk about sexuality with their children, it is mostly in terms of prohibiting sex. Parents do not allow their school-going children to have a girlfriend or boyfriend, therefore there is a lot of secrecy about relationships and sexuality. ‘The custom does not allow to have a boyfriend or girlfriend, but everybody knows that even a lot of primary school pupils are already sexually active but it is a top secret for their parents’ (Head of Community, male, Yowe). As a result, adolescents are not able to talk about this topic with their parents. They know they will be punished if they reveal that they are sexually active. Schoolgirls confirmed that they would not tell their parents about a relationship, because parents will say that it is not possible to mix study and a love affair. Moreover, if children are brought up with a feeling that talking about sex is a taboo, they will not come to their parents when they have a problem concerning sexuality. ‘They are afraid that parents will ask questions about the reason why they come up with particular questions’ (Female student 4, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School). This can also be illustrated by a statement from a matron from Educare Secondary School: ‘If the pupils have a problem they are not going to the parents and they keep their problems to themselves or they go to another, probably a wrong person and they create other problems that come across’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). However most parents do not provide sex education, they are often convinced that sex education is necessary to protect their children. First because they want to make sure that their school-going daughters do not end up getting pregnant because that would be a big shame for
the family, and secondly, because the dangers of HIV/AIDS are evident to most parents nowadays. In former times, adolescents received information about sexuality during initiation, but initiation practices are decreasing and have lost relevance to adolescents in the modern society. However, parents are not able to replace the teachings about sexuality. ‘Before, the good thing was that it was given at home, but now it isn’t the case, so the school has to take that role’ (Father 2, Makuyu Primary School). According to Mkumbo (2010) in his research about 74 percent of the parents agreed that school and parents should share the responsibility of providing sex education to their children. In another research of Mbonile and Kayombo (2008), 89 percent of the parents supported that they should talk with their adolescents about sexuality and reproductive health, while 77 percent revealed their culture prohibits them from doing so. Nevertheless, parents want to assure that their children are not in danger, which contributes to a positive perception towards sex education at school. ‘It is very relevant to give the correct information at school because in the streets you don’t know who to trust and which information is correct. I believe that if they do not hear the right information they will get into relationships and have unsafe sex’ (Mother 1, Makuyu Primary School). Actors from Morogoro Region mentioned that parents rely on school with regard to open communication about sexuality. ‘Parents have their tradition at one side, they can talk to their children, but not openly. So parents rely on teachers to the openness. Furthermore, they rely on traditional ceremonies, during initiation somebody of the community can be open. It depends on the person who deals with the initiation’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School).

The parents interviewed in this research were all very aware of the importance of sex education and were all positive towards sex education at primary school. Although some parents objected to the inclusion of certain topics, for example teaching about contraceptives. ‘Apart from religious believes, parents are very okay with it now. Before the awareness of HIV/AIDS it was a problem, but now they are aware of the importance. Parents are not much okay with contraceptives for the little ones but they are okay with general information’ (Manager Umati, female). In a research of Mkumbo (2010), in rural Tanzanian districts about 75 percent of parents from children in standard 5, 6, and 7 of primary schools agreed that sex education should be given at school, the same was true for 73 percent of parents in urban districts. In both rural and urban districts, it has to be taken into account that parents supported school-based sex education programmes mainly as a strategy for protecting young people against HIV/AIDS and pregnancy. Different studies suggested that parental attitudes are more positive towards sex education topics related to disease prevention than to promote sexual health in general (Bandura, 1998, in Mkumbo 2010; Ogunjimi, 2006, in Mkumbo 2010).

9.3 The perceptions towards the initiation of school-based sex education

Although teachers are divided about when sex education should start, most teachers agreed that it is good to start teaching basic knowledge about the body and the risks of AIDS in standard 4 or 5 in primary school. An often-heard opinion during the interviews with teachers is the following: ‘I believe
that it is better to start before they become active. Because if we wait, the number of children who are active with ignorance is higher and because of that the consequences will be higher as well. So that’s why I think it has to start from standard 4 or 5’ (Counsellor, male, Makuyu Primary School). However, contrary to this quotation, a science teacher expressed his objections to teaching the young pupils sex education: ‘I think it’s better to wait until the higher classes, because then the teacher is free to talk about all the things which the pupils ask. And moreover, for all the student the information is relevant and because of that they will listen and be curious. The things are about their own body changes, they think: the information is relevant, they talk about me’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School).

Next to teachers, the majority of parents and pupils shared the opinion that it is better to start sex education early, for example in standard 4 or 5 in primary school. A female student from Educare Secondary school explained: ‘Because even from standard 6 and 7 some are already sexually active, so it is much better to start it earlier, from standard 5. So that if it progress slowly, they don’t find this kind of information strange’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School). And in the words of a father: ‘It is important to provide knowledge before they get sexually active. It is part of our tradition, you should band the fish before it is dry, when it’s still raw, you know’ (Father 1, Makuyu Primary School). In contrast with the positive perceptions towards the start of sex education in primary schools that derived from the interviews, different actors mentioned that some parents are reluctant towards sex education at primary schools. ‘The society is not looking at sex education as something good for primary school pupils. Many parents don’t like it, because their children are still young. A few can accept it, but many reject sex education. The dislike is only about primary schools, because people think that these children are too young to encourage that’ (Educational Officer primary education, female, DED Mvomero).

Research of Mkumbo (2010) showed conform with the findings of this study, that the majority of the parents wanted sex education to start in standard 4 or 5 in primary school. The conclusion can be drawn that there is a general consensus on the age at which to start teaching sex education. However, several actors argued that the age to initiate sex education depends on the content of what is taught. A counsellor from Makuyu Primary School explained: ‘According to the syllabus it has to be open in teaching things. I think it has not to be open like that for every child. Because then you will encourage some children, they will seek to put the knowledge into practice. General knowledge is relevant, but it depends when it is told’ (Counsellor, male, Makuyu Primary School).

9.4 The perceptions on the content of school-based sex education

9.4.1 The perceptions of pupils regarding the content of sex education

Concerning the content of school-based sex education there is less conformity compared to the attitudes towards the initiation of sex education. Generally, the schoolgirls interviewed shared the opinion that
primary school pupils should at least be taught abstinence. A part of the schoolgirls advocated teaching about contraceptives at both primary and secondary school, because some children are already sexually active at primary school. Other schoolgirls stated that it is not good to teach primary school pupils about contraceptives. An argument that was frequently mentioned by schoolgirls, teachers and parents is the fear to encourage promiscuity among pupils by teaching about contraceptives. ‘They should not learn it at school, because teaching about contraceptives will encourage pupils to go out and practise sex’ (Female student 2, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School). Some schoolgirls pointed out that teaching about condoms is not included in the primary school syllabus, which is a clear signal for these schoolgirls that they should not be taught about using condoms.

Concerning secondary school the majority of schoolgirls agreed that lessons on contraceptives should be given. ‘They have to learn about contraceptives, because some are already engaged in sex or some are having sex frequently. So if they don’t learn how to protect themselves it is natural that they end up getting pregnant’ (Female student 2, form 1, Educare Secondary School). Some schoolgirls argued that by teaching abstinence only, students would just become curious about what sex is and this curiousness will encourage them to try it. An argument mentioned by schoolgirls against the education about contraceptives at primary as well as secondary school is that when pupils are taught about contraceptives, they will focus on sex instead of their studies. This is what their teachers and parents keep telling them. Some students argued that although secondary school students should be fully informed about how to protect themselves, contraceptive use should not be encouraged. ‘Students are only supposed to learn enough to protect themselves and to avoid to get involved in sex for example because of temptations. I think if students are already sexually active, they should get information from form 1. But those should only know how to use, those who are already 18 should really use them. From the age of 18 people should really have access to condoms’ (Female student 4, form 2, Educare Secondary School). This quotations implies the perception of some adolescents that condoms are only for adults.

9.4.2 The perception of teachers regarding the content of sex education

The content of sex education practically taught by teachers appeared to depend highly on the attitude of the individual teacher. ‘Teachers have to stick to the information in the syllabus, but it depends on the creativity of the teacher which things from the syllabus are taught’ (Headmaster, male, Makuyu Primary School). In accordance with the schoolgirls interviewed, teachers also share the opinion that abstinence should be taught at primary school. They argued that primary school pupils are too young to initiate sex. The majority of teachers consider discussions about HIV/AIDS important, but a lot of teachers think discussions about contraception and condoms would encourage promiscuity. At primary as well as secondary schools the norm is abstinence, so teachers mainly teach to abstain. ‘They are mainly telling us to be abstinent, that we should be aware that we don’t get pregnant, that we have to be aware about
ourselves and our own temptations. Some pupils are very weak to their temptations’ (Female student 4, form 1, Mgeta Secondary School). Despite the norm of abstinence, in practice a lot of primary and secondary school pupils are sexually active and teachers also acknowledge this fact. For this reason there are also teachers who argued that it is important to teach about contraceptives. ‘It’s true that there is a view that children in school are not supposed to have sex. But one thing is it to think about something and one things is it to look at the facts of the reality. If we teach the pupils about how to protect from HIV and getting pregnant we should not convince them to have sex easily, it is no passport to have sex. When you teach about sexual issues, you still can encourage pupils to be abstinent. It is part of the syllabus, but even outside the syllabus we make children aware of how to make right choices’ (Biology teacher, male, Yowe Primary School). However the majority of teachers perceived primary school pupils too young to be taught about contraceptive, some teachers thought it is good to teach about contraceptives as early as in primary school. ‘We don’t promote contraceptives. We make them aware of contraceptives, but for using them later, not during their study. We stress on how to postpone sexual activities’ (Counsellor, male, Makuyu Primary School). Teachers added that with full knowledge of all the risks involved, children will be less likely to want to try having sex.

Besides the teachers who support teaching about contraceptives, other teachers stressed that it would be contradictory when they teach abstinence and also teach about contraceptives. For a lot of teachers it is clearly a dilemma what to teach and how to balance the message, as the following quotation shows: ‘We always tell them it is not good for you to do sexual intercourse but if you find it difficult to avoid it then it is better to use but it is completely prohibited, it is not allowed. You cannot mix together education and sexual activities, it might interfere. They always concentrate at only one thing, this can lead to poor performance. That’s why we prohibit them. But at least we give them some alternatives because we don’t spend all the time together and what they do at home they can be tempted to do it in our absence’ (Biology teacher 1, male, Educare Secondary School). According to the syllabus the topic of reproduction, which teaches pupils about all methods used to avoid unwanted pregnancy, is taught not earlier than in form 3 at secondary school. It depends on the teacher, but the general impression is that teachers are quite strict concerning this guideline and do not teach about contraceptives before form 3. ‘I am in form 2, so in my case they aren’t able to expose the facts about how to use condoms’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School). A form 3 student from Mgeta Secondary School told the following about the content of sex education in biology: ‘We learn physically what is in the body of boys and girls, what are the parts, how they work and contribute to sexuality and how to control them, about when you get pregnant and when not. And also in terms of diseases when you can get them and when not’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School).

In addition to the view that teaching about contraceptives is in contradiction with the norm of abstinence, more and more people argue that messages on abstinence and teaching about contraceptives do not necessarily conflict. An employee from GTZ explained: ‘Abstinence is the standard which means not to engage in risky behaviour. Moral teaching is to abstain, but in reality everybody knows that they
are sexually active. If the key message is abstain, the policy would not be ABC. For me it is not 1, then 2 and then 3, it is the whole ABC. If you can manage to abstain it is better, but if you really have the desire you need to be faithful and use a condom. It is not a conflicting message. The decision to use a condom comes to persons themselves. It is very important to assure that they have all the information that they want to have and that they know under these circumstances if I do this, it has those consequences and if I decide to do this it has those consequences’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA project).

When looking at the research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) with regard to the content of sex education in Mwanza Region, results from this study show that 28 percent of the teachers and 32 percent of the peer educators were against teaching pupils about condoms in primary schools. This research indicates that teachers were all very strong in their affirmation that they teach abstinence and only abstinence, although many, both teachers and pupils, said that pupils are having sex anyway. The research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) cites that especially in Tanzanian primary schools the teaching approach is found to generally frighten the pupils away from sex. This is in line with the general impression of the researchers from this study in Morogoro. According to the research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007), 64 percent of teachers (the majority of them young male teachers) think that instilling a sense of fear into pupils can help. Those teachers said that teaching pupils about condoms takes away the fear which has to be instilled when teaching about AIDS. However, arousing fear is not an effective means to facilitate sexual behaviour change and can have many unintended consequences, such as denial or deflecting the message away from themselves (Bourne, 2010).

Summarised, the perceptions of teachers are divided about the choice to teach about contraceptives at primary as well as secondary school. According to the syllabus the topic of reproduction is taught in form 3 of secondary school. Part of the teachers revealed to follow the syllabus. Other teachers argued that it should be taught as early as in primary school or, on the contrary, not at all, because abstinence should be the only topic to teach about. Concerning primary school a lot of teachers say that teaching about contraceptives will encourage pupils to have sex. Concerning secondary school, the reason that is frequently given is that teaching about contraceptives is not good because pupils will focus on sex instead of their studies. Because the norm is abstinence in both primary and secondary schools, many teachers said that it is contradictory to teach about contraceptives and request abstinence at the same time. However, other actors argued that teaching about condoms does not have to contradict the norm of abstinence. Moreover, some teachers that support teaching about contraceptives argued that pupils are sexually active whatever you teach them, so they should know how to use a condom, which could then save their lives.
9.4.3 The perception of parents regarding the content of sex education

A lot of the parents who were interviewed share the opinion that besides teaching abstinence, pupils should get information about contraceptives at school. ‘I believe that if they not hear the right information they will get into relationships and have unsafe sex. They should be taught about how to practice safe sex and also about the kind of relationship they want to get in’ (Mother 1, Makuyu Primary School). According to these parents, most important is to insist on abstinence, but when they look at the reality, they prefer that their children are fully informed in order to make wise decisions. ‘Pupils should be taught about contraceptives, it is important that they know how to protect themselves. I am Roman Catholic, they usually teach against the use of condoms completely, because you are on the way of sin. But once the youth get the education that a condom will protect you they can make their own decision’ (Father 1, Mgeta Secondary School). In general, these parents wanted sex education, including information about contraceptives, to start at primary school.

The fact that some parents advocate providing information about contraceptives does not mean that they are convinced that pupils should be encouraged to use contraceptives. Sometime a bit of a contradiction was found in their answers. The following example shows the contradiction which a lot of parents struggle with: ‘Most important is to insist not to have sex. Teaching about contraceptives will encourage them to have sex. But if they cannot abstain, it is relevant that is told how to do it’ (Father 2, Makuyu Primary School). A student of Mgeta Secondary School concluded about the perception of parents: ‘It depends on the level of understanding of the parents, some parents who are educated they understand the importance but cannot take the responsibility. They think by teaching the knowledge they are already teaching you the behaviour. Actually we learn how to protect ourselves and how to prevent for getting into danger. But there are those who do not understand and just conclude that by teaching you this information they are teaching you like go out and do it’ (Female student 2, form 4, Mgeta Secondary School). Regarding the information that should be provided, some parents distinguished between children inside and outside school. ‘They should teach the younger ones outside school from getting pregnant and diseases by using a condom. But the ones who are still at school, if you teach them to use condoms it is like encouraging them. So not the ones in school, only after or outside school’ (Father 2, Yowe Primary School).

Besides the parents that revealed teaching about contraceptives to be necessary and the parents with some doubts about it, there were also parents who were very convinced that the only thing that should be taught to pupils at home and at school is abstinence. ‘I teach my daughter to follow Christianity and to abstain from sex. They should not be told about contraceptives at home or at school. They should only be told to respect God, to follow God’s plan and abstain completely. So that’s the only thing I should teach.’ (Mother 2, Yowe Primary School). This woman agreed that some pupils are sexually active, but when she was asked how these pupils can prevent themselves from HIV/AIDS and getting pregnant she answered: ‘I still hold that there is no other way, if they don’t follow to abstain and
have sex that means that they don’t have understood it properly. So they should be told better, much better, so that they understand the word of God. If I have told them firmly to abstain and they don’t keep record and end up getting pregnant, that is their own mistake. When the Christian values are told properly to them, then they will change.’ (Mother 1, Yowe Primary School).

The clear negative reactions concerning teaching about contraceptives that were found, were all from parents in Yowe, which is a very remote rural area, where religion is valued as very important in their lives. Surprisingly, the results of Mkumbo (2010) show that majority of the parents in rural districts, almost three-quarters, rated condom use as important to teach in school, while just one-third of the parents in urban districts rated this topic as important. In the research of Mkumbo (2010), a large majority of parents supported the inclusion of facts and information and topics on the behavioural dimension, which includes topics with regard to skills and relationships. However less support was found for the topics regarding the affective dimension, which encompasses topics related to values and attitudes, such as condom use, masturbation, homosexuality and sexual pleasure and enjoyment. Parents in the urban districts were more reluctant to include sensitive and controversial topics in the school curriculum than their rural counterparts. The research of Mbonile and Kayombo (2008) indicates that 82 percent of the parents agreed that condoms could protect against HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections but 64 percent was opposed to the use of condoms for their adolescents.

9.5 The perceptions on the delivery of school-based sex education

The research findings revealed that it depends on the teacher whether or not pupils are taught only abstinence or if they receive education about contraceptives. However, if information is given about contraceptives during science or biology, generally pupils do not get practical information about how to use a condom, where to get a condom, et cetera. An Educational Officer said about the delivery of sex education: ‘Of course there are restrictions. They don’t want to go further, they don’t give any practical information. It is only allowed to teach sex education in general’ (Educational Officer Secondary Education, female, Municipal Council). A biology teacher from Educare Secondary School explained: ‘We normally just teach theoretically, not how to use. For the case of practical, they are always thought outside of the school. Sometimes this kind of information is given by public educators (NGOs). They can even take an example of maybe a bottle to demonstrate how to use a condom. They learn it in the street, sometimes there are seminars were they teach about HIV/AIDS and all kinds of contraceptives’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School).

The delivery of school-based sex education depends on the confidence and skills to teach about such a sensitive topic. Some teachers and Educational Officers were even uncomfortable to talk about this topic during the interviews. ‘Of course, even the teachers they resist. Some of them can’t teach it, but some they can. It depends on the attitude of teachers. But also when they see the importance it is not sure if they can teach it’ (Educational Officer Secondary Education, female, Municipal Council). An
example of an employee of SNV shows the discomfort of Tanzanians to talk about sexual issues: ‘My experiences show, that we Tanzanians are not capable to talk about sexual issues in our own language. We use alternative words and language, for example we talk about ‘secret parts’ (Employee SNV, female). Science and biology teachers do not choose to teach sex education, but are obliged to deliver it because of the obligation to follow the syllabus of their subjects. As a consequence, a lot of teachers feel to be saddled with the delivery of sex education and do not feel comfortable to teach about sexual issues. Especially when teaching sex education to primary schools pupils, teachers revealed to be afraid to encourage pupils to have sex. The age differences within a class make this even more difficult. ‘It depends on the class. If there is a mixture of age and there are also younger ones present I feel not very comfortable, it feels like pushing them into sexual activities. But the ones who really needs the information, when it is the right time for them to receive sexual information it is good to teach’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School).

Next to their uncomfortable feelings, some teachers lack knowledge and skills to teach about sexual issues or have misconceptions themselves. ‘When teachers don’t have the skills they feel not comfortable to teach about it and at the end of the day they skip those topics because they don’t know how to approach the adolescents’ (Employee SNV, female). A researcher from Mzumbe University mentioned the following about sex education at schools: ‘The problem is that they don’t hit the point, it is not directed to the sensitive topics and not about feelings. Teachers feel uncomfortable to teach that’ (Researcher, female, Mzumbe University). Makumbo’s research (2009) confirms that teachers demonstrate a lack of confidence and competence in teaching sex education. The lack of competence might not only concern capabilities to teach sex education, but might also concern teaching capabilities in general. ‘Some teachers are natural teachers and some are not. They are only teachers because they cannot find another profession’ (Employee Femina, female).

The guidelines of the syllabi describe, besides the use of discussion in small groups and class discussion, the use of role play to gain the necessary skills. However, in Tanzania education is usually not very interactive, teachers talk and pupils listen or pupils have to copy statements from the blackboard. Moreover, some classes are very large, at primary school the average is fifty-four pupils per class and at secondary school one teacher educates on average thirty-seven pupils at the same time (BEST, 2010). It is very difficult to hold satisfactory class discussions with so many pupils. Only one of the interviewed teachers really used role plays in teaching sex education and especially at primary schools the general impression of this research is that lessons are not interactive at all. Both the observations and interviews indicate the use of an authoritative teaching style. A matron of Educare Secondary School confirmed no differences in the approach towards teaching about issues concerning sexuality compared to teaching other subjects: ‘For teachers it is not easy to talk about such things, because of their authority, so they don’t feel very comfortable to do it in the class, they teach these things not outside the curriculum, they follow the curriculum, so they teach like any other subject.’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). The study of Rutagumirwa and Kamuzora, (2006)
supports the presumption that only traditional teaching approaches are used in sex education, in which the only participation by pupils is either asking or answering questions in classes or through quizzes and examination.

Next to the authoritative teaching styles, teachers reported to be short of time to teach sex education, because the curriculum is actually too full already. ‘It is not specifically allowed that we do this and this because the time that we have is too limited, we normally engage in more academically issues. This is a good idea but the time is not enough for that kind of activity’ (Biology Teacher 1, male, Educare Secondary School). An employee of Femina agreed with this argument: ‘Teachers are only giving information because of the time limit they have. Myself, I’m also a teacher and it is only because of the time constraints, if they would have enough time then they will use all kind of methods’ (Employee Femina, female). Besides the time deficit, one teacher mentioned that many teachers have a lack of materials to teach effectively. ‘We cannot even afford to buy things that we can use for teaching, like those videotapes, materials with more detailed information or pictures of students who are suffering from HIV/AIDS, then at least they see it with their naked eyes’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). When teachers were asked about teaching life skills, a lot of teachers did not even understand what was meant by the concept of ‘life skills’, and if they did, they all revealed not to teach about life skills.

It was found that the current sex education delivery mainly focuses on the biological facts and basic information about HIV/AIDS. Little attention is paid to learning life skills, providing practical information and discussions about feelings, relationships, attitudes and values. Mkumbo (2009) confirms these finding. Furthermore, an employee of Femina explained: ‘People have to learn about feelings and the effects. The education at school is only about the technical part of it. They don’t tell that it is normal to feel like this, and that sometimes a person is driven to sexual desires. If those things can be explained it would be more easy, but pupils don’t know what happens if they fall in love’ (Employee Femina, female). A student from Educare Secondary School added to this: ‘It is not enough to just explain the things. They have to give practical information and they have to explain in detail in the class, this is how you do this when you use this. If it doesn’t go like that, then there is no use of this kind of information’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School).

Another difficulty that was mentioned a few times is a lack of female teachers. ‘I cannot provide all the information for girls, because I’m a male so there are some of the things that I cannot say directly. Maybe it can sometimes work that students can observe from their teachers. So their should be a plan, to attract at least some more female teachers’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). For girls some topics are hard to discuss with a male, for example menstruation. Traditionally, girls are taught about issues like menstruation by woman, and for that reason some people think it is not appropriate for girls if they are taught about that kind of things by a male teacher. For the same reason, many male teachers feel uncomfortable and incompetent to teach about sexual and reproductive topics.
that are related to girls. The lack of female teachers was notably often mentioned by parents from Yowe Primary School. At this school there was no female teacher present at all.

The provision of sex education not only depends on the teacher but also on the school. At some schools visited in this research, sex education is perceived as very important, for example at Mgeta Secondary School. In this school there is a very active Fema club, where pupils meet to discuss issues concerning sexuality on a regular basis. It was striking that pupils and teachers at Mgeta Secondary School were clearly more free to talk about sexuality. Furthermore, the biology teachers received a training from Fema and were very comfortable to talk about sexual topics. They said they taught about condoms and stimulated discussions during their lessons. One of the biology teachers told that what he learned during the training contributed to his approach of teaching sex education. "I make the students realise that it’s relevant to spend a certain time period to discuss sexual issues, because it is part of general life. I tell the students that they can’t avoid to be involved in the risks and because of that it is important to get the right knowledge and in order to get the right knowledge they have to be free to ask questions. I encourage them to be self-confident enough to talk openly" (Biology Teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). A students from Mgeta described the lessons concerning sex education as following: "The teacher gives information in front of the class and then he will ask questions about which we have to discuss, we go out in groups to discuss certain topics. Sometimes they ask the students to answer particular questions and then they have to give the right answer” (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School). The situation concerning sex education at Mgeta Secondary School seems to be an example of a good practice, although it might be an exception.

9.6 Evaluation of intra-curricular activities

When the Educational Officer of Primary Education Mvomero was asked about the content of sex education at primary schools, she answered: ‘It is there in the curriculum, but not so open. There are just some elements in the topic science’ (Educational Officer Primary Education, female, Mvomero). The Headmaster of Educare Secondary School said about secondary education: ‘It is there, it has been included in the curriculum, although it is not much. I think it has been addressed in geography a little bit and also biology’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). In line with the educational officer and the headmaster of Educare, most actors said that what is provided at school is not enough and a lot of things need to be improved. ‘What has been given is not enough. I consider that there should be better educational approaches, so that this kind of knowledge become really effective’ (Father 1, Mgeta Secondary School). According to the girls in primary as well as secondary school, they do not receive enough information. All schoolgirls that were interviewed said they would like to get more information about sexuality.

Sex education is divided across different subjects and the topics are not arranged in a logical way as a meaningful entity. This contradicts with one of the key characteristics of effective sex
education, namely that the topics should be covered in a logical order (Kirby et al., 2006, in Mkumbo, 2009). Furthermore, the three major components of any effective sex education program are knowledge, skills and relationships and attitudes and values. (Bruess & Greenberg, 2004, in Mkumbo, 2009).

According to the National guidelines these components are covered in school-based sex education, but analysis of the content of the different syllabi reveals that only the knowledge aspect seems to be somehow adequately covered in the school curriculum (Mkumbo, 2009). Furthermore, both the nature and the exact amount of sex education in the syllabi are unclear. Content analyses reveals that in the Tanzanian national school curriculum only a few aspects of sex education, mainly in the area of HIV/AIDS, are covered.

Regarding the delivery of sex education, an employee of SNV argued that current forms of school-based sex education are not effective because teachers and pupils are not comfortable to speak openly about sexuality with each other. ‘The relationship between pupils and teachers is not good. They are not competent to teach the knowledge and deliver the skills. Pupils discuss things openly with their peers, but they feel ashamed to discuss sexual issues with their teachers’ (Employee SNV, female).

Several teachers assured that students are very open to ask any question ‘They are very comfortable to ask any question and they like it very much, especially when it comes to this topic they are always very happy. They have so many questions concerning sexuality, so many questions’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). Although from experiences, observations and the interviews with pupils and other actors, the impression derived that an open attitude really depends on the student, the teacher and the kind of question. A primary school pupil expressed: ‘Some don’t ask because they feel shy or are afraid to ask’ (Schoolgirl 4, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School). Especially girls often appeared to be shy and did not dare to ask questions concerning sexuality. ‘Usually, it is rare for the girls to speak up, but they are really interested’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School). Some schoolgirls are more free to talk than others, but schoolgirls especially ask general questions, for example about the biological facts, and generally do not have the courage to ask their teachers personal questions. ‘It depends, some younger ones ask, because they are very curious. But the ones that are already sexually active, they hesitate to ask. I think it is partly because of the situation at home, because they will be reprimanded. They don’t ask things about their own character, their questions are not personalised. Sometimes they trust teachers and sometimes they hesitate, because they are afraid of the reaction from the teacher’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School). Especially students who are sexually active are afraid that teachers will ask them questions instead of answering the question. ‘If students want to know in which shops exactly they can buy condoms, they will not go to the teacher but to other students. Because the teacher could try not to remain with answering the question, but may start to ask more questions, for example why do you want to know where to get condoms? We can ask teacher things about menstruation, more the biological questions’ (Female student 3, form 2, Mgeta Secondary School). Even if pupils have the courage to ask certain questions, not all teachers will reply their questions. Findings from the questionnaire show that only 17 percent of pupils prefer to go to a teacher
when they have a question concerning sexuality. Most often mentioned is a health worker with 25 percent and 18 percent of the pupils preferred to ask their question to a peer. The interviews showed that some pupils did not know where to go with certain questions or if they have a problem concerning sexuality. ‘If I know someone I would go, but here at school there is no one to whom I can go. No, I wouldn’t go to anyone’ (Schoolgirl 1, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School). In this way, pupils remain with questions and are sometimes not adequately informed. A primary school pupil said: ‘Yes, I have questions. Some things like when you have a boyfriend, what kind of things can prevent from getting pregnant. I want to know that, but I haven’t asked it yet.’ (Schoolgirl 3, standard 7, Makuyu Primary School).

The general impression is that students are not that free to talk as teachers are suggesting. ‘I think they prefer to discuss such things with their peers when teachers are not around’. (Educational Officer Secondary Education, female, Municipal Council). This assumption is confirmed by different actors, like an employee of GTZ: ‘Also the other students are more free to talk and to ask questions if the teachers is not present. Young people are not supposed to talk openly about sex if the teacher is present, because of the taboo’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). Some actors argued that school-based sex education is a step forward, but what is taught does not fit the specific needs of pupils. ‘In certain sense it introduces ideas, but it is not really linked to certain issues that are relevant for pupils. Issues have to be more related to that things which are relevant for the pupils’ (Headmaster, male, Makuyu Primary School).

9.7 Evaluation of extra-curricular activities

As stated in chapter 8 (paragraph 4), besides intra-curricular teachings, governments’ strategy concerning sex education also include extra-curricular activities, for example the obligation of having school counselling services, the promotion of peer education, and the encouragement of certain activities, like clubs, drama, sports, and debates.

The government’s obligation to have at least one counsellor at every school is promising, but in the case of sexual and reproductive health the counsellor seems nothing more than a function on paper. The interview findings reveal that it is not common that pupils talk about sexual issues with the counsellor. ‘The Ministry made a requirement that every school should have a committee, but usually pupils do not go to the committee when they have a problem’ (Biology Teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). It was found that not all pupils know about the presence of the counsellor and if they know about it, they think the counsellor is mainly meant for other problems, like misbehaviour. ‘No, the counsellor is for other things. And children don’t talk to adults about sexual issues because it is not allowed to have sex’ (Educational Officer Secondary Education, female, Municipal Council). Matrons, who were present at Educare Secondary School, were mentioned as more likely to be approached when schoolgirls have a problem, although not every school has a matron. When a matron
of Educare Secondary School was asked what kind of problems she is confronted with she explained: ‘Series of small problems, like indiscipline, that they do not follow the rules or that they think why should I wear a uniform, absenteeism, not paying school fees. We make a follow up on their behaviours and we look into the statistics for their study results’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School).

When the matron was asked if students are also coming to her if they have a problem, she gave the following answer: ‘It may happen that students come, sometimes they come with problems like they are involved with someone and they want to leave that person, then we give advice how to break up. If we notice students who are to close with each other, we show them that a relationship is not really helpful for them, because it is more difficult to concentrate on their studies. Sometimes they pretend that they split up, but I cannot tell if that is really the case. We also advise students how to avoid men who come to them while they aren’t interested’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School).

Although the matron may be a person who can advise pupils, when the norm is abstinence while in school and part of her function is to punish students, it can be predicted that students will not ask questions to the matron that may reveal a relationship or sexual activity.

When asked about peer education, different actors mentioned that peer education can be effective. ‘We have realized that teachers alone cannot help the students a lot. The language they speak may be different from the students. Maybe if it is possible, it can be much easier to learn from the fellow students than from the teachers. So we are trying to adopt how we can use peer educators in other areas like HIV/AIDS and other things, life skills and so on’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School).

Peer education programmes are usually carried out by NGOs and it was found that when the school does not give peer education a high priority, it might not be as successful as it can be. ‘Peer education usually only start once and then it is forgotten, people forget it. In this way it will not be effective. In order to make them effective it has to be ongoing, so that people come together and getting further guidance on how they handle whatever they have’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). For peer educators to be effective they must receive a proper training and it has to be clear for other students who the peer educators are. ‘No, peer educators are not effective. There is no program to introduce peer educators, so we don’t know who is here to give information. It has to be our own initiative to search around and find someone who can help us. So the peer educators do not teach what they have learned to others by their selves. (Female student 4, form 2, Educare Secondary School). Moreover, time must be reserved in the school timetable for peer educators to educate their peers and for pupils to ask questions in the absence of a teacher. Some students mentioned that even among peers it is difficult to talk about sexuality. One student suggested that a peer educator has to be a friend in order to talk openly. ‘Peer educators can be a good idea but, it has to be a friend. They can talk to their friends, they can discuss the issues. Even among friends it depends on the level of friendship, about the things they are used to share within their friendships. Some friends can’t share such intimate matters’ (Female student 4, form 1, Mgeta Secondary School). The primary schoolgirls that were interviewed revealed that they did not even talk about sexuality with their friends. Although schoolgirls did not explicitly said they were not
really interested in sexuality yet or that they did not feel comfortable to talk about the topic, they all pointed out that they would like to receive more information about sexuality. Therefore, it seemed like primary schoolgirls are just not used to talk about sexuality and that they were all very shy to talk about it during the interviews. ‘Because the relationship between teachers and pupils is not good pupils feel ashamed to discuss sexual issues with their teachers. They are not competent to teach the knowledge and deliver the skills. Pupils discuss things openly with their peers’ (Employee SNV, female).

Besides the foundation of school counselling services and the promotion of peer education, according to the guidelines schools have to encourage certain activities through which adolescents might learn about their sexual and reproductive health. An example of such activities are health clubs or the so-called Fema clubs at secondary schools that have been mentioned in chapter 8 (paragraph 4). At Mgeta Secondary School, a fema club is present in which teachers and student discuss topics concerning sexual and reproductive health. At Mgeta, pupils can join the Fema club on voluntary basis. A student from Mgeta secondary schools told about the Fema club meetings: ‘On Thursday we meet and sometimes we discuss topics like HIV, STI’ and sometimes we have to do other things like taking care of the environment, then we go out. The biology teacher is like supervising the club’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School). The clubs are firmly linked to HIV/AIDS education and this is central to the reason for most students joining: they want to educate their fellow youth or community on HIV/AIDS. The educational officer from Mvomero revealed the following concerning Fema clubs: ‘Within the clubs they talk about AIDS, they do role-plays, play drama and they sing. The clubs are not present in all schools, they are specifically present in the schools with which NGOs work with’ (Educational Officer Primary Education, female, Mvomero). According to Corrigan and Mtoi (2008), teachers and Fema club leaders see the Fema clubs as an important entry point for peer education. However, not every secondary school has a Fema club and the activity of the clubs differs a lot from school to school. Some Fema clubs are active and organise permanent activities, others are not active or only on a temporary basis and are held during special occasions. Although the guidelines of the national government encourages students to participate in extra-curricular activities, since students join on a voluntarily basis, it seems that not all students are reached with these activities. According to Rutagumirwa and Kamuzora (2006), often only students with abilities, talents and interest are active participants An Employee of Femina explained the following concerning the activeness of Fema clubs: ‘In Tanzania, there are 596 clubs at the moment, but not all of them are active. For example the Kilakala (a secondary school for girls in Morogoro Municipality) Fema club was active until a certain time, but the active pupils left school and at the moment the club is not active anymore. But for other schools I don’t know, we don’t have enough information about all the clubs, because we have limited resources to visit them’ (Employee Femina, female).
9.8 Sex education carried out by NGOs in the Morogoro Region

In addition to the school-based sex education programmes implemented by the government, different NGOs provide activities related to HIV/AIDS and early pregnancy prevention in and outside the school setting. Examples of activities concerning HIV/AIDS prevention are community-based sex education programmes or discussions, seminars at schools or in the street, cultural shows and educational events, peer education programmes, condom distribution and the spreading of messages through mass media including radio, television and billboards. Beside these activities, some NGOs run Health Centres where people can come for voluntary counselling and testing for HIV and other services.

Umati is an example of an NGO that operates in the Morogoro Region. 'We have thirteen clinics in Tanzania, in Morogoro we have only one clinic. It is a place where young people meet and discuss sexual and reproductive health, there is a provision of education and information on sexual and reproductive health, STIs screening, AIDS counselling, education and also sports and games. The sports and games are there, because it is especially for youth. Especially mothers come to the clinics to get sexual and reproductive health services. (...) We do a lot of things, including building lavatory, family planning and also concealing services. Formally we had HIV/AIDS screening, but unfortunately it has cancelled, because the service provider quit and we don’t have another service provider. Within the community-based services we have a citizen servicing project, but this is basically conducted at the rural areas. That projects involve community service providers who provide services to their followers in the community. The services include information about SRH, family planning and HIV/AIDS education' (Manager Umati, female).

From the findings of this research, the provision of sex education at schools from external organisations like NGOs is found to be limited. Firstly, the activities provided by NGOs are not on a regular basis. An employee of SNV explained that the activities of NGOs are mostly not structural and therefore not very effective. ‘Some NGOs are not sustainable, they come and go, they come and go’ (Employee SNV, female). When attending a seminar at Educare Secondary School in Morogoro, a form 4 student told that it was her first experience that a NGO provided a seminar at her school and this was even an urban school. Because rural schools are more difficult to reach, several actors assumed that the activities offered at schools in remote areas are even more scarce. Besides the irregular basis, the lack of resources is a second cause of the limited offer of activities by NGOs that is mentioned during all the interviews with employees from NGOs. 'We also have what we call SES education, Sexuality education for young adolescents. There are a lot of school drop-outs as a result of pregnancy. This project tries to convince teachers and the Minister of Education to implement sexuality education as a separate subject in standard seven from primary schools, because science is very general. But this project is not a long term project, the time depends on the resources. The teachers are trained now, but there isn’t any money left for the provision of refreshment trainings and if there comes a new teachers he or she should also receive a training, but who will provide that training? The project has already finished due
to a limit of resources’ (Manager Umati, female). Beside the fact that the provision of preventive activities concerning sexual and reproductive health by NGOs is scarce, different NGOs in the Morogoro Region are not informed about each others’ activities. Unfortunately, because communication and coordination among NGOs, government and other private organisations are essential for sustainability as financial and material costs needed for HIV/AIDS and early pregnancy prevention are beyond the capacity of individual organisations.

Some actors mentioned in line with Forsynthe (2002) that many NGOs focus on care and support services for teenage mothers or people living with AIDS. An Educational Officer from Mvomero district explained: ‘The NGOs move from one school to another, they are especially focusing on AIDS’ (Educational Officer Primary Education, female, Mvomero). One of the reasons for this focus is that foreign sponsors are willing to invest in the combat against HIV/AIDS. Because NGOs are often dependent of foreign financial sources, they adapt their activities and the message that they carry out to the wishes of the sponsor. ‘When it comes to HIV, people don’t see the problem. They see money, most people just come because of the money. It ends up with very small brains can get the funds for HIV. They call it a field of work, the HIV industry, there is rich money floating. This money should go to the people who really understand the problem, those people are really good for NGOs’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). This quotation reveals some kind of competition between NGOs with regard to the funds that they receive. According to AIDSCAP’s resident advisor in Tanzania “the challenge is to avoid competition between NGOs and help them organise complementary efforts that make the best use of the strengths of each group” (Nwankwo & Takele, 2003).

The effectiveness of NGO programmes also depends on the acceptance of the community. ‘Mostly in religious beliefs, some do not accept if there are condoms provided to their children’ (Manager Umati, female). Concerning the promotion of condom use, NGOs proved to be divided. While most NGOs revealed to promote both abstinence and contraception use, other NGOs mentioned to carry out only-abstinence programmes, meanly financed by America. An employee of Femina explained: ‘We don’t promote the use of contraceptives. There are still so many questions in communities and there are so many negative conceptions about condoms. There are also a lot of misconceptions’ (Employee Femina, female). To make sure that pupils receive enough information and that the message will not provoke negative reactions, it is important to balance the message concerning the promotion of abstinence and the education about contraceptives. Different NGOs balance their message in another way. Rutagumirwa and Kamuzora (2006) investigated the perceptions of pupils and teachers regarding the extra-curricular activities organised by NGOs at secondary schools in the Mbeya Region in South-western Tanzania. The results show that some teachers thought that NGOs focus too much on condom use, which they claim to be inappropriate. Some teachers were not happy with condom demonstrations, which they referred to as useless activities that students seemed to prefer more than academic activities. The majority of students expressed that teachers are running away from realities concerning the issue of
condom demonstrations. Most students suggested that besides encouragement to abstain from sex, it is very important to have skills on condom use because there are students who are already exposed to sex.

Besides the acceptance of the community regarding condom use, restriction from authorities is another difficulty that NGOs face in promoting contraceptives. Although the distribution of condoms at schools is clearly forbidden by the National government, information about the restrictions on teachings about condoms and condom demonstrations is contradicting. ‘Condom policy says information has to be provided, but it also says that you cannot distribute condoms. When we give training we take no condoms with us, we only give the ABC information. Demonstrations are allowed, because that is providing information about the use of condoms’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). In contradiction with the employee of GTZ, an employee of YCI said: ‘Especially at primary schools there are restrictions. It is forbidden to teach about using condoms, because they think it will encourage sexual behaviour. Teachers and parents think that primary school pupils don’t practise sex, but that isn’t true. In fact, they are sexually active. But the local region is against condom demonstrations, and because of that it is very hard to talk about condom use. Before providing sex education we ask secondary schools for permission to demonstrate condom use. But in Morogoro it is forbidden to demonstrate condom use at primary schools. Nowadays, it is usually totally forbidden but things are changing. Policies still forbid the demonstrations, but teachers become aware of its great value’ (Employee YCI, male, NGO). The contradiction between the employees of GTZ and YCI is possibly caused by the regional differences concerning sex education policy. Furthermore, as regards activities at school, it also depends on the school board if condom demonstration at their school is accepted.

In conclusion, it can be stated that although several educational activities and services concerning sexual and reproductive health are found to be present in the Morogoro Region, there are a lot of challenges concerning the execution of those activities and services. Although some NGOs have ‘peer participatory friendly approaches’, which give NGO employees the opportunity to sit together and help students to establish health clubs, compose songs, prepare games, festival and other inter-school competitions, in general the school-based extracurricular activities like Fema clubs and discussions were found to be more participatory in nature than interventions organised by NGOs (Rutagumirwa & Kamuzora, 2006). The difficulties that NGOs face in making pupils participate in the organisational process of activities include a lack of funding, poor school administration, conservatism among school administrations to allow open discussion and pupils’ involvement on sexuality issues, conflicting priorities among schools and NGOs, and tight school time tables (Rutagumirwa & Kamuzora, 2006). The challenges for NGOs found by this research correspond with the difficulties presented by Rutagumirwa and Kamuzora, (2006). Concerning favourable school climates for school-based activities, an employee of Femina revealed that NGO’ are always dependent on the goodwill of the headmaster. ‘If they receive the magazine and think the content is not suitable, they won’t give the magazine to the students’ (Employee Femina, female).
9.9 Concluding remarks

In summary, the vast majority of schoolgirls, parents and teachers have positive attitudes concerning school-based sex education. It is interesting to notice that although all teachers that were interviewed reported to teach sex education, still a large proportion of girls said never to have received any sex education at school. Most actors agreed with the initiation of sex education in standard 4 or 5 of primary schools, however when to start sex education depends on the content. Concerning the content more controversies were found, for example about the provision of information about contraceptives. In line with Mkumbo (2009) the results of this research show that current sex education delivery particularly focuses on knowledge and little attention is paid to other aspects of sex education, attitudes and values, relationships, and life skills. Especially at primary school fewer topics concerning sexual and reproductive health are covered within the curricula, and beside the focus on abstinence, information about protective measures is not provided before form 3 in secondary school. Besides the content curricula, both the quantity and quality of sex education delivery vary strongly among teachers. The majority of teachers focus on the norm of abstinence and seem not to reveal much information about other protective means to prevent risky sexual behaviour. In the evaluation of school-based sex education, all girls indicated that what is taught in school, is not enough. Several actors argued that current forms of sex education do not fit in with the specific needs of pupils and many girls revealed to still have unanswered questions. An employee of SNV summarised the current practices of school-based sex education as followed: ‘The content is there, it is well-described, but practically, the delivery is poor’ (Employee SNV, female). The question arises how is it possible to improve current strategies concerning sex education to make them better fit in with the needs of pupils. Based on the stories of actors from Morogoro, the next chapter contains an exploration of possibilities to answer this question.
Chapter 10. Reflecting school-based sex education and exploring possible improvements

10.1 Introduction

In chapter 3 of this research a model is presented to evaluate the effectiveness of school-based sex education. Five critical areas are mentioned that influence the desired effect of sex education, namely: responding to the specific risks and needs, the existence of favourable school climates, competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education, fitting in with local systems and creating local support, and a conducive policy environment. In this chapter the current state of sex education in the Morogoro Region, as perceived by different stakeholders, is reflected on the basis of the five critical areas of the theoretical framework (see figure 10.1). Furthermore, this chapter will answer the last research question: ‘How is it possible to improve sex education in order to prevent school drop-out due to early pregnancy?’ During the interviews and focus group discussion, all actors were stimulated to come up with suggestions to improve the current practice of sex education. Per critical area the challenges and possible improvements concerning those challenges are presented, based on the perceptions of interviewees, the focus group discussion, additional literature and the expertise of the researchers of this report. This chapter has an explorative character, in chapter 11 ‘Conclusion, discussion and recommendations’, the exploration for improvements will be translated into clear recommendations.

Figure 10.1 Critical areas in the implementation of sex education

Five critical areas that might impede the implementation and delivery of evidence-based curricula
10.2 Responding to the specific risks and needs

As demonstrated in chapter 3, it is important that sex education responds to the specific risks and needs of girls concerning early pregnancy. In chapter 7, the causes of pregnancy in the Morogoro Region are described. These factors include a lack of knowledge, traditional and cultural factors, factors concerning the marginalised position of girls, and household and individual factors. On the basis of the risks found in chapter 7, below it will be discussed to what extent the current practices of school-based sex education fit in with the needs of the schoolgirls from Morogoro. Subsequently, solutions will be explored that might adapt current school-based sex education strategies into strategies that fit the particular risks and needs of girls from Morogoro better.

Responding to the lack of knowledge

Concerning the lack of knowledge, chapter 7 revealed that many primary and secondary schoolgirls have a lack of basic knowledge about topics with regard to sexuality, and there are many misconceptions and negative assumptions about condoms. During the interviews and in the questionnaires the vast majority of pupils said they did not receive enough information about sexuality. Furthermore, a substantial proportion of pupils that should receive sex education according to the national guidelines reported to have never received any sex education at all. Other actors, like parents and NGO employees, confirmed the existence of a lack of knowledge among school-going youth and from the findings of this research the conclusion can be drawn that sex education is not yet implemented as good as the government, headmasters and teachers suggest. As shows from the evaluation of the curricula of school-based sex education in paragraph 9.6, the content of sex education, especially at primary school, is very general and not directed to sensitive topics. Furthermore, the description in the syllabi of the nature and the exact amount of sex education are unclear and in practice there is often not enough time and attention paid to the provision of sex education.

To reduce the need for knowledge about sexual and reproductive health, it appears that current strategies of sex education need to be adapted into strategies that provide more and better information. As stated in the theoretical framework of this research, it is assumed that effective forms of sex education need to be based upon local, collaborative development in which the involvement of students is found to be an important factor contributing to the effectiveness of sex education (Schaalma et al., 2004; Hilton 2003, in Mkumbo, 2010). However, despite the fact that pupils in the Morogoro Region pointed out that the current practices of sex education do not meet their needs, during the interviews pupils found it very difficult to report their specific needs and to think of what should be included in sex education in order to make a better fit with their needs. Therefore, in this research, a Fema club meeting is used to let students think about how to improve sex education. The ideas of the students concerning the knowledge that should be provided through sex education are as follows: knowledge should be added on gender issues, relationships, the cons and pros and importance of condoms and the
consequences of early engagement in sex. Also, proper advice should be given on the consequences of
temptations which are found in the local environment and on how girls can resist those temptations.
Mkumbo (2011) studied what Tanzanian young people want to know about sexual health, through
letting them ask questions anonymous. This study revealed that students have interest in other broader
issues regarding their sexuality than what is taught in school. Students asked a wide range of questions
about three major themes, namely facts and information, attitudes and values, and relationships and
skills. 27 percent of the students’ questions centred round topics such as sexual decision-making, 20
percent about sexual pleasure, 14 percent of questions concerned relationships and ten percent of the
students asked about safer sex and condom use. Although students considered HIV/AIDS one of the
important topics of sex education, the study of Mkumbo (2011) represents the need for a broader
content than offered by the current health-oriented curriculum. During the focus group discussion, one
actor stated the importance to teach more extensive knowledge, because the effectiveness of sex
education would increase then. ‘Maybe this is the reason that they become curious, because we go
around so much, but we don’t tell them what is really pertaining to them. We should go straight to them.
We have to teach them information true out’ (Interpreter of this research, male).

Many of the issues mentioned during the Fema Club meeting and in the study of Mkumbo
(2011) are seldom covered in school-based sex education that is provided in the Morogoro Region. In
this research, Mgeta Secondary School came most close to the coverage of the topics, but the other three
schools seemed to cover hardly any of them. The current focus of school-based sex education in
Morogoro Region is mainly on topics concerning HIV/AIDS and biological facts, while according to
Mkumbo (2011), in order to improve the desired effect of sex education, broader knowledge is needed.
It has been demonstrated that besides knowledge essential components for sex education to be effective
are skills, values, and attitudes (Bruess & Greenberg, 2004, in Mkumbo, 2009). As a consequence,
education about a broad range of topics like risk and protective behaviour, social interactions, feelings,
drugs and alcohol, how to handle temptations, perceived norms and self-efficacy and other things that
are relevant in adolescents’ lives should be included in sex education. Apart from facts, it is also
important that pupils learn how to behave in a relationship, what feelings and emotions they may have,
how they can handle their feelings and emotions, how to respect each other and all other things that are
important in social interactions. Concerning these last topics, the provision of life skills is mentioned as
an important solution.

Beside the need for broader and deeper sexual knowledge, actors from Morogoro Region cited
also a need to receive more practical information regarding sexual and reproductive health itself, but
also regarding trustful places where they can get this information and can get access to services. A good
example of a need for more practical information is education about condoms. A matron from Educare
Secondary School stated: ‘There is a need for deeper and better knowledge on how to protect yourself.
It happens that some pupils get information by giving a seminar or something. But unfortunately, for
example they are not able to really demonstrate how to use condoms’ (Matron, female, Educare

Secondary School). Different adolescents from Morogoro Region revealed that they do not know how to use condoms and where to get them, while according to Holmes et al. (2004, in Mkumbo, 2009), demonstrating the proper use of condoms and making them available are essential for successful sex education efforts.

Although girls clearly indicated that wider and more practical knowledge is needed, they were more divided when the topic of condom promotion was brought into discussion. Although most girls mentioned to lack knowledge about contraceptives, it was difficult for them to mention possibilities to fill this knowledge gap. In the Morogoro Region, the discussion about the content regarding education about contraceptives is difficult, because it involves a tension. In line with the prevailing social norm that requires school-going youth to be abstinent, in practice the main focus of school-based sex education in Morogoro Region is on teaching about abstinence. However, despite the social norm of abstinence, in practice a large proportion of students from Morogoro Region is sexually active, while, as a consequence of the social norm, only a few are fully informed about the risks they run and how they can protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (Fugelsang, 1997). It appears that there is a tension between the social norm of abstinence and the daily practices that require information about safe sex practices. The position that sex-education should take in this tension is equivocal. At one side, studies reveal that to reach the desired effect of sex education and to enable adolescents to protect themselves against the negative consequences of sexual behaviour, the content of what is taught should fit in with local systems, while at the other side educating about condoms is found to be essential in the prevention of risky sexual behaviours (Guttmacher et al., 1996, in Mkumbo, 2009).

The question arises: does sex education need to adapt to the social norm of abstinence and only stimulate students to stay abstinent, or does sex education need to respond to the daily practice by providing information about how to practise safe sex? The controversial answers given by various actors to this question contribute to the lack of implementation of sex education in schools (Mkumbo & Ingham, 2010) and in order to better current sex-education strategies into more adequate strategies it might be useful to solve these controversies or at least make them less sharp. Paragraph 10.5, about the critical area 'fitting in with local systems and creating local support', will pursue this matter in greater depth.

Besides the doubts about the provision of information about contraceptives and the question of how to provide such information, another question is, if providing information about contraceptives, when should the provision of information about contraceptives start? Earlier in this report, different studies and actors from Morogoro Region discussed the importance to provide education about contraceptives earlier than it is given at the moment. Also during the focus group discussion, actors agreed that sex education needs to start earlier, preferable from standard 5 in primary school. Current syllabi describe that teachings about contraceptives start from form 3 at secondary school, while several actors reported a need for information about contraceptives at lower levels. 'It is better to start before they become active, otherwise the number of students who are active with ignorance are higher and the
consequences will be big’ (Counsellor, male, Makuyu Primary School). In addition, a student from Mgeta Secondary school told that students from lower forms are not able to participate in the discussions concerning contraceptives during health club meetings. ‘It would be better to begin earlier with teaching about contraceptives in those forms so that the students of form 1 and 2 can participate full during the club meetings’ (Female student 2, Mgeta Secondary School, form 1).

Apart from the question about the specific provision of information about condoms, different actors from Morogoro revealed that generally the content of sex education is too limited at lower levels. Although current guidelines describe the introduction of sex education already in standard 5, analyses of the syllabi as well as interview findings showed that what is given in primary school is very little and very general. The greater part of sex education is included in secondary education, while this is arguably too late because sex education is most effective if it is provided before young people reach puberty (Grunseit et al., 1997, in Mkumbo, 2009). In general pupils go to primary school until age 14, but many pupils are enrolled in primary school at an older age, because they entered school in delay or repeated one or more grades. As a consequence, in Tanzania the majority of pupils reach their puberty during primary education (Omari & Mkumbo, 2006, in Mkumbo, 2009). Although there were no students at primary school who revealed to be sexually active, because of the social norm it is plausible that sexual activity is underreported by the students. According to the estimation of teachers it seems that a significant part of the primary school pupils in Morogoro Region is already sexually active. Because studies revealed sex education to be more effective if it is provided before adolescents initiate sexual activity, school-based sex education in Morogoro Region might be more effective if it would be provided in a more complete version already in primary school. Another argument to provide a great deal of sex education much earlier during primary school is that sex education during secondary school reaches only a small proportion of students, because after primary education less than ten percent of students gets the opportunity to continue to secondary education. The findings of this research showed that among actors, there was a lot of support to provide sex education from standard 4 or 5 at primary level. During the Fema club meeting, students argued that sex education should start earlier at primary school and should be taught more in detail from the beginning. Some students argued that sex education should be provided even from age 7 or 9 but what is taught should be adapted to the age.

Gap between knowledge and behaviour

Beside the lack of knowledge, chapter 7 also revealed a gap between sexual and reproductive health knowledge and the way in which adolescents actually behave. A huge challenge that is mentioned earlier in this research, is that even if pupils have the right knowledge, still a lot of those pupils engage in risky sexual behaviour. According to a student from Mgeta, a cause of the gap between knowledge and behaviour is that pupils do not personalise the consequences. In order to facilitate behaviour change, actors mentioned that the knowledge needs to be more relevant to pupils, and the content of sex education needs to be related to what problems, dilemmas and daily practices pupils face in real life. In
Taking into account social and cultural factors

Beside personal characteristics like neglecting the consequences or the failure to personalise them, the gap between knowledge and behaviour also appears to exist due to several factors outside the individuals of the school going youth. In chapter 7, different social and cultural factors were found to contribute to the problem of early pregnancy in Morogoro Region. Some of those factors are difficult to change through school-based sex education, although the social and cultural context must be taken into account when teaching sex education and what is taught must fit in with the cultural context. Ways in which this is possible are examined in paragraph 10.5, which addresses the critical area about ‘fitting in with local systems and creating local support’.

Next to the factors that cannot easily be influenced by sex education, a cultural factor that can be influenced by sex education is the taboo to talk about sexuality, which contributes to shyness and secrecy among adolescents as regards their sexuality. ‘It is not so easy. Especially within the African culture that is a bit difficult. And since it is not very familiar with the kids, because they need to get exposed from the beginning from home, that they talk about these things. But in fact that it is not taking place. They come here and maybe it is their first exposure’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). Actors from Morogoro Region revealed that the more students are exposed to topics concerning sexuality and are stimulated to discuss about these topics, the easier it will become for students to talk about it openly. ‘We keep on saying: ‘we don’t need to be shy anymore!’ We have to talk about sexual topics openly’ (Employee YCI, male). An employee of GTZ explained how it is possible to
let students get used to talk about sexuality: ‘One of the most important things is that students get the opportunity to speak. In small groups, sharing members, from each group 1 person have to present their points. In this way students get used to present, to talk openly and to ask questions. Boys and girls are mixed together. If people are still shy, that means that they are not exposed enough’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). Ways in which teachers can stimulate students to discuss sexuality openly, will be addressed in paragraph 10.4, ‘competent teachers who feel confident to teach sex education.’

Taking into account the marginalised position of girls and household and individual factors
Besides the influence of social and cultural factors, in chapter 7 the marginalised position of girls also appeared to contribute to the gap between sexual knowledge and behaviour. Regarding the factors that cause the marginalised position of girls, it is important that parents and pupils themselves are educated about the importance of education for girls. Furthermore, girls and boys should be treated equally at school and sex education should include topics like gender equity. ‘Boys have to learn how they can respect girls, how they can pay attention to the feelings and wishes of girls. Boys have to respect women, they have to give women a say. To change their attitude, boys have to be more confident too’ (Employee YCI, male). Actors from Morogoro mentioned that pupils should discuss gender equity, boys have to learn to respect girls and girls have to be more empowered, get more self-esteem and they have to learn how to speak up. The following quotation illustrates that girls have to be very confident to make their own decision and to stress this decision with conviction. ‘The firmness of the decision of the girl depends on the girl herself. Some only say it once, they don’t insist very well and the boy thinks I don’t need to follow that. Some they try, but sometimes it is difficult to convince the boy, so they give up’ (Female student 2, form 4, Mgeta Secondary School). The solution that is often mentioned by different actors to empower girls, is to improve their life skills. Important life skills for girls that are cited are among others, negotiating skills, decision-making skills, critical thinking, how to cope with stress and emotions, creative thinking skills, assertiveness, dealing with peer pressure, problem-solving skills, communication skills and goal setting.

Besides the positive effects in decreasing girls' marginalised position, improving life skills is also reported as an important means to decrease other factors that add to the risks for girls of getting pregnant. For example, different household and individual factors, modern trends like the decrease of social control, a decreasing importance of the extended family, later marriages, more importance to material things, more negative influences through media, modern spare time activities or a lack of spare time activities and changing social norms make Tanzanian girls more vulnerable to engage in unsafe sexual activities. In the present time it becomes more and more important that girls are empowered and have enough life skills to resist the temptations and difficulties in their lives. Although the national guidelines for sex education are named: ‘Guidelines for Implementing HIV/AIDS and Life-Skills Education Programmes in Schools’, in practise the HIV/AIDS education seems better implemented than the life-skill part. This is not surprising, because when the syllabi are analysed, there is no clear
description about which life skills should be learned and how. Actors from Morogoro Region recommended that in school-based sex education much more attention should be paid to learning life skills, the syllabi should formulate clearly which life skills should be practised, and suggestions for exercises and teaching approaches should be given in the teachers manual to make sex education more effective.

In addition to the education in life skills, girls from Morogoro Region also mentioned the importance for girls to be encouraged to set future goals and to be stimulated to achieve those goals. During the interviews, girls from Morogoro Region explained that if girls would have clear future goals, they would be less easily distracted by temptations and the chance would be bigger that they make wise decisions in line with their future goals. During the Fema club meeting, students also mentioned that girls should be taught self-esteem and confidence and they should be stimulated to set future goals in order to succeed and to avoid bad groups or so called ‘groups of prostitutes.’ The provision of sport or other spare time activities was also mentioned by the students as helpful to abstain from sex.

Concluding remarks concerning respond to specific risks and need

To conclude the first critical area, to improve sex education in order to make a better fit with the specific risks and needs of adolescents from Morogoro Region, the knowledge that is provided needs to be wider, deeper, and more practical. Apart from knowledge, school-based sex education is assumed to be more effective if it includes teaching about skills, values, and attitudes, and if it is provided more complete from an earlier age. Furthermore, school-based sex education might be more effective if it addresses gender inequity, girls’ value of their own education and the need to set future goals.

10.3 The existence of favourable school climates

In Tanzanian society hierarchy is important, generally people are obedient to carry out what is prescribed by people with higher in authority. This is true for different levels of authority, for example the national government, regional government, headmasters and the teachers. The guidelines for sex education are not very clear in the exact content and the amount of time that should be taught and the government is not able to make a follow-up of how the guidelines are carried out at all schools. Furthermore, different schools are in a different situation with other means, other teachers, and other local influences that all contribute to large differences between schools in how the national guidelines are carried out. As a consequence, in practice, headmasters and school boards have a lot of freedom to decide how the delivery of sex education looks like and could play a determining role in the effectiveness of sex education at their schools.
Sex education as part of the larger educational system

As stated in chapter 3, school-based sex education is more effective when it is part of the larger education system. It is assumed to be important that the school as a whole carries out the ABC message and school-wide attention should be paid to the topics related to sex education. In this way, pupils will realise that their sexual and reproductive health is a really important topic and also, the more pupils are confronted with activities concerning sexuality, the more normal and easier it will become to talk about these topics. Furthermore, an important measure to improve the implementation of sex education is to strengthen the confidence of the teachers responsible for teaching sex education, that is, among other things, significantly related to positive school policy concerning sex education and priority given to teach sex education at school (Helleve, 2009). For Tanzania in theory, sex education is part of the larger educational system, because it is integrated in the curriculum of science and social studies at primary school, in biology and civics at ordinary secondary school, and general studies and biology at advanced secondary school. However, in practice teachers of the particular subjects were found to be responsible alone for the delivery of sex education in practice.

Providing a safe and stimulating school environment

A favourable school climate is required not only for the delivery of sex education, but also for the position of girls in school and for the possibilities for teenage mothers to return to school. Schools should provide a safe environment that is suitable for pupils to develop themselves. Unfortunately, it happens that teachers make use of their power and force pupils to have sex with them. ‘There are some teachers they teach how to avoid those boys, but they are the ones who sometimes come to you. And if you will refuse to them you will always fail the exams, even if you do good. Then you can go to the administration and they will go to the teacher to tell him what he does is not good. But I think this is not a good way, because if you go and tell he did this and this to a certain student, the teacher will always enter the class and the student will always be there, so will it get better? The teacher will always hate that student’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). This example shows that schools are too tolerant for teachers who force students to have sex. Often students do not even think about refusing or going to the school board because they know that this will cause them more trouble. Because in the Morogoro Region in many schools there is a shortage of teachers, headmasters do not want to fire them. However, the abuse practices are very harmful for the development of adolescents, for the norms and values that adolescents develop, for the safe school climate and for the teacher-student relationship. Instead of abusing girls, teachers should act as role models and pupils should know that such practices are not accepted under any circumstance. Therefore, schools should encourage pupils to report sexual abuse and ensure them that they do not get in trouble after reporting it. Furthermore, schools should take action and assure that teachers who seduce students receive more severe penalties.
Besides the abuse by teachers, an often reported problem, especially when girls have to walk a long distance to school, is that men or boys tempt them to have sex in exchange for money or gifts. ‘If girls are walking to school, they are a target for boys and it is very hard for them to refuse the boys every day, every week, during 4 years’ (Female student 3, form 2 Mgeta Secondary School). Furthermore, sometimes schools are really too far away from girls’ family base, so that they have to rent rooms. Because girls who live independent in such rooms have more freedom and have a more urgent need for money, they are more vulnerable to be tempted by men. Therefore it is favourable if schools are situated close to communities, so as girls do not have to walk a long distance and there is more social control. Also girls should be stimulated to report it when they are bothered by boys or men along the way. Besides situating schools close to communities, in Morogoro Region a good solution for girls who live far away from school is the availability of hostels at the school compound, in which girls can stay during school weeks. Hostels are seen as a good means to reduce the risks that girls face because they face less temptation from outside, there is more social control and a supportive study environment. Girls from Mgeta reported that they liked to stay in the hostel, because it is easier for them to concentrate on their studies and they face less temptations. Furthermore, it is easier to participate in extra-curricular activities like sports or particular clubs.

In creating a safe and stimulating school environment, the availability of a trustful place in school where students can ask their questions concerning sexual and reproductive health is important. Apart from the fact that every school should have a counsellor that assists students, among other things, with problems concerning their sexual and reproductive health, students have often no knowledge of the existence of the counsellor or they think the counsellor deals with other things, like discipline. Frequently, the is not seen as a confidential person where pupils can go with their problems and in practice it will be very rare that pupils ask questions about sensitive topics to the counsellor. In paragraph 10.4, ‘about competent teachers who feel confident to teach sex education’, possibilities to improve the role of counsellors in the provision of sex education is elaborated. Besides counsellors, local actors revealed that it might be helpful if there is at least one female teacher in every school, to whom girls can go to get information about menstruation and other topics that are difficult to discuss with a male teacher. Also it is cited that female teachers can function as a role model for girls.

Beside the availability of trustful places, to create a safe and stimulating school environment, chapter 3 states that schools could set up rules that ensure a safe school and class climate in which students are free to speak openly about sexuality. Rules could protect pupils' rights and privacy, thus promoting to trust the teacher, stimulate open discussion in class and encourage pupils to ask questions. When pupils come up with sensitive questions, it might be helpful if rules have been formulated about the reaction of teachers, counsellors and matrons. For example when pupils will be punished or their parents will be informed after they have revealed to be sexually active, pupils will no longer trust the teacher, counsellor or matron, which discourages open talk and encourages the ‘culture of secrecy’. Also, rules could be formulated against discrimination, gender inequity, peer pressure and stigmatisation.
of pregnant schoolgirls and mothers who return to school. It would be supportive if schools carry out the message that unintended pregnancy is not the girls’ fault, welcome teenage mothers to return to school after having given birth, stress the right to education for every child and support teenage mothers to combine education with caring for their babies (United Nations Tanzania, 2010). Besides a change of negative perceptions towards pregnant schoolgirls, the probability that young mothers return to school might be improved when some practical matters are arranged including baby care, alternative education and more flexible school times (United Nation Tanzania, 2010).

Assuring sufficient provision of sex education
Apart from the responsibility for a favourable school climate, headmasters should feel responsible to assure that pupils receive enough knowledge concerning sex education. Therefore it might be helpful if headmasters support pupils to access comprehensive information and services. ‘After discussing things during lessons, pupils must have the possibility to use information sources to improve their knowledge and to learn further’ (Employee SNV, female). Examples of sources are a health centre or other services that are locally available, a Fema magazine, suitable television and radio programmes like ‘One love’ made by Femina, and the websites of NGOs, like Femina, where they can ask questions about sexuality.

Furthermore, it is important that headmasters support teacher training and the activities carried out by NGOs, such as providing seminars or materials like the Fema magazine, because these activities can well supplement the curriculum-based sex education. However, during the focus group discussion employees from NGOs in the Morogoro Region revealed to face difficulties to carry out their programmes, because they are dependent on the permission and willingness of headmasters. Several headmasters restrict NGO activities, generally due to their fear of encouraging sexual activity among students.

Besides the promotion of activities carried out by NGOs, schools could stimulate teachers to organise extra-curricular activities, like establishing health clubs, and encouraging teachers and students to participate in these activities. However, in the Morogoro Region extra-curricular activities appeared not to be frequently supported, and in this matter, an often heard challenge is a lack of time. The curriculum is too full and because the amount of time that should be spent on sex education is not well described in the curriculum, often not enough attention and time are paid to the topic of sex education. ‘Well, currently with the format we have about the curriculum it may, although the demands are different, they need more. I see, with the current curriculum it may not be allowing, since we have a lot of things’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). According to the research of Renju et al. (2010), 53 percent of teachers thought it would be better to make sex education as a stand-alone examinable subject. However, actors from Morogoro argued that probably a stand-alone subject is not realistic: ‘It could be nice, but in the curriculum included, I don’t think so. They need an individual who can handle those issues. At most schools sex education is taught because it is in the curriculum, but little attention is paid to it. There is already too much in the curriculum to make it a separate subject. If
subjects are not about examinations, they will not pay much attention to it. If schools not perform well, they get problems, so they will pay as much attention as possible to achieve good results on the examinations’ (Employee Femina, female). Beside, an advantage of sex education implemented within the existing subjects as it is now, is that pupils learn about sexuality in different contexts. Different teachers have different backgrounds and approaches. However, if sex education is a stand-alone subject, there should be more time planned for sex education. Actors from Morogoro revealed that the time spent on the delivery of sex education depends on how the government sets the priorities. ‘If the government says that this is important and it should be incorporated and given more time, it is possible. It’s a matter of planning, making choices and implement’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). But besides depending on the government, the extra-curricular activities also depend on the priorities of the school administration, because they decide what activities are organised. An example of extra-curricular activities found at secondary schools in the Morogoro Region is the existence of clubs in which teachers and students discuss certain topics and carry out activities. Examples are discipline clubs, environment clubs, subject clubs and also Fema clubs. Unfortunately, in the Morogoro Region stakeholders mentioned that subject clubs are often seen as more important than Fema clubs and it appeared that in the Morogoro Region there are only a few active Fema clubs or other clubs related to health. School timetables are overloaded and when a Fema club is not given priority, the club meetings and extra-curricular activities that are organised are difficult to fit in the school time table and are taking place after school or in the weekends, when many students and teachers are not present at school. Next to difficulties with time management, the organisation of activities is dependent of the initiative of teachers and students and because participation is on a voluntary basis, different actors revealed that often students and teachers do not want to spend time on that after school. Moreover, it might be helpful if the school board sees the importance of Fema clubs and support the activities and stimulate teachers and students to become active in the organisation and implementation of activities. An example to stimulate this is to reward teachers or students who are very active in the foundation and organisation of activities personally.

Concluding remarks concerning the existence of more favourable school climates.
To conclude the second critical area, to make school climates more favourable for the delivery of sex education, headmasters or school boards need to take responsibility for the delivery of sex education, in order to make sex education a part of the larger educational system in practice. Furthermore it might be supportive if headmasters organise in-school practices that support sex education and provide a safe and stimulating school environment. In such an environment students are stimulated to report sexual abuse inside and outside school, more severe penalties will await teachers that seduce students, and, if possible, hostels are available to provide girls that come from far with a safe environment during school weeks. Directly concerned to sex education, headmasters need to guarantee trustful places where students can go with all their questions, and have to inform students about the independent role of
counsellors concerning the provision of sexual and reproductive health. Moreover, to enable girls to ask all their questions, the availability of at least one female teacher might be helpful. To assure a sufficient provision of sex education, it is desirable if headmasters support students to access comprehensive information and services, welcome NGOs to provide additional seminars and activities, stimulate teachers to organise extra-curricular activities and encourage teachers and students to participate in those activities. Lastly, to assure the sufficient provision of sex education, it is advisable to plan more time for sex education inside and outside the curriculum.

10.4 Competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education

A favourable school climate is a very important factor in the effectiveness of school-based sex education, but still the delivery within the subjects is dependent on the teachers. A striking example in this matter was the headmaster from Educare Secondary School, who was pushing the researchers to speak to all biology teachers, five in total, to convince them of the importance of sex education. When the researchers explained that it was important to do an individual interview he said ‘Ok, maybe we can take an extravert one who is able to speak to the others after you have spoken to him. Some teachers are very introvert and not suitable for that’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School). From the interviews with students it was found that the delivery of sex education in this school differed greatly per class. In spite of the presence of a stimulating headmaster, one student told that her biology teacher did not provide sex education because he felt not comfortable to teach it and he said that the students should learn it from society. When this student was asked if she knew if there were biology teachers present at school who did teach sex education, she answered: ‘Here are some other teachers who are not shy but the programme of our school is that when you are in form 1, the teacher who will teach you biology you get lessons from him until you finish school’ (Female student 3, form 4, Educare Secondary School). It turned out that if students are out of luck with their biology or science teachers, they do not receive sex education at all in their whole school carrier. So even if the headmaster recognises the importance of sex education and there is a favourable school climate, the delivery is still very much dependent on the teacher.

Teachers’ competence and confidence

The delivery of sex education largely depends on teachers’ knowledge, confidence and skills. Furthermore, some teachers are not dedicated to teach sex education because they do not choose to teach it. It is an obligation from the government and when teachers do not see the importance themselves, they will often not be able to teach sex education in a convincing way. Although all the teachers interviewed said they saw the importance of sex education, some teachers, especially at primary school, revealed that they feel not very comfortable to teach it. According to actors from Morogoro Region, as a consequence of teachers' lack of commitment and confidence, some teachers
skip the topics about sexuality and a large proportion of students do not receive any sex education at school. As a solution to the problems concerning the commitment, confidence and competence of teachers, actors from Morogoro Region often mentioned the provision of teacher training. A few teachers who were interviewed already received a training from an NGO and they were very positive about it. All other teachers who never received a training were supportive of the idea to get a training in the future. ‘Teachers, especially for biology, should go for further training so that they are much knowledgeable and they become more and more committed’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School). Besides to improve knowledge and reduce misconceptions among teachers, different stakeholders explained that teacher training can also be effective to change the attitude of teachers. It is important that teachers are convinced that their obligation to teach sex education is essential to ensure the safety of the school-going youth. Through teacher training, teachers might become more dedicated and they may deliver the messages that they teach with more conviction. Furthermore, teacher training can provide teachers with teaching skills and ideas for effective sex education lessons. Teachers can learn how to approach adolescents, how to create a safe and comfortable class atmosphere that stimulates students to talk openly, and learn a variety of effective teaching methods, for example to make lessons more interactive. By following a training, teachers will be getting used to speak about sexuality, and the more they get exposed, the more comfortable they might feel to speak openly about sexuality (Helleve et al., 2009).

When teachers are equipped with the right knowledge and skills and know how to approach adolescents, they will feel more comfortable to teach sex education. This increased comfort is supportive, because confidence to teach sex education was found to be a very important factor concerning effective sex education delivery (Helleve et al., 2009). Findings from Morogoro Region revealed that factors that contribute significantly to reported confidence are experience in teaching, teacher training and the opportunity to discuss the topics with other teachers. According to actors from Morogoro Region, teacher training should include special attention to confidence building and it would be favourable when forums are established where teachers can openly discuss topics that concern sex education. ‘During training I have learned from different facts. The books only give me limited knowledge, but during the seminars I got different ideas from different persons and that gives me the freedom to go out and teach in the right way’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). To reach the most desired effect, actors from Morogoro advised that after a certain time, refreshment trainings should be provided to teachers. Apart from the provision of up-to-date knowledge and new ideas, those trainings can be used to discuss the current ways of teaching and the difficulties the teachers face.

Clear and well-described guidelines and the availability of materials
In addition to teacher training, the quality of sex education and the confidence of the teachers in teaching sex education can be improved by clear and well-described guidelines for teaching sex
education. ‘The better the education is prepared, the better knowledge you can give, so it is good if all teacher know how to teach sex education’ (Biology teacher, male, Mgeta Secondary School). Biological facts are clear and easy to teach, but when it comes to teaching about feelings, relationships, skills, norms and values teachers revealed to find it much more difficult to bring this into practice. It asks a lot of creativity and skills from the teacher to organise these kind of lessons in a good way. Therefore it is important that teachers are provided with ideas how to organise their sex education lessons and how to make them relevant and interactive. In this matter, the descriptions of the syllabi are too vague and lack concrete suggestions for exercises or for how to organise the lessons. For teachers it is much easier when descriptions and ideas are made available about how sex education can look like in practice, about teaching approaches and ways of introducing sensitive topics. To involve students actively and to respond to their needs, in the development process of more clear syllabi students could get an assignment to design their own sex education lessons or to think about how sex education can be improved, what should be included, what teaching methods and exercises should be used, et cetera. Ideas of the students can be presented to the rest of the school and to the teachers. In this way, teachers can adapt optimally to the needs of the pupils. Existing structures like a Fema club might be useful to address the specific needs of students in particular regions, as is done in this research in paragraph 10.2 to find the risks and needs concerning sexuality.

Apart from the unclear syllabi, lack of materials is also mentioned as a challenge in teaching sex education. Appealing materials like books as extra resources, magazines, posters and brochures related to sexuality, and videos for schools with television and electricity, might positively contribute to the teaching quality of sex education. Actors from Morogoro Region also mentioned that videos, pictures or facts about people with AIDS, unsafe abortions or teenage pregnancy might increase awareness of the consequences of unsafe sex. For exercises about feelings and values a biology teacher from Educare Secondary School suggested to use Fema magazines, these magazines can also be a good inspiration to develop new ideas for Fema club activities. When more materials are available, the lessons would be more interesting and easier to teach.

Fitting in with pupils needs and sensitiveness to different levels of experiences, values and sexualities

According to Tawil et al. (1995, in Rutagumirwa & Kamuzora, 2006), a good way to make sure that what is taught fits pupils needs, is to make pupils cooperate in the decision-making and implementation of educational activities. Although the cooperation of pupils might contribute to the effectiveness, in the practice of Morogoro Region this turned out to be difficult. The curricula of school-based sex education are already designed by the government and pupils are not involved in the implementation process. However, when it comes to the delivery of sex education, it will also be more effective when pupils are actively participating (Rutagumirwa & Kamuzora, 2006) and in this matter there are possibilities in Morogoro Region. Sex education lessons could be made interactive with exercises and discussions in small groups, presentations, role play, and quizzes. Theatre and singing are traditional ways of learning
in the Morogoro Region and generally students like to participate in this. Therefore it might be effective if theatre and singing are encouraged and developed more as effective learning tools. The research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) showed that role plays were more effective in teaching sex education than just copying sentences from the blackboard. Teachers should be encouraged to move out of the rigid confines of the book, to be more creative, and to relate topics to the lives of the students as much as possible. When pupils are actively participating they will internalise the knowledge (Rutagumirwa & Kamuzora, 2006) and this might contribute to personalising the information that they learned. Unfortunately, the majority of Tanzanian teachers use an authoritative teaching style and this results in passive students who are mere viewers and do not contribute to the lesson to a large extent. Another difficulty in the realisation of interactive lessons and also in creating a confidential atmosphere are the high numbers of pupils per classroom. ‘When there are hundred students in class, where are you going to? In order to be known by a teacher you have to be naughty or bright. If you are in between you get lost, but that doesn’t mean that you don’t have questions about problems regarding whatever’ (Employee Femina, female).

To create a safe and promoting class environment, there should be rules that ensure confidentiality, eliminate stigmatisation and promote gender equity. Pupils should be stimulated to talk openly. The more open and comfortable teachers are in talking about sensitive topics, the easier it will become for students to ask questions. Furthermore, when pupils are stimulated to participate actively, they practise discussing topics like sexuality, and the more they get exposed and talk about it, the more their shyness will decrease. An example is Mgeta Secondary School. In this school sex education is clearly seen as important and students, especially those who were a member of the Fema club, were more exposed to topics related to sexuality. In this school, students were very comfortable and more open to talk compared to girls from the other schools. The girls from Mgeta Secondary School did not hesitate to stress their point of view and also after completing the questionnaire, interesting questions were asked by the students.

As illustrated by quotations in chapter 9.5 it is difficult for Tanzanians to talk about sexuality in their own language. For this reason, it is recommended to provide sex education lessons, also in secondary schools, in Swahili. In this way, students get used to talk in their own language about sexuality. ‘It is good to speak in Swahili. Sexual activities of pupils are mostly not related to persons who speak English, so they need to know how to negotiate in their own language. I think sex education on primary schools and in secondary schools have to be in Kiswahili. It is because all posters and that kind of stuff are in Kiswahili. If the sex topics on school are in Kiswahili as well, it is easier to understand the messages on the street and compare them with the messages in school’ (Employee SNV, female).

Some actors argued that girls and boys should be separated during sex education. ‘The girls should be separated from the boys to learn the things that belong to the girls and the boys should learn what belong to the boys’ (Mother 1, Yowe). Other actors support that boys and girls should be together
during sex education. ‘I think it is better when they stay together, because then the lessons are more fun, they laugh because of the other side, there is a kind of contribution of the different sexes, the lessons are more lively when they are together’ (Science teacher, male, Makuyu Primary School). Another actor said that boys and girls had to be separated depending on the topic that is taught and the local culture. ‘According to my experiences, it depends on the culture. In the lake zone the tribe who lives there are the Sukumas and they have very serious gender issues in that culture, in that tribe. It is something like a taboo, there are some things a women cannot discuss with men, like issues of menstruation, it’s a taboo. So for example when the education is about menstruation it should be a woman teaching those girls and boys and girls have to be separated. But it is necessary that men know about the menstrual cycle too, for example because of natural family planning, so they have to be taught separately. General behaviour and protection can be taught mixed’ (Employee SNV, female). Although prudence is required for the local culture and taboos in sex education delivery, finally most actors revealed that girls and boys should be together during sex education as much as possible. Besides the practical execution, another advantage of mixed sex education is that girls and boys learn more about each other, which promotes reciprocal respect and the way they learn is more comparable with real life. In this way adolescents learn to speak about sex related topics with the opposite sex, among other things this will help girls when they have to negotiate about sex with boys.

Good practices
Besides practices that clearly require improvement, this research found also examples of good practices of a sex education. ‘My lessons consist of three parts. First the students start by themselves in groups to brainstorm and talk about what they know about a certain topic, what things are important and what topics are around the topic of the lesson. If a group is finished they come to me and I give them feedback on what they have discussed. The second part consists of presentations. And here are different cultural aspects involved, like role plays, dancing and other ways. The last part is the part in which I directly teach the proper knowledge’ (Biology teacher 1, male, Mgeta Secondary School). This teacher received a training to teach sex education and he said that he learned a lot from the training and tries to put as much as possible in practice. Unfortunately, the impression from different interviews is that this teacher is an exception. Another good example of a participatory approach are the Fema clubs or health clubs. Often pupils actively participate in the organisation, execution and promotion of the activities. At Mgeta Secondary School an active Fema club was present and students were clearly more free to talk about sexuality. Because in Tanzania there are Fema clubs at several schools, these clubs can play an important role in the improvement of sex education. Students can be stimulated to think about ways to promote awareness of the importance of sex education and to improve the current state of sex education. Furthermore, they can carry out activities for a broader audience on school than for club member only and they can function as role model for their peers in open discussion about sexuality. However, as discussed before, if Fema clubs are present at schools, the clubs are not always active. A condition for
activating those Fema clubs is that the teachers organise extra-curricular activities and stimulate students to take part in them.

Limitations of sex education delivered by teachers

Even if there is a good class atmosphere, the teacher is comfortable to speak about sexuality and the teacher encourages pupils to participate actively and ask questions, it will still be difficult for some students to speak about sexuality with their teacher. For girls it is sometimes difficult to ask sensitive questions to a male teacher and different stakeholders also mentioned that often the relationship between teachers and students is not good. During the focus group discussion one actor mentioned: ‘You know, the problem is more like, the way teachers deal with teaching the kids and are related to the kids, it’s completely different from like other countries. Teachers in Tanzanian are not under the kids, they have to be superior to the kids and stuff like that. So at one hand, they may teach sex education and on another hand they are the supervisor, they are the boss. So how do they take class if it becomes this way, that they come to class and they change themselves to become polite, that would not work that way. If they want like teaching sexuality education, they have to be like friendly to the kids, so that the kids feel free to ask questions and come to see them and stuff like that. But teachers are not in that position. For the kids it’s like, now teachers are like a lion and the next day they are like a sheep, that doesn’t work that way’ (Employee YCI 2, male).

According to World Health Organisation (1997, in Plummer, et al., 2006) the problematic relationship between teachers and students is one of the greatest barriers in the delivery of effective sex education. In Tanzania, the common teaching culture is characterised by recitation and corporal punishment. This teaching culture contradicts with the requirements for trust building and participatory teaching methods. Because teachers are also the ones who give punishments, their position as providers of sex education is somehow ambivalent. It is very difficult for teachers to assure confidence and stimulate students to express their questions, worries and problems when teachers are also the persons that punish those students. This especially holds true when students know that the question or problem that they struggle with will be condemned by teachers because it is in contradiction with what they preach, for example about abstinence. A student from Educare Secondary School told that students are send away from school when a teacher discovers that someone has a boyfriend or girlfriend. Students are afraid that teachers will ask questions about the reason why they come up with particular questions and do not dare to ask their question concerning sexuality to their teachers. During the focus group discussion one teacher cited: ‘But students of some kind they don’t want to talk to teachers, not because they are girls, I mean women, or men, but because they are afraid that after talking it will have consequences. So, who have to teach in terms of sexuality, it is a question of, I think of educating teachers about relationship with the students and providing them with the knowledge of sexuality. When they are in a good relationship with the students, it is possible to teach about sexuality education’ (Chemistry teacher, Kilakala Secondary School). However this teacher revealed that with the provision of a teacher training, teachers might be able to teach sex education, another member of the focus group discussion disagreed with this statement. An employee from YC
revealed: ‘I think that they should bring people from outside, not the teachers, because we know the relation between teachers and students is not appropriate. (.) If NGOs are present they are better and teachers are less effective’ (Employee YCI 2, male). After consideration the perceptions of different actors, the importance might be assumed that, in addition to teachers responsible for teaching sex education, at every school or at least close to the school, there must be at least one independent person available, ideally a female, to whom students can talk openly and get information and advice without being punished or condemned. This can be a counsellor or a matron, but as discussed in the former paragraph according to the current practices in Morogoro Region, counsellors and matrons do not serve as an independent person with a neutral attitude to whom students come with their problems about sexuality. In order to make them serve as an independent person, it is advisable to change their task description and to propagate them as such. It might be helpful if students, but also other teachers, are informed about the function and importance of counsellors or matrons. Furthermore, it will be desirable if those counsellors and matrons receive a training including information about sexuality and counselling skills. If a counsellor is well trained, then he or she can also educate or advise teachers. Beside the availability of trustful adults apart from teachers, it might be helpful if students get the opportunity to speak to each other about sexuality, preferable when no teachers are around. ‘We have realised that teachers alone cannot help a lot the students. The language they speak may be different from the students. Maybe it can be much easier to learn from the fellow students than from the teachers’ (Headmaster, male, Educare Secondary School. A research from Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) indicates that peer educators are able to gain confidence of fellow pupils and promote openness, which cannot be achieved to that extent by a teacher. “I can't say those words or ask those questions in front of a teacher, it'd be too embarrassing!” explained one student in Mnazi Mmoja school. This research shows that 77 percent of peer educators would rather talk to their friends about love and sex than with their parents, brothers or sisters. Furthermore, 56 percent of the students preferred their friends as a source of information about condoms. Peer education has been shown to be effective in promoting healthy sexual behaviour as well as increasing knowledge, attitudes, and skills with regard to sexual health among young people (Cupples, 2010). Besides good educators that are able to respond to questions of students, peer educators can be good facilitators, can serve as role models, and can be effective in mediating between the worlds of youth and adults (Baxen, 2009). Therefore, peer educators can be a good supplement to sex education provided by a teacher, on condition that they are knowledgeable and well-trained. Also the effectiveness of peer educators depends on the priorities of schools. ‘Peer education usually only started once and forgotten, people forget it. In this way it will not be effective. In order to make them effective it has to be ongoing, so people come together and getting further guidance on how they handle whatever they have’ (Matron, female, Educare Secondary School). There has to be a follow-up to inject new ideas, to make sure that the peer educators teach in the right way and to discuss the challenges that peer educators face. Besides the right knowledge and skills, peer educators should be equipped with supporting materials and a source of information that they can
consult when they are not able to answer certain questions. Peer educators should also be stimulated to be creative and draw in experiences and examples from the live of the students. To ensure the effectiveness of peer educators, schools should propagate the peer educators and give them opportunities to educate their fellow students, preferable during school time but in the absence of teachers.

Concluding remarks concerning competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education

In conclusion of the third critical area, to improve the knowledge, skills and attitude of teachers responsible for the delivery of sex education, actors from Morogoro cited the importance of teacher training. Furthermore to improve the delivery of sex education, clear and well-described guidelines for teaching sex education are recommended, including descriptions and ideas about how sex education can look like in practice, about teaching approaches and ways of introducing sensitive topics. In addition to clear and well-described guidelines, lessons would be more interesting if appealing teaching materials are available. Furthermore, sex education lessons could be made more effective if interactive teaching approaches are applied in which students participate actively. To stimulate students to participate, teachers need to create a safe and promoting class environment, for example by stating rules that ensure confidentiality, eliminate stigmatisation and promote gender equity. Moreover, instead of English, it is recommended to provide sex education in Swahili, because students feel more free to talk in this language due to their difficulties in speaking English. Although it might be difficult to address certain topics with boys and girls together, most actors recommended that boys and girls should be together during sex education as much as possible, because it promotes reciprocal respect and the communication between both in real life. Lastly, because the ambivalent position of teachers as providers of sex education, students need other sources regarding sexual and reproductive health information and services, apart from their teachers. It might be supportive if at least one individual person is available at school and if students get the opportunity to speak to each other, preferably when no teachers are around. In this matter, peer educators could to be effective.

10.5 Fitting in with local systems and creating local support

In the theoretical framework of this report, it is assumed that evidence-based strategies for school-based sex education lose effectiveness if they do not fit in with local systems and do not create at least a minimal extent of local support. On the other hand, school-based sex education is expected to be more effective if it explores social and cultural factors that affect adolescents sexual behaviour (Wamoyi, Mshana, Doyle, & Ross, n.d.; FHI, 2006) and if it is supplemented with adolescent-friendly resources within the community that support what is taught in school (Pathfinder, 2005, in Mkumbo, 2010). In line with these assumptions, actors from Morogoro revealed that protective teachings at school might have more effect on adolescents’ behaviour if they are also provided at home. ‘It is not the work of one
side, it is the work of both school and home to sit with the young people and to clarify to them what is bad in this bad behaviour. So that they understand the behaviour itself and that they understand the consequences of it’ (Mother 1, Mgeta Secondary School). In addition an employee of SNV said: ‘The things children learn in school do also have to be in homes. There have to be a connection or linkage between the teachings at school and the teachings at home’ (Employee SNV, female). The same employee of SNV revealed that parents are important role models for their children and because of that, concerning sexual protective behaviour, ‘the behaviour of adults have to be an example for their children’ (Employee SNV, female). In line with these quotations from the NGO employee, in the questionnaire students mentioned their parents to have most influence on their behaviour, followed by their community and family members. The same is found in a research from Remes et al. (2010), that revealed parents and other community members have strong influence on their children’s sexual behaviour. Furthermore, based on discussions with actors from Lindi (like Morogoro, a coastal region), Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) argued that community-based programmes are essential to supplement school-based programmes, because not any school-based programme is able to counter adverse power from home and society.

Lack of sex education within communities

Although most actors from Morogoro cited to be aware of the important role of parents and the importance of a connection between what is taught at school and what is taught at home, they also cited that in practice this connection is often not a matter of fact. Parents, students, as well as other actors revealed that regarding sexual and reproductive health not much is provided at home and if parents provide information about sexuality, their messages often contradict the health messages given at school. ‘Pupils challenge a lot of difficulties and there are misconceptions about some issues, for example condoms. There are contradiction between religion, home and school. It takes a long time for those with misconceptions to learn the right knowledge’ (Biology teacher 3, male, Mgeta Secondary School). As stated in chapter 7, due to several cultural and religious beliefs, many inhabitants from Morogoro Region have negative beliefs about condoms, do not believe in their protective qualities and do not allow adolescents to use them. ‘There are restrictions in the religion basis about family planning and condom use. For example the Roman Catholics and Moslems don’t agree with contraceptives’ (Manager Umati, female). At home many parents preach the norm of abstinence, do not reveal anything about contraceptives, and some of them do not appreciate such information being provided in school, because they are afraid that the provision of information about contraceptives incites their children to initiate sexual activity. As a consequence, teachers face difficulties to teach important knowledge about protective behaviours and are hindered by restrictions. ‘Demonstrations are not allowed in schools, because of conflicts with the parents. I know some stories about parent who pulled their children out of school because of sex education’ (Employee SNV, female). Moreover, due to the contradictions, the knowledge teachers provide during sex education produces less positive behavioural change as it might
do without the contradictions. ‘When a girl comes back at home from school, the parents still have the same traditions and ideas against what their children have learnt in school. Then we have the same dilemma’ (Biology teacher 2, male, Mgeta Secondary School).

Besides the restrictions about condoms, teachers also face difficulties in teaching sex education due to other cultural-related factors. In line with Oluga, Kiragu, Mohamed and Walli (2010), actors from Morogoro mentioned difficulties due to pervasive taboos to talk openly about sexuality, in particular between different generations and sexes. At home, parents do not feel comfortable by breaking the taboo to talk about sexual issues with their children and as a consequence adolescents are not used to discuss sexual issues at home, and as a result, neither they are at school. An employee of Femina explained that it is very difficult to apply participatory teaching approaches, which are perceived as most effective in sex education, if children have been brought up with a feeling that talking about sex is a taboo. Concerning talking about sexuality openly, different actors mentioned the importance to expose children to open discussions about sexuality from a young age.

It might be clear that the contradictions between school and home, the resistance against condoms and the taboo to talk openly about sexual issues have strong influence on the delivery of sex education and its effectiveness in facilitating behavioural change. It is found that parents and other community members form an important factor in the effectiveness of school-based sex education and their attitudes and behaviour are decisive for the sexual behaviours of their children. However, although nearly all parents interviewed in this research confessed their children’s need for knowledge and skills to protect themselves from risky sexual behaviour and their parental responsibility in the provision of sex education, only a few parents revealed to teach sex education at home and even fewer revealed to teach about safe sex practices. The gap between parents’ awareness of the needs of their children and their responsibility at one side, and the rare provision of sex education at home at the others side, can be explained by a number of cultural factors.

Apart from the restrictions from cultural and religious norms, parents and other actors revealed a lack of knowledge among many parents regarding sexual and reproductive health. ‘First of all, the parents should be educated. (...) parents should be able to understand their children and all the stages that their child has to go through and all the complications that might arise in each stage and should work on it’ (Biology teacher 2, male, Mgeta Secondary School). In addition a student revealed: ‘Sex education also has to be given at home, parents have to get the knowledge about what is in the body and how things work, they have to know how they can get pregnant, et cetera’ (Female student 1, form 3, Mgeta Secondary School). Because many health risks of present days were not there in the past and parents have not been educated about sexuality by their own parents, they find themselves with a lack of knowledge about current risks and adequate preventing measures, and with a lack of skills and means to provide such knowledge. These findings from Morogoro Region agree with findings of Remes et al. (2010) who mentioned that many parents want to teach sex education but are hindered to do so, because
they feel a lack of knowledge, skills and communication channels and are hindered by several religious and traditional convictions.

To provide parents with the required knowledge and skills, actors from Morogoro Region cited the importance of community-based programmes. ‘There have to be programmes outside school. Programmes that involve villagers, for those who are not enrolled in school and those who are at home after school’ (Biology teacher 2, male, Mgeta Secondary School). Different other researches revealed the need for community-based strategies to improve parental communication about sexuality. In a study from Kawai et al. (2008), parents revealed a need for skills and guidance that enable them to talk openly and frankly with their children about sexual issues. In the same research it is mentioned that current teachings by parents are limited to indefinite warnings and do not include discussions about risky and protective behaviour. In addition, Namisi et al. (2009) found the communication between parents and children often asymmetric, in which parents use authoritarian styles to teach their children about sexuality and children are often passive and just listening. Apart from the communication styles, Remes et al. (2010) recommend the improvement of parental control as an important part of community-based programmes. According to Remes et al. (2010), parents should be aware of their responsibility to monitor their children’s behaviour and the importance of supervising them while they are going to risky places, like video shows, Sunday markets, or local bars. These places have also been mentioned by girls from Morogoro as risky places concerning early pregnancy. Different actors from Morogoro Region mentioned the decrease of social control by parents and other community members. They gave the following explanation: as a result of the decrease in extended families, the behaviour of adolescents is less controlled by other adults apart from their parents. Moreover, many parents are not present during daytime, because they are busy earning money. However, besides the decreased availability of adults to control adolescents’ behaviour, parents also confessed that they experience difficulties in controlling their children’s behaviour. Due to modern ideas about autonomy and the improved education possibilities, according to a father from Makuyu, ‘Children are free, they don’t pay attention to the wishes of their parents, it is the other way around. In that cases it is hard to control the behaviour of the child’ (Father 1, Makuyu Primary School). While at the same time, according to a father from Yowe, ‘Parents realise that they are poor and ignorant now. Because they feel they can’t control their lives as the people like before, they lose power and a sense of confidence. They don’t have enough knowledge to provide their children enough, so the children have to search for their needs somewhere else and they have to trust other people than their parents to get the right knowledge. But for example when they read something, there is no appropriate person who can tell if the information is correct or not. The lack of knowledge of parents gives children more freedom’ (Father 1, Yowe Primary School).

To summarise the findings above, actors from Morogoro cited hindering effects on school-based sex education as a result of contradictions and resistance, the pervasive taboo to talk about sexuality, parents’ lack of knowledge and skills, and the decreased social control. As a possibility to reduce the hindering effects from the community, actors from Morogoro mentioned community-based programmes
as a solution. These programmes should address possibilities to decrease the contradictions between what is taught at school and what is taught at home and should equip parents with knowledge and skills that make them more comfortable to teach protective knowledge at home. Many parents and other community members do not dare to talk about sexuality with their children, due to their fear to encourage them to initiate sexual activity. Therefore, an important first message should be to convince community members that research shows that adolescents in Tanzania and all over the world delay their sexual debut if they have complete knowledge about sexual risky and protective behaviour (UNESCO, 2009). Also much attentions should be paid towards parents’ difficulties to talk about sexuality due to the traditional taboo to talk about sexuality between different generations. Furthermore, different actors from Morogoro marked the importance to address parents’ value of education, especially concerning their daughters. Because some parents give marriage priority over education, their daughters face a bigger risk of getting pregnant before completing their education. In order to improve the effectiveness of sex education, several actors mentioned the importance of enhancing the value of education within communities to make more parents supporting their girls to finish their school and avoid pregnancy and marriage while they are enrolled in school.

Community-based sex education through existing social structures

Research findings revealed that community-based programmes are most effective if they make use of existing social structures, instead of developing new structures (Allen, n.d.) Therefore, in addition to the question what should be taught during community-based programmes, actors from Morogoro were asked about possibilities to provide community-based programmes through existing structures.

Several actors revealed the power of religious and community leaders and recommended to teach them first, so that they can teach the knowledge to other community members ‘The leaders of the communities have to get the knowledge and give that knowledge to the villagers. When a girl comes back at home from school, the parents still have the same traditions and ideas against what their children have learnt in school’ (Biology Teacher 2, male, Mgeta Secondary School). If religious and community leaders are educated about the severe risks that their adolescents face due to unsafe sexual activities, earlier research proved that they might be willing to revise their executive messages and activities in order to better the health of their youth. In the research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007), the Ward counsellor of a village in Lindi first expressed disapproval of school-based sex education because he had not been asked for permission, but he immediately took action when he was told about the risks his youths faced and tried to facilitate school-based sex education. In order to improve forms of sex education within communities, Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) advised to arrange meetings with community leaders, who could in turn organise public meetings for their community members.

Apart from the importance of leaders, actors from Morogoro mentioned the importance of the media in reaching parents and other community members. ‘In trying to change the attitude of parents,
the media is very important. It is everything. Although the effect of the media is less in rural areas, it is there as well. The government has to use magazines, radio and music to realise a change in the attitude towards sexuality. If popular musicians, like Bongo Flavor focus on the current problems, in spite of only singing about relationship and sex in general, it would be very effective’ (Employee YCI, male).

Concerning religious structures, an employee of SNV mentioned the possibility of using Sunday Schools: ‘But if we could have other community programmes to support parents to be able to communicate about sexuality related issues that should be perfect as well. If you go to the church, they are talking to the couples who want to get married, only that. If you’re going to get married they tell how you have to behave and the whole issue of sex around there within marriage. But they have Sunday school programmes with the young kids, they can say something during the religious teachings as well’ (Employee SNV, female).

Many actors mentioned the already existing activities of NGOs concerning community-based sexual and reproductive health, for example peer educating programmes, training community service providers that supply services to their followers in the community, condom demonstrations at places within communities accompanied with drama plays, music and dance performances. A good example of an NGO that can fulfil a role in the implementation of community-based programmes is the NGO Paralegal. This NGO is found in Morogoro Mvomero district and has established different district centres in Mvomero, Ulanga and Morogoro Rural. Local people are trained as paralegals to provide counselling. They address laws and customs that suppress women and children’s rights and they try to create awareness on human and legal rights. Besides counselling, activities are carried out to build awareness through theatre and mass media campaigns. Because the service providers from Paralegal are trained community members, they know the perceptions, misconceptions and reluctance that exist in the community. Therefore providers from Paralegal can help to think about how to adapt the implementation of sex education to the local situation. Also, it is easier for them to bring in new ideas and find an opening for discussion about the received opinion, because they are close to the community (Paralegal, 2010).

HakiElimu is another NGO which might be an important channel in the provision of community-based sex education. HakiElimu aims to ensure that, without discrimination, every Tanzanian is able to enjoy the right to education of a good quality. This vision is in line with the new guidelines that enable girls to return to school after giving birth. According to HakiElimu education should promote a practice of equity, quality, human rights and democracy. Among other things, they strive to realise this by facilitating communities to transform schools and influence policy-making, by stimulating imaginative public dialogue and collaborating with partners to advance common interests and social justice. Local actors are activated to better the current state of education. Citizens are enabled to monitor, document, hold debates, take action, and communicate feedback on policy implementation and its impact at the community level. An example of an activity carried out by HakiElimu are public essay and drawing competitions. The purpose of these competitions is to foster debate and gather public
views. This competition approach has proved to be an effective way to collect public views and generate debate at all levels of society (HakiElimu, 2011). As argued before, the involvement of communities is a very important factor for successful implementation. Therefore, the local structures of active citizens that are activated by both Paralegal and HakiElimu can provide valuable input for the improvement of sex education.

Umati is another NGO that carries out community-based programmes within the Morogoro Region. As part of their community-based programmes, Umati focuses on youth via the establishment of Youth Centres. Besides the provision of information and services a lot of other activities take place in the youth centre, among other things to prevent young people who are seen in the youth centres from being stigmatised. ‘Apart from the clinics, we have youth centres, we have seven in Tanzania and one here in Morogoro, it is in the Misophina area, in town. It is a very huge one and it has been created purposely... it is a place where young people meet and discuss about sexual and reproductive health, there is a provision of education and information on SRH, STI’s screening, AIDS counselling, education and also sports and games. These health centres are meant for young people from 10 years old. (...) Sometimes we are advised to keep things secret, but we are used to tell them all. Some people disregard, because of children’s age. But even clients from 10 years old know about sex, they know what it is. So there is nothing to hide, we have to let things open. Adolescents can go to the health centre for playing games, maybe they go there for books, because it is also used as a library. So people don’t have to know the reason why a adolescent visit our centres’ (Manager Umati, female). In the way it is described by this manager, the Youth Centres of Umati seems to be a good practice because the information delivery is open and stigmatisation is reduced as much as possible. However, the effectiveness will still partly depend on the reputation in the community of such a youth centre. Besides the youth health centres, Umati also executes activities for adolescents in the street to reach out-of-school youth and provide them with sexual and reproductive health services. Because girls from Morogoro mentioned that many schoolgirls have sexual relationships with people outside school, reaching out-of-school youth might be an important extension to school-based sex education in order to prevent early pregnancies.

Although the effects of most activities carried out by NGOs are perceived as effective by actors from Morogoro Region, at the moment they are too rare to produce long-term effects. During the interviews and the focus group discussion, NGOs revealed that if they would receive more money and face fewer restrictions from the local government and schoolmasters, they would be able to organise activities more structurally, also at places that are left out now, like primary schools and rural areas. ‘We face difficulties due to financial limits. It is just a small component that we can support. If we could have enough resources, we could expand our activities’ (Manager Umati, female).

Besides the activation of community leaders, religious structures, media and NGOs, actors from Morogoro revealed the possible positive use of video shows to show movies about the sexual risks and the importance of condoms if people are not succeeding in staying abstinent. In the study of Remes et al.
(2010), five out of six video operators were found to be ready to distribute health promotion videos at video screenings if they would be compensated for possible loss of income.

Furthermore, while many actors thought that initiation teaching had negative effects on girls' sexual and reproductive health, one actor saw positive possibilities to use initiation as a channel to teach girls about sexuality. ‘Initiation teachings are important, because during initiation all the attention of the girls are on one person. We have to use that moment to make the girl aware of all dangers that can accompany her sexual health. Nowadays the situation is different. There are several diseases which you can get easily. During initiation the girl gets a lot of attention and girls are curious to learn. It is important to use this opportunity to teach the girls how to prevent themselves and not going out in dangers’ (Father 2, Yowe Primary School). Instead of government’s current strategy to reduce and discourage the initiation culture and oppose against cultural structures, it might be more effective to search for possibilities to use the initiation culture positively to better the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents and involve community members responsible for initiation teachings in that search. The main thing should be that both the government and communities aim at the same objective, namely bettering the health of their youth and preparing them for a responsible adult life. When this objective is shared, possibilities might be found to implement protective messages during initiation. It is assumed that most community members charged with initiation teaching do not have accurate knowledge about current health risks and protective measures. Therefore, educating those community members should be an important component of the processes in which initiation cultures are involved as platforms to teach adolescents within the community about their sexual and reproductive health.

To conclude the possibilities to provide community-based sex education through existing structures in the Morogoro Region, it should be added that apart from pointing out particular channels, most actors marked the importance of structural messages that come from different places. As cited by a parent from Mgeta: ‘I don’t believe one way is enough. An effective way might be public meetings, however even how much you speak, by itself it is not enough. But if there are different ways, like how people represent from different places or from workshops, or from whatever ways that are multiple ways, that will be enough to make people reconsider what they are hearing’ (Father 1, Mgeta Secondary School). In line with this father, actors in the research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007) revealed that education concerning sexuality would be more effective if the same information is spread from different directions.

Fitting in with local systems

Although the improvement of sex education at home might contribute to the effectiveness of school-based sex education, improved conformity between school and home regarding sex education cannot be realised by communities’ efforts only. Besides the lack of competence and confidence to teach sex education at home, the gap between what is taught at home and school is also caused by communities’ negative perceptions of school-based sex education and resistance to its content. As discussed above,
creating supportive structures within the community might improve the effectiveness of school-based sex education by opening up channels to talk about sexual and reproductive health within traditional and religious platforms. However, to reduce the resistance of community, strategies at school have to fit better in with traditional and religious norms and values.

In creating support from communities, a first important step is to inform traditional and religious structures about the objectives of sex education and its content, and secondly to focus on common goals instead of contradicting perceptions. According to the members of the focus group discussion, it should be very clear that the goal of sex education at school is not to teach how to practise sex, but to make sure that adolescents do not engage in risky sexual behaviour. Furthermore, it might be helpful to make local actors fully aware of the contradictions between abstinence and the daily practices and in particular about the adverse effects of this contradiction on the sexual and reproductive health of their youth. In Tanzania, people become more and more aware of the dangers of HIV/AIDS and from this research it becomes evident that most people value preventive means against HIV/AIDS as very important. Compared to the objective of preventing early pregnancy, the focus on the objective of HIV/AIDS prevention might be more effective in finding acceptance for school-based sex education among community members.

In addition to the focus on sharing objectives, to reduce further resistance communities have to be informed about the content of sex education. To inform parents and other actors about the content of school-based sex education, public meetings could be organised at school on a regular basis. During the focus group discussion, two teachers from different schools revealed that once per year or per term, public meetings are already organised in their schools. Probably topics related to sex education can easily be included in the content of these already existing meetings. Moreover, homework assignments could be used to involve students in informing their parents about what they learn during sex education. Both the public meetings at school and the homework assignments might also be effective in educating the community about sexual and reproductive health. In the research of Forrester Kibuga and Kainamula (2007), community members from Lindi mentioned positive influences of a school-based peer education programme on their community. Peer educators and other students appeared to educate not only their fellows at school, but members from their wider community as well.

Apart from acquainting the community with the objective and content of school-based sex education, it might be useful to activate local actors to contribute to the development of sex education strategies that meet the need for information about safe sex practices, but do not contravene the norm of abstinence counterproductively. Besides the earlier-mentioned school meetings, existing associations could be used to organise discussion meetings that stimulate teachers, students and community members to think about the contradiction between the norm of abstinence and daily practices and to come up with solutions. During this research, interviews with NGOs and the focus group discussion already resulted in some first steps in this matter. Despite the norm of abstinence still prevailing, several actors also argued to believe that when adolescents are fully informed about all the risks, consequences, and
possible ways to protect themselves, they can make better decisions regarding sexuality. Furthermore, different actors argued that teaching about contraceptives does not have to contradict with teaching about abstinence, if the existing ‘ABC-rule’ is explained in a particular way. Actors revealed that the contradiction depends on how the message is balanced, and even when teaching about contraceptives, abstinence can still be promoted. The norm of abstinence while in school is deeply rooted in Tanzanian culture and cannot be denied. As a consequence, sex education might need to focus on abstinence first to fit in with social norms. However, after the A of Abstinence, ‘Be faithful’ and ‘use Condoms’ can be mentioned as well for the ones who do not succeed in staying abstinent. ‘Abstinence is the standard which means not to engage in risky behaviour. Moral teaching is to abstain, but in reality everybody knows that they are sexually active. If the key message is abstain, the policy would not be ABC. For me it is not 1, then 2 and then 3, it is the whole ABC. If you can manage to abstain it is better, but if you really have the desire you need to be faithful and use a condom. It is not a conflicting message. The decision to use a condom comes to persons themselves. It is very important to assure that they have all the information that they want to have and that they know under these circumstances if I do this, it has those consequences and if I decide to do this it has those consequences’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project).

Beside the adaption of school-based sex education to important cultural and religious norms and values, school-based sex education might be more effective if it focuses on a wider socio-economic context to explore the difficulties that hamper adolescents to implement messages in real life. Part of the content of sex education in class might be to address the cultural and religious norms that hinder adolescents to practise protective sexual behaviours. Participatory teaching methods should be used to implement discussions and assignments in which students are stimulated to address the determining factors in their own behaviour, the discrepancy between their knowledge and actual behaviour, and ways to bridge the gap between both. Examples of useful methods and materials in this matter have been discussed earlier, in paragraph 10.2 about ‘responding to the specific risks and needs’.

Concluding remarks concerning fitting in with local systems and creating local support
In this fourth critical area it is stated that the contradictions between school and home, the resistance from communities against information about safe sex practices, and the taboo to talk openly about sexual issues hinder school-based sex education in its effectiveness. To reduce the hindering effects from communities, actors from Morogoro recommended community-based programmes and mentioned the possibility to use the following existing structures: the power of religious and community leaders, media, religious Sunday Schools, the already existing activities from NGOs like Paralegal and HakiElimu, and the use of video shows and initiation culture in a positive way. In addition to these existing structures, actors from Morogoro mentioned the importance of consistent structural messages that are propagated at different places. In addition to the provision of community-based programmes to create supportive structures within communities, school-based strategies have to make a better fit with
traditional and religious norms and values in order to reduce resistance from communities. A lot of the resistance from the communities is due to the fact that people are not informed about the content of what is taught to their youth. Therefore, an important first step in this matter is to inform traditional and religious systems about the objectives and the content of school-based sex education. Furthermore, local actors could be activated to contribute to the development and implementation of sex education strategies that meet the need for information about safe sex practices, but do not contravene the norm of abstinence counterproductively. When those actors get the opportunity to express their ideas, worries and perceptions, they feel their values acknowledged and some of the resistance will already disappear. When discussions with different stakeholders are carried out, it might be helpful if not the differences in perception are accentuated, but the common goal, namely to ensure that the youth is protected from risky behaviour. In this way the content of sex education can be adapted to the local perceptions and practices and the negative and contradicting perceptions about sex education might decrease as well. Beside the activation of local actors, school-based sex education has to focus on a wider socio-economic context to explore the difficulties that hamper adolescents to implement sexual and reproductive health messages in real life.

10.6 A conducive policy environment

The fifth and last critical area that is assumed to influence the effectiveness of sex education is the existence of a conducive policy environment that fosters the implementation of effective curricula instead of impeding them. To address to what extent the Tanzanian policy environment is conducive to sex education, in chapter 8, by means of document analyses, an overview is presented of the most important policies and guidelines related to early pregnancy, education and sexual and reproductive health. Furthermore, to supplement the document analyses, actors from Morogoro were asked about their perceptions of the policy environment as regards sex education. Although in chapter 8 the Tanzanian legal framework was found to be generally supportive of the health and development of adolescents, in practice the legal framework proved to be less conducive. Actors from Morogoro mentioned difficulties with the provision of sex education due to contradictions in law and cited that the promising plans and guidelines concerning sex education are not always well implemented.

Contradictions in law

The first contradiction in law mentioned by actors from Morogoro concerns the sexual minority of girls. As described in chapter 8, the Tanzanian government designed two acts, the *Penal Code 1972* and the *Provision Act 1998*, which both prohibit sexual intercourse with under-age girls. The contradiction of these acts is twofold. Firstly, the acts contradict each other by stating both a different age of sexual minority. In the *Penal Code* under-age girls are defined as girls below the age of 15, while in the *Provision Act*, under-age girls are defined as girls below the age of 18. Secondly, both acts...
contradict the *Tanzanian Marriage Act 1971*, which allows girls to marry from the age of 15 with the consent of their parents or guardians and even from the age of 14 if the court recognises special circumstances. It appears that different acts contradict each other with respect to girls’ sexual minority and the age at which girls are legally perceived as needing legal protection against sexual intercourse. An employee of the NGO SNV stated about the different interpretations of a child provided by the law: ‘The law should be revised, so that it will be more clear what a child is, is it someone below 14 years of age or someone below 18 years of age, now it isn’t clear’ (Employee SNV, female). This employee of SNV additionally revealed that changing the policy would be very important to changing the prevailing traditional norm that allows girls to marry as soon as they had their menarche. In addition, during the focus group discussion, different actors remarked that the unambiguousness of the Tanzanian legislation about (sexual) minority until the age of 18 would be an important first step towards raising the average age of marriage and in turn decreasing the high frequency of early school-leaving due to early marriage and early pregnancy.

The second contradiction in the Tanzanian legislation concerning sex education regards the promotion of condoms. On the one hand, billboards promoting condom use can be seen everywhere in Morogoro Region, health officials teach people the importance of condoms, and free condoms are provided by government health facilities. However, on the other hand, the local government of Morogoro Region prohibits condom demonstrations at primary schools and the Ministry of Education prohibits the distribution of condoms at schools and among teacher colleges, because this would conflict with moral standards on pre-marital sex. Moreover, if students are caught with condoms in the school environment, they risk suspension or expulsion (Lugalla et.al. 2004). As a consequence of the restrictive policies with respect to the promotion of condom use, several employees of NGOs in the Morogoro Region mentioned difficulties in providing sex education. ‘Nowadays, policies are changing, so it improves. But if we have the permissions by law from local policies, things will be a lot easier for us’ (Employee YCI, male). In addition to this employee of YCI several other employees of NGOs explained that the focus of their programmes is on secondary schools, because of the difficulties they face at primary schools. During the interviews and the focus group discussion, NGOs were all very clear that their activities are limited, among other things, by restrictions from the government and they revealed their sex education activities might be more effective if the government would permit the promotion (and distribution) of condoms at both primary and secondary school.

**Shortcomings in administration and enforcement of laws**

Besides the contradictions in legislation, different actors revealed shortcomings in the administration and enforcement of laws, for example that there is no proper follow-up when someone in the school-going age does not show up at school. ‘If parents aren’t really motivated to send their children to school, those children drop out. But it is also because the village committee, they are responsible for supervising the school and because of that they should meet together to make rules, but they don’t meet
to discuss such things, because they think it’s the responsibility of the teachers. And then the teachers, they don’t make a good follow up about which people are present and which ones are not. All the things together contributes to the problem of absenteeism’ (Head of community, male, Yowe). Another example of poor enforcement of the law often mentioned is the persecution of men and boys who impregnated schoolgirls. ‘When I got pregnant I did not know where the father was, because he just ran away. Me I was a student, so the police could come to take him to the court. Many boys who made a girl pregnant are afraid and go far away’ (Teenage mother 2, SEGA Secondary School). In practise, it is very rare that legal actions are taken against a boy or man who impregnates a schoolgirl and it appears that the law about the persecution of men and boys does not have much effect in deterring them from impregnating schoolgirls. Also the law that punishes parents and men for marrying off a schoolgirl does not have its desired effect because enforcement is very poor.

Affording a conducive policy environment

The contradictions, ambivalence, and vagueness together with the weak enforcement of laws and policies result in the rights of many children and adolescents not being properly protected (Child Development Policy, 1996). To afford a conducive legal environment the Tanzanian government needs to revise some laws and policies to make the rights and protection of girls more unequivocal. To remove restrictions from political contexts, in the theoretical framework, the adoption of an ecological approach is recommended in which individuals from local groups and organisations are used to assist in urging the government to change the policy environment into a more conducive one. A recent example of a supportive policy revision is the design of a policy that enable girls to continue their studies after falling pregnant. This policy is part of a broader guideline named National Reproductive Health Strategy 2010-2015. This strategy aims to strengthen the policy and the legal environment as well as the community environment regarding sexual and reproductive health information, services and life skills for adolescents. It aims to increase adolescents’ access to and use of sexual reproductive health services, and promotes more effective and efficient coordination among various programmes dealing with adolescent-friendly sexual and reproductive health (United Nation Tanzania, 2010).

However, the design of conducive policies and guidelines is not sufficient enough to guarantee a conducive environment in practice. As is shown from the cases of school compulsory and the legal actions against boys that impregnated girls, in addition to the revision of policies and guidelines, the government needs to develop clear regulations that secure the observance of the conducive policies and guidelines in practice and prevent shortcomings in enforcement. But even if such clear regulations are available, it might still be questionable if conducive policies and guidelines produce their desired effect. The enforcement of the law that enables girls to return to school denotes a restricted power of legislation even if it contains clear policies, guidelines and practical regulations that should secure its enforcement. Despite the revision of the policies and guidelines together with the development of clear regulations, in the practice of the Morogoro Region, hardly any improvement has resulted from the legal
possibility for teenage mothers to return to school. An employee of SNV explained the remained forthcoming of teenage mothers returning to school. ‘The law is one thing, but the practical ability to go back to school ... the girl is different, now she has a different status, probably a single mother status, and that is very complicated. In this context, what are the implications?(...) They are going to say: ‘why should I go back to that school if I will be bullied all the time’ (Employee SNV, female). From the enforcement of the policy that enables girls to return to school after their delivery, it appears that the availability of a conducive policy environment does not secure practical abilities for individuals to get their legal rights. In addition, concerning the guidelines that enable the persecution of boys that impregnated girls, actors revealed that the way in which the Tanzanian government implemented policies and guidelines cannot be fully blamed for its failure in practical enforcement. The poor result in actual legal action against boys that impregnated girls is also partly caused by parents of boys and girls making a deal to prevent that the case will be send to court. ‘First I have to come to school, the family of the man who is involved are called as well, but usually they don’t come, so probably I am the only one who is coming. I have to take my girl to home, because she would be expelled from school. The school has to mention the case to the authorities and the parents will be send to the court to answer questions. I will try to prevent that the case will be send to the court’ (Mother, Makuyu). During the focus group discussion an employee of YCI explained why so many parents do not send cases of early pregnancy to court ‘because in our society, it is like we are relating to one another in a very special way, your neighbour is like your brother or like your sister, everybody is very related to each other. So in the case when somebody has impregnated and somebody gets a child, they feel they are really in the same area, so in one way or another they feel the boy and his family like their brothers and sisters, so they cannot take them to the police, because of that relationship, because of that bond. So then people like to come together and talk about it. Because they don’t want the problem to become like too big. It is a social thing, it is not about taking somebody to police, because the boy feels related to them like their own son’ (Employee 2 YCI, male). It appears that the policy that provides the right to take boys and men that impregnated a schoolgirl to court does not work out well, because it does not fit in with the social structures in practice. The same holds true for the guidelines that allow pregnant girls to return to school after their delivery. The conclusion seems to be that complete policies, guidelines and additional regulations can be promising, but the enforcement of legislation is hard to secure, because of the counteracting power of social norms and structures that can contradict the possibilities permitted by conducive legislation. A solution to better secure successful implementation of policies and guidelines might be the adoption of the earlier-mentioned social-ecological approach in which local groups and individuals are involved in the development and implementation of a supportive policy environment (Bartholomew et al, 2001, in Schaalma et al., 2004). If local actors are involved in processes of policy design and activated to promote the enforcement in practice, policies and guidelines might develop that fit in better with social structures, and together with active promotion from local actors, the practical enforcement of a conducive policy environment might be more secure. ‘...interventions are guidelines
from the government, the most effective ones are the once who are decided by the communities’ (Employee GTZ, male, PASHA-project). In the case of the prosecution of boys it might be useful to search together with local actors for other legal possibilities to deter men and boys from impregnating schoolgirls that fit in better with social structures.

Although the government guidelines must fit in as much as possible with the general norms and values in society, sometimes a change of attitude is needed. This is also the case with the implementation of the guideline that allows girls to return to school after giving birth. Nowadays pregnancy is still seen as the girls’ fault and expulsion from school is perceived as a just punishment for this misbehaviour. With the new guideline the government spreads a message, and such a guideline can be a good first step towards a change of the received opinion. Tanzanians tend to follow what is prescribed by the government and the introduction of sex education in school is a good example of this. Because providing sex education to unmarried people is a very controversial issue, there was a lot of resistance to introduce sex education in schools. The NGOs made a major pioneering contribution to this field (Fuglesang, 1997) and the government started campaigns about HIV/AIDS. By the time sex education was introduced in the school curricula in 2004, the awareness of HIV/AIDS had grown a lot and because government policies are an important means to generate approval, most schools supported the introduction of sex education. Most of the resistance evolved and still evolves from people who are uninformed about the content of what is taught and fear that sex education will encourage adolescents to have sex.

It appears that just introducing a guideline is not enough to change attitudes, because prevailing counteracting perceptions can hinder a successful implementation. Although the process of changing general accepted attitudes takes a long time, involvement, discussion and exchanging ideas with local people can nevertheless speed up this process. To implement guidelines successfully, the government might choose an ecological approach in which different stakeholders from communities and from schools are involved in the design and implementation of guidelines. Afterwards, the same stakeholders can play an important role in facilitating the execution of the guidelines. It would be supportive if the government works together with schools and community members to develop additional guidelines and regulations about how policies can be implemented in local practice and what is needed for implementation. Concerning the policy that allows teenage mothers to return to school, a need that is already indicated in this research is the elimination of stigmatisation of pregnant schoolgirls. Local actors might dissuade the discrimination from class mates, teachers, parents and local leaders that teenage mothers face. With the rising number of pregnant schoolgirls being expelled, the support for continuation is already growing. More and more actors started to think about the consequences of the practice to expel pregnant girls from school. Next to the efforts of local actors, promoting the rights of girls to return to school through media and teaching materials, and the stimulation of conducive school environments would be beneficial. The government should promote messages that state the right to education no matter the situation. It is desirable that messages are taken to society and schools that
pregnancy is not the girls' fault and schools should promote that teenage mothers return to school after giving birth. Furthermore, the promotion of a positive attitude towards pregnant schoolgirls and teenage mothers who return to school is important to ensure that more teenage mothers return to school in practice.

**Guidelines regarding school-based sex education**

In the discussion of the four preceding critical areas, several difficulties are stated that require revision of national and regional policy. Below, these difficulties will be discussed and possibilities are stated to revise particular policies and guidelines in order to improve the effectiveness of sex education.

Concerning school-based sex education, a lot of the resistance from the communities derives from the fact that people are not informed about the content of what is taught to their youth and the idea that those teachings will promote promiscuity. Therefore it is important that the government is more transparent about the content and stresses that it has been proved that effective sex education including education about contraceptives, contrary to parents’ worries, may result in actually increasing the age of sexual initiation. Furthermore, to create support in the community and reduce the conflicting messages that adolescents receive at different places, it will be helpful when actors in the community are involved in the development and implementation process of guidelines. Guidelines should be made about how to create a favourable school climate and about which school rules and facilities can contribute to a supportive environment for sex education but also for pregnant girls and mothers who return to school. Furthermore, the issue of teaching about condoms is one that polarises teachers. Some feel that it is necessary to save lives, while others think that it will encourage children to try out sex. Given that everyone admits that some students will have sex whatever they are taught, a consistent strategy on teaching condoms should be worked out. Ideally, the government should propagate the message that teaching abstinence and teaching about condoms do not contradict. Furthermore, changing the policies that hinder the availability and demonstration of condoms in schools can improve a more effective sex education delivery (Holmes et.al., 2004, Guttmacher et al, 1996 in Mkumbo 2009). Moreover it would be helpful when the content of the sex education topics in the syllabi is described in more detail and would cover broader topics to teach, including exercises and teaching approaches for teaching about relationships and skills, norms and attitudes. Especially for primary school the syllabi should be less general and include a broader and more complete range of topics that should be taught. It would be good to introduce some topics of sex education in a general way already in standard four, in order to make the students familiar with it. The guidelines should be more extensive and in detail, for example including an explanation which life skills exactly should be taught and descriptions of ways how to do this effectively. Furthermore, it might contribute to an effective delivery of sex education when exercises are provided and if possible additional teaching materials are made available at schools. The more concrete the sex education lessons are described in the syllabi, the easier it will be for teachers to teach it in an effective way. Since the amount of time that should be spent on sex education is not well described in
the syllabi, often not enough attention is paid to it. During the interviews and during the focus group discussion, actors revealed that teachers lack time to teach the whole content of the syllabus and are likely to skip sex education first. Therefore, the government should give a higher priority to sex education and ensure that enough time is reserved in the curriculum for an effective delivery. Furthermore, the government should stress the importance of sex education and promote schools and teachers to make sex education a responsibility of the whole school and actively stimulate extra-curricular activities. This could be done by rewarding schools which have active Fema clubs or schools where a lot of activities concerning sex education are organised. Furthermore, government could prescribe that every school should reserve a certain amount of time for activities outside the curriculum concerning sex education. In this way, Fema club meetings or activities not always have to take place after school or even in the weekends which promotes a higher attendance. Also, the definition and aim of a counsellor should be made clear for all schools. Lastly, to improve the delivery of sex education in practice, the government could provide teacher training especially focused on the delivery of sex education, as part of the general teacher training or separately as an additional training only for the teachers responsible for the delivery of sex education.

During the focus group some stakeholders argued that teachers are not good facilitators for sex education and that more independent people from outside the school, like NGOs, should be used to deliver sex education. However, NGOs often do not get permission from the school boards to carry out their activities. One member of the focus group cited: ‘I think the government should contribute to this, because I know a lot of people would like to give sex education, especially the non-governmental organisations. Sometimes they go to the school, but they do not get the permission for that. But if the government cooperates with the people in the NGOs, they can say like this year this school gets this organisation and another year you get that people, so that school gave the permission and the students can hear different perspectives’ (Employee YCI 2, male). Based on the perception of this employee of YCI and other actors as well, it is assumed that the Tanzanian government needs to stimulate schools to welcome NGOs to deliver sex education programmes that supplement the inter-curricular activities provided by schools. Government policy is a powerful tool for approval. If something is part of the government policy, headmasters and school boards easily concede with its introduction. Also when headmasters and school boards know that an NGO programme is in line with the guidelines of the government, they are generally glad to carry out such a programme (Forrester Kibuga & Kainamula, 2007).

Concluding remarks concerning the existence of a conducive policy environment

To conclude this last critical area, contradictions in law together with shortcomings in the administration and enforcement of laws impede school-based sex education in its effectiveness and have a negative influence on the early school-leaving problem and its pregnancy-related cases. To afford a more conducive environment the Tanzanian government needs to revise some laws and policies, and in
addition needs to develop clear regulations that secure the observance of the conducive policies and guidelines in practice. However, it was found that even the observance of complete policies and guidelines with additional regulations is hard to secure because of counteracting powers of social norms and structures that might contradict the possibilities permitted by conducive legislation. Therefore the adoption of a social-ecological approach is recommended in which local groups and individuals are involved in the development and implementation of a supportive policy environment. Afterwards the same stakeholders will be able to fulfil an important role in the execution of the policies.

In the discussion of the four other critical areas, several solutions required revisions of national and regional policies. Concerning the content of sex education the government could be more transparent and involve actors from communities; should work out a consistent strategy on teaching condoms; might elaborate the content of sex education topics in the syllabi into broader topics including exercises and teaching approaches for teaching about norms, attitudes, skills and relationships; could provide teacher training concerning the delivery of sex education; should give a higher priority to sex education and ensure that enough time is reserved for an effective delivery; might stress the importance of sex education as part of the whole school and stimulate extra-curricular activities; should clearly define the position of a counsellor in school; and should stimulate schools to welcome NGO to deliver additional ways of sex education.

10.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, after reflecting the difficulties that hinder school-based sex education in its effectiveness, an extensive exploration is done to find out possible solutions to improve school-based sex education as a preventive method against pregnancy-related school drop-out. Before the exploration of solutions will translated into clear recommendations in the next concluding chapter, some considerations with regard to this chapter will be formulated first.

The improvement of sex education at different levels
The solutions to improve school-based sex education that have been discussed in this chapter require the efforts of several actors. The different actors can be divided into four levels that all concern different areas in the improvement of sex education. The first level is formed by the Tanzanian national government, which is responsible for the design of effective curricula and a conducive policy environment that both enable and stimulate the implementation of school-based sex education. The second level is formed by teachers responsible for the delivery of sex education. Apart from the design and implementation of effective curricula, the effects of sex education largely depends on the quality of delivery, and consequently on the characteristics of individual teachers. The third level is formed by the recipients of sex education and their direct environment. Whether or not school-based sex education finally produces its desired effects strongly depends on individual characteristics of the school-going
youth and the internal and external determinants of their behaviour. Social and cultural norms that prevail within communities were found to be one of the most important external determinants of adolescents' behaviour and therefore essential to involve in the improvement of sex education. The last and fourth level is formed by the regional government, religious and community leaders, and school heads. All these actors possess authoritative powers that influence the way nationally designed curricula are implemented, delivered and received in practice. If the actors from the fourth level take a leading position in the provision of a conducive and safe environment that supports the provision of sexual and reproductive health information and services, the effectiveness of school-based sex education is assumed to increase significantly.

By dividing actors into four levels it is stressed that the improvement of sex education depends on different groups of actors that all have a different but strong influence on the final effectiveness of sex education. In order to improve the effectiveness of sex education it might be clear that the involvement of actors at all four levels and all actors making an all-out effort are essential.

Consideration of the model and its critical areas.

In the reflection of school-based sex education in this chapter, the five critical areas from the model in chapter 3 turned out to be useful to discuss the difficulties that hinder the effectiveness of school-based sex education and subsequently, to explore possibilities to improve current strategies towards more effective ones. The rough and tentative outline of the model in chapter 3 brought a useful basic structure, which left enough space to give voice to local actors from Morogoro Region and their specific circumstances. In this preceding chapter, the model with the five critical areas is just used as a starting point, to pin down the perceptions of local actors and the experiences of the researchers of this report concerning the considerations about and improvement of sex education.

The conscious choice for a rough and tentative model which necessarily needs to be field-tested and completed with findings from local contexts, resulted from the assumption that in many cultures, both modern en pre-modern, the traditional content and methods of sex education are strongly embedded in a historical context and depend on particular sexual taboos, religious beliefs, and cultural attitudes and explanations about sexuality. As a result, adolescents’ sexual behaviour is found to be strongly regulated by their local environment, and consequently, the content of evidence-based sex education needs to harmonise with local systems in order to be effective (Schaalma et al., 2004). For this reason it is advisable to reflect on sex education strategies by means of participatory research approaches that develop theories on the basis of local perceptions in local contexts.

In line with the significant influence of traditional and religious standards, in this chapter - in the reflection of current strategies and the exploration of how to improve them - the involvement of local actors and the application of an ecological model recurred several times in different critical areas. Although the theoretical framework of this report just discusses the adoption of an ecological approach in one direction – namely to stimulate authorities like community and religious leaders, and regional and
national governments to be more conducive – after this chapter it is evident that the ecological approach can be used in two opposite, but reinforcing directions. Apart from the involvement of local actors to stimulate authorities to create more conducive environments for the development and implementation of school-based sex education, it turned out that in the opposite direction, authorities also could involve local actors to create a conducive environment in practice, after the design of conducive policies and guidelines. Because in the Morogoro Region, authorities on one side and prevailing norms on the other side have both a major influence on the behaviour of individuals, the use of the ecological model in both directions turns out to be essential for the improvement of school-based sex education.

Because the possible difficulties and solutions in the model with the five critical areas are formulated in a global and tentative way, the model is presumably applicable in a broader context than the Morogoro Region, at least in Tanzania and comparable countries in sub-Saharan African, but possibly even outside Africa as well. However, in the application of the model in other contexts, it is important that strict attention is paid to the tentativeness of the model and the necessity to field-test the presumptions in particular local contexts and fill in the model in more detail on the basis of participatory research that focuses on the voices of local actors.
Chapter 11. Conclusion, discussion, and recommendations

11.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to acquire an understanding of the problem of early school-leaving due to pregnancy in Morogoro Region and subsequently to explore possibilities to improve school-based sex education as a preventive method to decrease the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs. To answer these purposes two main research questions were formulated:

1. What is the current situation regarding early pregnancy and what are the specific risks and needs of girls concerning early pregnancy in Morogoro?

2. What is the current situation regarding school-based sex education as perceived by local actors and how is it possible to improve sex education towards a more effective intervention to prevent early school-leaving due to early pregnancy?

To answer these two main questions, on the basis of the research findings that are discussed in the preceding chapters, in this chapter answers will be formulated to the sub questions that are presented in chapter 1.

11.2 Current situation and risks and needs concerning early pregnancy

Which part does pregnancy-related early school-leaving currently take in the total problem of early school-leaving in Tanzania and the Morogoro Region at present?

In chapter 6, based on the BEST (MOEVT, 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b) the enrolment rates and total drop-out rates were presented first to situate the problem of pregnancy-related school drop-out in the entire early school-leaving problem. Both the enrolment rates of primary and secondary school increased dramatically during past years, although secondary school enrolment is still lagging far behind primary school enrolment. The enrolment of boys and girls is almost equal during primary education, but during secondary education it is getting more unequal, because more girls drop out along the educational road compared to boys. In 2008, in primary school girls accounted for 48 percent of drop-outs and in secondary school girls accounted for 63 percent of drop-outs. In 2008, after truancy, the second cause of school drop-out among girls was pregnancy. At the national level, 11 percent of drop-out among primary schoolgirls was pregnancy-related, while at secondary school 35 percent of drop-out among girls was pregnancy-related. In the Morogoro Region the situation concerning pregnancy was worse compared to the national situation. Among primary schoolgirls in Morogoro Region 21 percent of drop-out was related to pregnancy and among secondary schoolgirls 42 percent was pregnancy-related.
Since 2003, the number of pregnancy-related school drop-out has tripled to a total number of almost 9,000 Tanzanian schoolgirls that leave school too early due to pregnancy each year. Different actors assumed that in fact the numbers of pregnancy are even higher than presented in the BEST and pregnancy is mentioned as the leading cause of school drop-out among girls.

What are the causes of early pregnancy as perceived by local actors from the Morogoro Region?
In chapter 7, a causal model about early pregnancy is used to examine the local causes of early pregnancy among schoolgirls as perceived by actors from Morogoro Region. The four main levels of the model – lack of knowledge, social and cultural factors, the marginalised position of girls, and household and individual factors - and almost all the underlying factors were found to exist in the local problem of early pregnancy in the Morogoro Region. Beside a lack of knowledge, actors from Morogoro stressed that there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour because adolescents still practise risky sexual behaviours, even when they possess knowledge about protective sexual measures. To explain the gap, actors from the Morogoro Region mentioned the inability to personalise the knowledge, but also particular social and cultural factors, the marginalised position of girls, and certain household and individual characteristics which hamper adolescents to behave according to their knowledge and hinder the protective effects of adequate sexual and reproductive health knowledge.

What are the needs of schoolgirls in the prevention of early pregnancy as perceived by local actors?
The actors from Morogoro Region revealed causes of early pregnancy that are related to individual characteristics of girls themselves, but they mentioned many more causes that are related to external factors. As a consequence, girls need to counter the deficiencies regarding their own person, like the need for proper sexual and reproductive health knowledge, and means to promote their own value of education, self-esteem and future goals. However girls have a far greater need for strategies that enable them to cope with the external factors that put them at risk of early pregnancy. Among these external factors, the most important are: the focus on a life as a woman after initiation teachings; the importance to marry instead of continuing education; the custom to receive rewards in exchange for sex and the underlying problems of poverty, materialism, and peer pressure; secrecy around sexuality; permissive norms that incite adolescents to initiate sexual activity; risky places, like video shows and the road from home to school, where men try to tempt or even force girls to have sex; and gender inequity and the consequent difficulties that girls face to stress their own opinion in front of men.

11.3 Current situation and possible improvements concerning school-based sex education

How is sex education included in the curriculum?
In chapter 8, different policies regarding early pregnancy, education and sexual and reproductive health are discussed to contextualise the national policies and guidelines about school-based sex education.
Apart from some hindering policies concerning the expulsion of pregnant girls of school and the early age at which Tanzanian girls are allowed to marry, the Tanzanian national government has developed many policies and guidelines that aim to improve adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health. The implementation of school-based sex education in the curriculum of both primary and secondary school and the promotion of some additional extra-curricular activities were found to be one of the most important means by which the Tanzanian government tries to improve the sexual and reproductive health of Tanzanian youth, and the policies and guidelines concerning sex education seemed to be promising on paper. Although we think that with some revisions the quality of the curricula could be improved further. Especially at primary school few topics concerning sexual and reproductive health are covered within the curricula, and besides the focus on abstinence, information about protective measures is not provided before form 3 in secondary school.

*What are the current practices of sex education as perceived by teachers, students, parents and other important actors from Morogoro Region?*

In chapter 9, the current state of school-based sex education is discussed as perceived by local actors from Morogoro Region. After stating the perceptions, the conclusion could be drawn that the vast majority of pupils, parents and teachers have positive attitudes regarding school-based sex education. Concerning the initiation of sex education, most actors mentioned standard 4 or 5 as an appropriate level to start at, but emphasised the importance to adapt the content to the age of pupils and students. Compared to the initiation, more controversies were found as regards the content, for example about the provision of information about contraceptives.

Current lessons on sex education particularly focus on knowledge and little attention is paid to other aspects of sex education, like attitudes and values, relationships, and life skills. Although all teachers that were interviewed reported to teach sex education, a large proportion of their students revealed never to have received sex education or mentioned a lack of knowledge concerning their sexual and reproductive health. In the evaluation of school-based sex education, all pupils indicated that what is provided, is not enough and a lot of pupils revealed to remain with unanswered questions.

*How could sex education be improved towards more effective forms in the combat against early pregnancy?*

In chapter 10 on the basis of the perceptions of local actors, difficulties in school-based sex education are grouped around five critical areas: responding to the specific risks and needs, favourable school climates, competent teachers who feel competent to teach sex education, fitting in local systems and creating local support, and a conducive policy environment. After discussing the difficulties, possible solutions are explored that might improve the effectiveness of current strategies of school-based sex education. In the following the extensive exploration of possible solutions from chapter 10 is translated into clear recommendations that contain the most important adaptations. Although these adaptations are
assumed to be realisable within the context of Tanzania and in particular the Morogoro Region, it requires several actors to take action to realise a more favourable environment and implement improvements in practice. Therefore the feasibility of the recommendations below depends on the willingness of the national and regional government, local authorities from community and religion, and on the social and material environment of individual schools. The recommendations are arranged in order of importance.

1. The content of sex education needs to include a more extensive package of information. In addition to biological facts, more deep and practical information needs to be provided that covers a broader range of topics. Because a significant proportion of primary school pupils was found to be already sexually active, a complete package of information needs to be given earlier, at least from standard five. To fit in with adolescents needs, the information needs to be concrete and contextualised in order to make adolescents aware of the importance of the health messages for their own lives. Enough time should be reserved in the curriculum for sex education with a broader content and the amount and time to be spent on sex education should be described in the syllabi in more detail.

2. The message concerning the promotion of condom use should be balanced in a way that meets the need for information about safe sex practices, but not contravene the norm of abstinence in a counterproductive extent. In order to reduce resistance from communities and to facilitate condom use among sexually active adolescents, together with local actors from different backgrounds, a good balance of the ABC-message (be Abstinent, Be faithful, and use a Condom) should be found and subsequently it would be helpful if this message is broadcast from different directions (community, religion and school) as much as possible.

3. Concerning the content of sex education, beside knowledge, the inclusion of life skills is essential to enable girls to resist the external factors that put them at risk of getting pregnant. Important life skills are: critical thinking, setting future goals, dealing with relationships, coping with stress and emotions, decision-making skills, communication skills, negotiating skills, assertiveness, problem-solving skills, and dealing with peer pressure. Important topics that should be addressed during the life-skill part of sex education are: gender inequity, the importance of education for future life, and social and cultural determinants that influence sexual behaviour.

4. Comprehensive teaching manuals and appealing material have to be designed to facilitate the delivery of the content. For each level of education a particular teaching manual and material have to be available that equip teachers with clear and concrete descriptions of lessons and teaching approaches, including objectives, the accompanying knowledge, discussion topics and exercises that improve the interaction and personal commitment of students during sex education lessons.
5. Teachers responsible for the delivery of sex education need to receive a training to become competent teachers who feel confident to teach sex education. Apart from knowledge, teachers have to learn how to apply participatory teaching methods; how to deal with emotions and feelings; how to make pupils comfortable to talk, and how to fit in different levels as regards age, gender, experience and cultural background.

6. Because of the ambivalent role of teachers in the provision of sex education, at school, independent and trustful sources need to be present apart from teachers. Counsellors, matrons or patrons might fulfil this task, but only if they really execute their task as independent persons and students are convinced of their independence. Apart from counsellors, it is advised to appoint peer educators to teach their fellows and answer their questions. Also, students should be stimulated to acquire information and services from other trustful places like health centres.

7. Headmasters and school boards notably have to take responsibility for the provision of sex education by facilitating a safe and supportive school environment in which they stress the importance of sex education. This can be reached, among others, by: ensuring enough time for sex education and related activities in the timetable; stating particular ground rules concerning social interactions; distributing posters and other materials that advocate protective behaviours; supporting teachers who have to deliver sex education; promoting extra-curricular activities organised by teachers; and welcome NGOs to deliver additional seminars or campaigns about sexual and reproductive health. To decrease the frequency of sexual abuse headmasters have to spread the message that abuse by teachers is strongly condemned, and teachers who abuse girls should be seriously punished. Furthermore, girls’ safety should be assured when reporting abuse to stimulate girls to report cases of abuse. To tackle the problem of sexual abuse by teachers effectively, the headmasters alone probably do not have enough power. The national and regional governments should create a more favourable climate to punish teachers who abuse girls, by stating a legal framework including clear regulations that secure the observance of the policies and guidelines in practice and prevent shortcomings in enforcement.

8. The implementation of community-based sex education contributes to the effectiveness of school-based sex-education by facilitating sex education at home and improving agreement between messages from school and community. Important topics that have to be included are: the importance and positive effects of sex education; the taboo to talk about sexuality; and the value of education.

9. To enhance a conducive environment for the provision of sex education, an ecological approach is recommended in which actors at different levels are actively involved in realizing a supportive legal and social environment. The first level concerns the design of school-based sex education. At this level, the national government needs to be urged to design more
exhaustive curricula that satisfy the points mentioned above under items one till five, and has
to design a more conducive policy environment that enables and stimulates the
implementation of school-based sex education. The second and third levels encompass the
delivery and receipt of sex education. Among these levels teachers, students and community
members can be involved actively in propagating messages that stimulate a conducive
environment in practice. The fourth level regards local actors that posses authoritative powers
that influence the way nationally designed curricula are implemented, delivered and received
in practice. At this last level regional governments need to be stimulated to allow condom
demonstrations at primary and secondary schools, and regional and community leaders have
to be urged to advocate the use of condoms besides the norm of abstinence.

As is evident from this research, according to different studies sex education can be an effective means
in the prevention of pregnancy-related school drop-out. Prevention of early pregnancy is certainly better
than cure, nevertheless, because there are so many factors that interfere in the effectiveness of sex
education, it is important that the government not only focuses on the prevention of pregnancy but also
decreases the number of drop-outs by ensuring that teenage mothers are able to return to school.
Therefore, in addition to the nine recommendations above, the tenth recommendation of this research is
the establishment of a favourable climate in which young mothers are not stigmatised and (practical)
means are provided to help them to return to school.

11.4 Discussion and recommendations

After answering the main and sub research questions and stating clear recommendation to improve
school-based sex education, in this concluding paragraph the execution and findings of this research will
be reviewed critically. Below, necessary differentiations will be formulated to mark the yields and
difficulties of this research, and suggestions for further research will be given.

Social desirability
The first difficulty that has to be taken in mind when interpreting the findings of this study is the
uncertainty when actors reveal their own truth. From the experience of the researchers the people from
Morogoro often try to pose themselves in a positive way. This may have increased three different forms
of social desirability, namely responses in a way that are expected to be in conformity with the
expectations of the researchers, underreporting of negative practices or reporting more positive practices
than the reality, and socially desirable answers in conformity with the applicable standard. Because of
these forms of social desirability, it has to be taken into account that answers sometimes might seem
more promising than the real practice actually is. For example the teachers who reported in a convincing
way: ‘Yes of course, all students are totally free to ask any question’ (Biology teacher, male, Educare Secondary School).

A first example of social desirability concerns the frequency of pregnancy reported as the main cause of school drop-out. The majority of actors mentioned pregnancy as the leading cause of school drop-out among girls. In this matter it must be taken in mind that the introduction of the aim and content of this study might have influenced answers of interviewees, although the statistics also show that teenage pregnancy is an important cause of school drop-out.

On the contrary practices that are perceived as negative might be underreported in this study, for example ineffective sex education practices or behaviours like sexual activity among school-going youth, because this is perceived as negative according to the Tanzanian standards. The other way round can also be true, that positive (sex education) practices are reported more often than the reality.

A third example of social desirability in this research concerns the answers of schoolgirls that were generally very in conformity with the social norms. During the interviews it became clear that girls are not used to give their own opinion and are often shy to speak openly. This is partly caused by the sensitiveness of the topic and their young age, but also by the Tanzanian culture in which girls are not used to speak out and to stress their point of view. Therefore, part of the schoolgirls’ answers are assumed to be socially desirable and in conformity with the existing norms.

Whereas answers might seem socially desirable and not revealing the real opinions of the schoolgirls, there is also a possibility that the answers do reflect their real perceptions. At school children are taught from the beginning to abstain, therefore it is conceivable that students take over this social norm and internalise it as their own perception. This is in line with the questionnaire that was anonymously and therefore less prone to social desirability, which revealed that 84 percent of primary and secondary schoolgirls agreed that it is bad when students have sex.

Although it was difficult to bring the girls’ own opinions above board, the interviews with schoolgirls gave a good impression of the prevailing norms and values that are present in society and are taught at school, and girls nevertheless revealed very valuable information about their peers and the current practices.

Passive attitude of schoolgirls
From the experiences of the researchers in Tanzania hierarchy seemed to be important in society. Women are in a marginalised position compared to men, and children are clearly subordinate to their parents and teachers. Tanzanians usually were obedient to others in higher authority and do not openly discredit the generally accepted norm. Teaching approaches and social manners between youth and adults are often authoritative and girls are not stimulated to develop their own opinion but rather listen passively or have to copy lines from the blackboard at school. Young girls have a very subordinate position in the society, which makes them passive and therefore they are not used to stress their own
point of view and think about solutions in a creative way. This is true for school-going youth in general, but especially for younger schoolgirls.

Due to the subordinate position and the passive role that girls take together with the taboo to talk about sexuality, in this research girls were shy to talk openly and we had difficulties in examining the needs of girls and exploring the possibilities for improvement. Despite the fact that primary schoolgirls all reported that they wanted to know more about sexuality, they found it difficult to mention what they wanted to know. Although the majority of girls reported to face a lot of temptations, both primary and secondary schoolgirls experienced difficulties in reporting their needs and solutions to help them resist the temptations. From the interviews with the two teenage mothers from SEGA secondary school, it appeared that teenage pregnancy is severely stigmatized. The embarrassment made it difficult for the teenage mothers to talk about the causes of their pregnancies and possibilities that might have prevented their pregnancies.

When needs of schoolgirls concerning sex education are examined in following studies, it might be advisable to ask questions anonymously, for example through a questionnaire. Furthermore, instead of making schoolgirls ask their questions face to face, a more useful method might be to give them an assignment to think about and write down their needs. This is what was done during the Fema club meeting and from that assignment some useful recommendations evolved.

The specific focus of this research
An important theme that has to be taken into account in considering the value of this research, is its single focus on the intervention of school-based sex education. In order to gain enough depth, every research has to define a research subject that deals with a specific area of research. Despite the necessity of this definition, it has the inherent risk of developing a tunnel vision, in which too much attention is paid to the area of research and the broader context is pushed to the back. However strongly sex education is assumed to be effective in preventing early pregnancy and early school-leaving, it should not be forgotten that both the problems of early pregnancy and early school-leaving are complex and are caused by many interacting factors. Early pregnancy is a problem that concerns society as a whole and its decrease requires the elimination of a variety of causes, by different kinds of interventions targeting different groups of people.

Beside the focus on girls, the perceptions of boys concerning early pregnancy and sex education are also important to take into account, because boys play a significant role in the problem of early pregnancy. However, as explained in the methodology, due to limited time and resources no boys were interviewed in this study and the perceptions of boys were examined by questionnaires only. For future research it is recommended to focus more on the attitudes and perceptions of boys and to examine their part in the problem of early pregnancy through interviews. Subsequently solutions might be found that prevent early pregnancy by changing values, attitudes and finally the behaviour of boys.
Besides boys (and girls) inside school, out-of-school youth should be an important target group as well. As is evident from the findings of this research, a substantial number of children leave school before completion and therefore are not targeted by school-based sex education. Moreover several actors mentioned that schoolgirls are not only impregnated by boys inside school, but maybe even more frequently by boys outside school. Furthermore, although girls out of school are not counted among the pregnancy-related school drop-out, these girls still are an important target group of sex education, because girls outside school are assumed to be more at risk of early pregnancy and AIDS and of the harming consequences that result from both.

Furthermore, beside programmes that target out-of-school youth specifically, community-based programs that target the community as a whole are important as well. In this research it is assumed that those programs are most effective if they fit in with local contexts. Therefore, as a supplement to this research, it might be important to examine the existing norms and values in the community more in-depth and to derive more specific recommendations.

**Differentiating the value of the results**

Apart from the specific focuses of the research, this study might have a few shortcomings that should be considered when interpreting the findings of this research. The first consideration might be that the researchers have a completely different cultural background compared to the actors in the area of research. Although this difference in cultural background might have advantages for the results of this research, like openness to new concepts and objectiveness in the interpretation of the findings, some disadvantages have to be taken into account. A lack of knowledge about politics, culture and historic background might have influenced the findings of this research and as a result our interpretation might not do full justice to the actors' stories. To overcome this drawback as much as possible, a focus group discussion and the expertise of a researcher from Tanzania are used to validate the results of this research.

Another consideration of this study is the origin of the findings. The best source to examine the risks and needs of schoolgirls would be through the girls themselves, however the involvement of those girls proved not to be that simple as described before. As a consequence of the difficulties that schoolgirls face in reporting their risks and needs, it has to be taken into account that conclusions in this study are largely drawn upon other actors' perceptions of the risks and needs of schoolgirls. Therefore the recommendations in this chapter are mainly based on the perceptions and ideas of other actors than schoolgirls, such as parents, teachers, headmasters, employees from NGOs and others. Following research should try to find means to enable especially girls to express their own opinions and stimulate them to think about possible solutions that fit in with their own risks and needs.

The exploration about the current state of school-based sex education is only based on the perceptions of different actors. Due to time schedules, unfortunately, the researchers were not able to test the findings by attending sex education lessons and observing the sex education practices
themselves. Although results from other researches were often in line with the results of this study, it would be recommended for following research to attend sex education lessons to examine the practice of school-based sex education in the Morogoro Region. Observations of the real practice of sex education will reveal more valuable information about the good practices and challenges including teaching styles, the contact between boys and girls, the interaction between teachers and students, the questions that are asked during the lessons, the interests of the students, the comfort or discomfort to talk about sexuality that is experienced by teachers and students, and other aspects that attract attention.

Another issue that should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings of this research is the selection of the students and parents by teachers or headmasters. In this, the attempt to make a positive impression might have been of influence as well.

The results of this study show that different actors are generally positive about the idea of school-based sex education. Still, a diversity of challenges from different sides are mentioned which impede school-based sex education to achieve its desired effect. A lot of recommendations are formulated in this chapter to improve the effectiveness of sex education. However, there are always a lot of challenges and hampering factors in executing promising ideas. Moreover, the recommendations are not achievable at every school, because many schools in Tanzania, especially in the rural areas, are very poor and primitive. For schools like Yowe Primary School, where pupils and teachers have such a limited level of education and resources, it is important that basic standards for teaching and information are established first. The implementation and delivery of school-based sex education are highly difficult in those places. This is unfortunate, because especially at schools like Yowe pupils are more vulnerable to engage in risky sexual behaviours and their need for effective strategies of school-based sex education is the most large.

The last shortcoming in this study might be that this research is limited to the Morogoro Region and includes four schools only, and that the extent to which the results can be generalised to the rest of Tanzania and Sub-Sahara Africa is rather indicative than conclusive. As shown from chapter 2 ‘context of early school-leaving due to pregnancy in Tanzania’, many different tribes live in Tanzania with their own habits, norms, values, and beliefs. The differences in lifestyle are influenced among other thing by differences in livelihood between regions, which are often related to geographical variations in the country. For example along the coast and close to lake Victoria fishing is an important livelihood. The life in these areas can differ largely from the life in a rural area where agriculture is the main means of income or from a mining area. The number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs differs per region and probably the risks and needs of girls concerning early pregnancy differ from region to region as well. Further research is recommended to compare the number of pregnancy-related school drop-outs in different regions and the underlying causes of the differences.

In the methodology of this research it was already stated that according to Flick (2007), in each form of research it is possible to end up with outcomes that have importance beyond the particular situation under study. Moreover, the global theoretical models that are used to examine the causes of
early pregnancy in Morogoro Region, to evaluate the current state of school-based sex education, and to come up with recommendations for improvement, appeared to be quite well applicable in the situation of Morogoro Region. It can be concluded that findings from this research possess general varieties that might be valuable in comparable situations as well. However, because of large differences in norms, values, lifestyles, religions, and traditional beliefs and practices, caution is required when generalising the results to other parts of Tanzania or to other sub-Saharan African countries. The context of other (comparable) situations should always be taken into account and an ecological approach is recommended, in which broader socio-economic contexts play a major role.
Literature


APPENDIX 1 - Maps of Africa, Tanzania and Morogoro Region

Appendix 1A: Map of Africa, Tanzania is indicated in green (http://www.bartlacroix.nl).

Appendix 1B: Map of Tanzania, Morogoro Region is indicated in orange (http://www.solarcooking.be/images/maps/morogoro.png&imgrefurl).

Appendix 1C: Map of Morogoro Region, this research is conducted in Morogoro Urban and the Mvomero District (http://www.tanzania.go.tz/regionsf.html).
APPENDIX 2 - Overview of all interviews, observations and visits

1. Policy level

- Health/educational officers (primary and secondary education) and cultural officer Municipal Council
- Educational Officer DED Mvomero
- Employee from Gender Department of Ministry of Education
- Employee of the Ministry of Education from the department of the National Curriculum Development

2. Level of researchers and experts

- Mzumbe University, interview with a researcher that conducted a research about early school leavers in rural, coastal Tanzanian regions.
- Umati (SRH education, information and services), interview with the manager of Umati Morogoro.
- YCI (Youth Challenge International), interviews with two employees.
- GTZ (The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), interview with an employee concerned with the PASHA-project.
- SNV (Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilliger), interview with one employee.
- FEMINA HIP (Education for Young People), interview with one employee.
- Care International, visit and short interviews with several employees.

3. Level where policy is carried out

3.1 Mgeta Secondary School

- Interviewees
  - Headmaster
  - 2 Biology teachers
  - 4 Female students (1 from every standard)
  - 4 Parents: two fathers and two mothers
  - Femaclub meeting, students made assignments and discussion

- Questionnaire
  - 100 students have filled in the questionnaire.

- Description
• Mgeta Secondary School has a very active Fema-club and teachers as well as students were remarkably free to talk about topics concerning early pregnancy and sex education.

3.2 Educare Secondary School

- Interviewees
  • Headmaster
  • Biology teacher
  • 2 Matrons
  • 4 Female students (1 from every standard)
  • FEMA club meeting, students made assignments and discussion

- Questionnaire
  • About 50 students have filled in the questionnaire.

- Description
  • No Parents were interviewed from the Educare Secondary School, because after visiting three schools the researchers already had a sufficient overview of the situation. The last parents who the researchers spoke to, confessed the facts that the researchers already knew from former interviewed parents. So, at Educare Secondary School, the researchers did not expect a lot of new insights from those interviews and chose to interview two matrons instead of parents.

3.3 Makuyu Primary School:

- Interviewees
  - Headmaster
  - Science teacher
  - Counsellor
  - 4 Female students from standard 7
  - 2 Parents: one father and one mother

- Questionnaire
  • About 50 students have filled in the questionnaire.

- Description
  • Due to limited time we could only interview two parents, one male and one female. We decided that it was better to take enough time for every interview to get really detailed and semi-structured information rather than four superficial interviews in the same time.

3.4 Yowe Primary School

- Interviewees
  • Headmaster not available
  • 2 Teachers (they both taught science)
• 4 Parents: two fathers and two mothers
• Head of the community

- Questionnaire
  • About 50 students have filled in the questionnaire, these data were biased by misunderstanding and excluded from analyzes.

- Description
  • Because the experience that Makuyu Primary School girls were very shy, not used to give their opinion, and gave answers that were often the same (they told what they learned, not their real personal opinion), the researchers did not expect the interviews with more primary school students to have additional value and they decided to skip the interviews at Yowe Primary school.

3.5 SEGA Secondary School
- Interviewees
  • 2 Female students (both teenage mothers)

3.6 Additional activities
  • Observation and informal talks during an awareness campaign of YCI at the Educare Secondary School.
  • Observation during a health club meeting organized by YCI at Morogoro Lutheran Junior Secondary School.
  • Preparation and delivering of a lesson for a FEMA club meeting at Mgeta Secondary School.
  • Informal talks with students about the research topic outside the research setting.
APPENDIX 3 - Characteristics of the schoolgirls that are interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mgeta Secondary School</th>
<th>female student 1</th>
<th>female student 2</th>
<th>female student 3</th>
<th>female student 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Form</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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<tr>
<th>Educare Secondary School</th>
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<th>female student 2</th>
<th>female student 3</th>
<th>female student 4</th>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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<td>Catholic</td>
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<tr>
<th>Makuyu Primary School</th>
<th>Schoolgirl 1</th>
<th>schoolgirl 2</th>
<th>schoolgirl 3</th>
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<td>Age</td>
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As explained in the methodology paragraph 4.5, Data collection, Semi-structured interviews, no pupils were interviewed from Yowe Primary School.
APPENDIX 4 - Interview guides

To preserve openness, in this research the interview guides have been used as a starting point, an explicitly nothing more than that, to interview several actors.

Interview Headmaster

Identification
Date of interview: ……………………………………..
Sex Interviewee: ……………………………………….
School: …………………………………………………
Village: …………………………………………………

We are two students from the Mzumbe University and we are doing research to school drop outs. We are especially interested in school drop outs among girls and how to prevent it.

1. Our research is about school drop out among girls, what do you think are the main causes of school drop out among girls?
   - Initiation ceremonies?
   - Early marriages?
   - Early pregnancies?

2. In our research we focus on the prevention of early pregnancies. Is their anything included in the curriculum of this school to prevent early pregnancies? What kind of topics does it include?

3. Are there health clubs in this school?
   - How do they look like? What kind of activities?
   - Is everybody allowed to join the clubs?

4. Is there a counselor in the school to guide pupils if they have problems?
   - What kind of problems?
   - Does the counselor also guide in questions/problems related to sexuality?
   - Has the counselor received any training?

5. Are there programs provided by NGOs in this school?
   - Which NGOs?
   - What kind of programs?
   - Are they still present / for how long have the programs been provided?
   - Are their occasional activities provided by NGOs?

6. Do you think it is good to teach children about sexual and reproductive health?
   - From which age do pupils have to be taught in sexual and reproductive health in your opinion?

7. What do you think is the perception of parents about sex education?

8. Do you think that parents value education as important?

9. Do you think that the current forms of sex education are effective?
   - What are the good practices?
   - Do you have an idea how sex education could be improved?

10. Do you have drop out rates, specified by different causes? Can we make a copy of it?
11. Do you have a description of the subject biology/science on paper? For example in a syllabus. Can we make a copy of it?

12. We would like to interview the counselor and some teachers who teach the subject biology/science in standard six and seven, is that possible? Could you ask the teachers if they are willing to answer our questions?

13. We would like to do a survey among the students/pupils in standard 6 and 7. Is it possible to let them fill in a questionnaire?

14. We would like to interview 4 students from different forms/4 pupils from standard 7, is that possible?

**Interview Student**

Hello,
We are two students from the Mzumbe University and we are doing research about school drop outs at primary and secondary schools. We are especially interested in drop outs among girls due to early pregnancy and how to prevent it.

**Confidentiality consent**
We want to assure you that answers will be kept strictly secret. We will not keep a record of your name. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that you don’t want to answer. Maybe some questions are difficult to answer, but there are no right or wrong answers. Your honest answer will help us most.

Your participation is completely voluntary, but your experience could be very helpful to other adolescents in the country. Maybe it will help the policy makers to design better strategies for eliminating school drop out and improve adolescent status.

We would like to make a voice record of this interview, because then it is easier to working up the notes of the interview. After working up the notes of the interview the record will be deleted completely. This interview is anonymous, you don’t have to mention your name or other names. All your information will be kept strictly secret. We will talk with nobody about the things you tell us. Do you agree if we use the voice recorder?

Do you have any questions so far?
- If no: okay, then we will start the interview. If you have any question during the interview, don’t hesitate to ask them.

**Identification**
Date of interview: ………………………………………
Sex Interviewee: ………………………………………
School: …………………………………………………
Village: …………………………………………………

**Background information**
1. What is your age?
2. In which standard are you?
3. What is your religion?

**Interview Questions**
4. Do you like to go to school?
- Is it important for you to complete primary/secondary education? Why?
- What do you want to do after secondary education?
- In the future, which occupation would you prefer?
- Do you also have some doubts about the yield of education?
- Do you think boys and girls get the same chances to complete education?
- Do you think more girls drop out of school than boys? Why?

5. Do your parents value education as important? Why?
   - If you drop out of school, how would your parents react?

6. What do most girls do after primary education?
   - What can be reasons that girls don’t continue with school? Does it happen often?
   - Do you have an idea how to improve that more girls are continuing education?

7. Do you know girls who dropt out of school?
   - Do you know why some girls dropt out?
   - Do you also know girls who dropt out after getting pregnant?
   - How often does that happen? How many stories do you know?
   - Do you know how this could happen?
   - Do you think these girls knew how to protect themselves from getting pregnant?
   - Do you have an idea how to prevent early pregnancy?
   - Did the parents know that their children were sexually active?
   - How did the parents react?

8. Have you undergone a initiation ceremony?
   - If no, will you undergo a initiation ceremony in the future. Because?
   - If yes, what things have you learnt during initiation? Did you receive information about sexuality? What kind of information?
   - Are there girls who drop out of school after initiation?
   - What are the reasons?
   - Do you have an idea how to prevent them from dropping out?

9. When do you want to get married?
   - When do your parents want you to get married?
   - Do you think it is important to complete education before getting married? Only primary education, or also secondary education, or more
   - Do your parents think it is important to complete education before getting married? Only primary education, or also secondary education, or more

10. Have you ever received sex education at school?
    - From the teacher or from an NGO?
    - At primary/secondary school? Which standard/form?
    - What did you learn during sex education?
    - Did they also tell you how to prevent from getting pregnant? How?
    - Have you received practical information about contraceptives?
    - Do you think it’s good to learn such things? Why?
    - Do you think it’s good to learn such things at school or do you prefer another place to learn it? Why? What other place?
    - Did you like to receive sex education? Why?
    - What do(n’t) you like about it?
    - Are there a lot of people who ask questions about sexuality during sex education?
    - Do you think the others don’t have questions?
    - Do you think they ask their questions to someone else or do you think they keep them for themselves? To whom are they going with their questions?
- How can these pupils be encouraged to ask their questions?

11. Did you also receive information about sexuality from someone outside school?
   - From which persons? (parents / professional health worker / peer educators)
   - Also from the media? Which media?
   - Did everybody tell the same information? Can you mention some differences?
   - Did they tell you about contraceptives? What did they tell you about that?

12. If you have a question or problem about sexuality to which persons can you go? To which persons would you go?
   - Are you comfortable to talk about sexuality with your friends / parents / grandparents / teachers. (Why?)
   - Did you ever ask questions about sexuality to your parents? What kind of questions? How did they respond?
   - Will your parents answer all your questions?
   - Do you think all parents have the right knowledge to answer all questions?
   - Also when you ask things about contraceptives?
   - Do you dare to ask your parents where you can get them?
   - And to someone else?
   - Do adolescents talk a lot with each other about sexual issues?
   - What kind of things do they talk about?
   - If you have a boyfriend would your parents know about it? (Why not?)
   - How would your parents react?
   - And if you know they will forbid you, would you still tell them?
   - If you have a boyfriend would you tell it to your friends?
   - Do you know a professional health worker to which you can go? Are you feel comfortable to go to that professional health worker?

13. Do you like to get more information about sexuality?
   - From who would you prefer to receive information about sexuality? (someone of your own age / parents / other family member / someone in the community/ professionals / teachers)
   - What kind of information do you like to receive?

14. Do you have an idea how sex education in school could be improved?

15. If people have sex, do you think it’s important to use a condom?
   - When people use a condom, is it still possible to get HIV/AIDS or to get pregnant?
   - Do you think most adolescents who have sex are using a condom? Why (not)?
   - If a boy and a girl have sex, who do you think decides to use a condom or not?
   - Do you think that is good?
   - If a girl wants to use a condom, can she ask for it? Do you think most girls dare to ask for it? And what if a boy don’t want to use a condom?
   - How could girls be empowered to make their own decisions?

16. Not everybody uses a condom, can you mention reasons why?
   - Do you think most adolescents know where to get a condom? Do you know where to get a condom?
   - Do you think some adolescents feel shy to ask for a condom? Are you comfortable to do so?
   - Do you think condoms should be available for people from any age?

17. Do you think most adolescents know how to use a condom?
   - Why do you think that?
   - Where did they learn it?
18. Do you know how to use a condom?
   - Where did you learn how to use a condom?
   - Do you think it’s good to learn that at school? Why?
   - If no, where would you like to learn how to use a condom?

19. Do you think there are girls in your class who are practicing sex?
   - Do you know with who they have sex, with people from their own age or with older people as well?
   - From which age do you think pupils are sexually active?
   - Do you think it’s good if they know how to protect themselves?
   - Where do they have to learn that?
   - Do their parents know about that?
   - Why do they keep it quiet for their parents?
   - But if they have questions about sexuality where can they go?

20. Did somebody ever ask you to have sex?
   - Are there girls in your class who have a boyfriend?
   - Do you think those girls have sex with their boyfriends?
   - Do you like to get a boyfriend?
   - Do you think it is possible to have a relationship without having sex?

21. Why do you think most girls have sex?
   - Do these girls talk about that?
   - Are there other reasons why girls have sex?
   - What kind of temptations do girls face?
   - What can girls help to deal with those temptations?

---

**Interview Biology/Science Teacher**

**Identification**

Date of interview: ...........................................

Sex: Interviewee: ...........................................

School: ......................................................

Village: ......................................................

We are two students from the Mzumbe University and we are doing research about school drop outs. We are especially interested in school drop outs among girls and how to prevent it.

1. Our research is about school drop outs among girls, what do you think are the main causes of school drop outs among girls?
   - Is there a difference in the value of education for boy and girls?

2. In our research we focus on the prevention of early pregnancies. Do you have an idea how to prevent early pregnancy?

3. Is sex education included in the subject biology?
   - Do you give your students practical information about contraceptives, for example how to use them and where to get them?
   - From which age do you teach how to use a condom?
   - Do you think some students are already sexually active before form 3?

4. Did you receive any training in teaching sex education?
- By whom was the training provided?
- What are the most important things you learned/ do you want to receive training?
- Do you feel comfortable in teaching sex education?

5. Do you use discussions and role plays during your lessons or do you only provide information?

6. Do students feel free to talk during the lessons? (girls as well?)

7. Do you use certain methods to take away shyness?

8. Do students ask a lot of questions during sex education?
   - What kind of questions do the students ask?

9. How much percent of the pupils do you think is already sexually active?

10. Do you think most adolescent use condoms when they have sex?
    - Do you know why most adolescents don’t use condoms?
    - What do you think about this reason?
    - Do you have an idea how it is possible to change this attitude?

11. Are there any misconceptions about condoms?
    - Are students convinced that condoms protect 100%?

12. Do you think school is an appropriate place to teach sex education?

13. What is the attitude of most parents towards sex education?

14. Do you think that parents have the right information about sexual issues?

15. When students have a question about sexuality do they have persons to ask their question to?

16. Can students also ask questions about sexuality outside the biology lessons?

17. Do you think the students receive enough information or do they need more?

18. Do you think sex education is effective?
    - What are the good practices?
    - Do you have ideas how to improve sex education?

19. Do you have any difficulties in teaching sex education?

20. Do you know what kind of information is taught during initiation?
    - Is there information that is been thought during initiation that contradicts the knowledge that is given during biology?

21. Do you think sex education is important in preventing early pregnancy? Or do you think there are other methods as well?

**Interview counsellor or matron**

**Identification**
Date of interview: .................................
Sex Interviewee: .................................
School: .............................................
We are two students from the Mzumbe University and we are doing research about school drop outs. We are especially interested in school drop outs among girls and how to prevent it.

1. How long do you work here already?
2. What are the main tasks of a counselor

3. Are there pupils who come to you when they have a problem?
   - Which kind of problems?
   - Are there any pupils who come up with problems related to sexuality
   - What kind of problems?
   - Why do you think they come to you to discuss about this?

4. Are there pupils who ask you questions related to sexuality?
   - What kind of questions?

5. Do you use certain methods to take away shyness?
   - Do you have an idea what can help people to encourage to speak openly about sexual topics?

6. Did you receive any training in teaching sex education?
   - What kind of training? What did the training include
   - By whom was de training provided?

7. Do you think adolescents know enough about sexuality?

8. Do you think adolescents like to receive more information about sexuality

---

**Interview Parents**

**Identification**

Sex Interviewee: ……………………………
Village: …………………………………...
Religion: …………………………………
Highest level of education………………...
Occupation:……………………………..

1. How many children do you have?
   - What age do your children have? Boys/girls?

1. Do you think it is important that your children complete primary/secondary education? Why?
   - Both boys and girls?
   - Do you think children have more chances in life when they complete primary/secondary school? Why?
   - Do you also have some doubts about the yield of education?
   - Is there a risk that children drop out of school? What is the biggest contributor to that?

2. Have your child(ren) undergone initiation?/ Will they undergo initiation
   - At what age? Both boys and girls?
   - How long does the initiation take in total?
   - What do girls learn during initiation?
- Do you think initiation is important? Why (not)?
- Do girls learn how to prevent to get pregnant?
- Do you think adolescents are mature enough after initiation to make their own decisions?
- Is it possible for adolescents to ask questions about sexuality during initiation? Will they get all the answers? (Why not?)
- Which person teaches adolescents during initiation?
- Is it a secret what is taught during initiation?
- Is it possible to ask any question to the grandparents after completing initiation?

3. Are there girls who get married soon after initiation?
- What do you think about that?

4. When do you think a girl is mature enough to get married?

5. Do you think some adolescents are already sexually active while they are in school?
- Also in primary schools?
- Is it a secret for parents if their children have a relationship

8. Do you know stories about girls who got pregnant during school going?

9. If your daughter gets pregnant (while she is in school) how would you react?
- What implications would this have?
- Do you think it is okay if your daughter drops out after initiation to marry?
- Does you have to take all the responsibility for the child?

10. Do you think adolescents must know how to protect themselves from getting pregnant/ getting HIV/AIDS?
- Do you think it is good to encourage adolescents to use contraceptives when they have sex?
- Do you think it is good if adolescents know how to protect themselves before they get sexually active?

11. Have your children ever received sex education?
- Where?
- From whom?
- What did they learn?

12. Do you think it is good if adolescents learn about sexuality at school?
- From what age/standard?
- Do you think it’s good if adolescents get information how to practice safe sex?

13. Can you talk about sexual issues with your children?
- Why (not)?
- What do you tell them?
- Do you feel comfortable to talk about sexuality with them?

14. Do you think your children will tell you when they have a boyfriend/girlfriend?

15. Do you think your children are sexually active?

16. Do you think adolescents should have someone were they can go for adequate help/information about sexuality? To whom can they go?

17. If your daughter has a question about sexuality, for example about her body changes. To who should she go?
- Where can she get the right information?
If she will ask you something about sexuality, how would you react?
Are you adequate in providing all the needed information about sexuality to your children

18. What does influence the behavior of adolescents?

19. Do you think adolescents face a lot of temptations?
   - What kind of temptations?
   - Does it contribute to school drop out?

20. Do you think adolescents have more freedom nowadays
   - Less social control on adolescents behaviors?
   - Chance bigger that they engage in sexual activities?

21. Are girls and boys allowed to be friends without having sex?
   - Do you think adolescents can have a loving relationship without having sex?

22. Do you think some girls are forced to have sex?
   - What are the reasons?
APPENDIX 5 - Characteristics of the participants that filled in the questionnaire

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APPENDIX 6 - Questionnaire

The questionnaire is translated into Kiswahili before it was distributed to the pupils and students that participate in this research.

Questionnaire

Hello,
We are two students from the Mzumbe University and we are doing research about school drop outs at primary and secondary schools. We are especially interested in drop outs among girls due to early pregnancy and how to prevent it.

Confidentiality consent
We want to assure you that answers will be kept strictly secret. We will not keep a record of your name. You have the right to skip any questions that you don’t want to answer. Maybe some questions are difficult to answer, but there are no right or wrong answers. Your honest answer will help us most.

Your participation is completely voluntary, but your experience could be very helpful to other adolescents in the country. Maybe it will help the policy makers to design better strategies for eliminating school drop out and improve adolescent status.

Background information
1. How old are you?
   ○ I am ……. years old.

2. What is your sex?
   ○ Boy
3. In which standard are you?
   - Standard 6
   - Standard 7

4. What is your religion?
   - Catholic
   - Protestant
   - Moslem
   - Other: …………………….

5. Have you ever received sex education?
   - Yes, at school
   - Yes, at home
   - Yes, during initiation ceremony
   - Yes, at an other place: …………………….
   - No

6. From which persons have you received information about sexuality?
   - Teacher
   - Mother
   - Father
   - Grand mother
   - Grandfather
   - Professional health worker (NGO)
   - Peer educator
   - Friend
   - Boyfriend / girlfriend
   - Media (television, radio, etc.)
   - Church
   - Professional health worker (NGO)
   - Someone else: …………………….
   - School counselor
   - Nobody

7. Have you undergone a initiation ceremony?
   - Yes, when I was …. years old.
   - No

8. How many of your classmates do you think are already sexually active?
   - 1-5 classmates
   - 5-10 classmates
   - 10-20 classmates
   - More than 20 classmates

9. Are you already sexually active?
   - Yes
   - No

10. Can a girl get pregnant, when she has sex for the first time?
    - Yes, it is possible
    - Yes, but there is just a little chance
    - No, it is impossible

11. Write down the methods that you know to prevent HIV/AIDS or becoming pregnant:
    …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

12. Do you know where to get contraceptives?
13. Do you know how to use a condom?
   - Yes
   - No

14. Did you ever use a condom?
   - Yes, always
   - Yes, sometimes
   - Yes, just one time
   - No

15. Do you think it is good to use a condom?
   - Yes,
     because:........................................................................................................
     ........................................................................................
     ........................................................................................................
     ........................................................................................
   - No,
     because:........................................................................................................
     ........................................................................................
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     ........................................................................................

16. Does your religion allow you to use a condom?
   - Yes
   - No

17. When you want to ask something about sexuality, to which person would you go?
   - Grandparents
   - Mother
   - Father
   - Teacher
   - Peers
   - Other:
   - Health worker
   - Other:       ......
   - Nobody

18. What /who influences your behavior?
   - Parents
   - Family members
   - Community
   - Television/Radio
   - Boyfriend/girlfriend
   - Friends
   - Myself
   - Grandparents
   - Teacher
   - Other: ............................

Order the options which influence your behavior from important (1) to less important (10)

1   ................................................  ................................................
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19. What are your ambitions after completing primary school?
   - I want to enroll in a secondary school
   - I want to drop out from school to get a job and receive money
   - I want to get married

Please say if you agree or disagree with the following questions:

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<td>If I have a boyfriend/girlfriend I keep it secret for my parents</td>
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<td>A couple should discuss their feelings towards each other</td>
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<td>Initiation ceremonies are necessary to become a good adult</td>
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<td>It is possible to ask questions about sexuality during initiation</td>
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<td>After initiation some girls want to get married.</td>
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<td>After initiation some girls have to get married.</td>
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<td>After initiation some girls drop out from school.</td>
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APPENDIX 7 - Participants of the focus group discussion

- Two employees of YCI
- Biology teacher at Mgeta Secondary School who founded an active Fema club
- Chemistry teacher at Kilakala Girls Secondary School that conducted a research into the problem of early school-leaving in Morogoro
- The interpreter of this research, employee HakiElimu
- Korean volunteer for WorldTeach
- Dr. J.J.M. Zeelen, the supervisor of this research
APPENDIX 8 - Focus group discussion

The focus group discussion consisted of two parts. The first part concerned a presentation of the first results of this research to validate the findings. The second part concerned a discussion about the challenges as regards the delivery and implementation of effective sex education programs. As a starting point for this discussion, the following sheets have been used.

**From which age and what kind of information?**

- ‘It is better to wait until higher classes, because then the teacher is free to talk about all the things which the pupils ask and then the information is relevant for all the students and they will listen and be curious’
- ‘It is better to start before they become active, otherwise the number of students who are active with ignorance are higher and the consequences will be big’.

**Intra- or extracurricular / implemented within existing subjects or as a separate subject.**

- ‘There is already too much in the curriculum. If subjects are not about examinations, they will not pay much attention to it’
- ‘If it is in the curriculum, than it’s structural, teachers have to teach about sexuality, it’s an obligation’
- Some biology teachers don’t feel comfortable to teach, so they will skip it. If it is a separate subject the teacher will be more committed and the content will be less scattered and can be covered in a logical sequence.
- It is good how it is now, implemented within existing subjects, because you learn about sexuality in different contexts, every teacher has a different background and approach.
Who are the appropriate providers for sexuality education?

- Teachers from particular subjects
- The school counselors
- Teachers who are committed and have affinity to teach sexuality education
- Health care professionals
- Peer educators

The contradiction of abstinence and sexuality education

- ‘The main thing is that girls should not be involved in things with boys at all, because they will convince you in certain ways and finally you will get pregnant and you have to stop studies.’

- ‘If you teach them about contraceptives you teach them how to have sex

- ‘By teaching how to protect yourself you are teaching like go out and do it.’
How to involve parents, communities, religious systems?

- ‘The leaders of the communities have to get the knowledge and give that knowledge to the villagers. When a girl comes back at home from school, the parents still have the same traditions and ideas against what their children have learnt in school. Then we have the same dilemma.’

- ‘There have to be very good community supporting programs to break the circle of silence, the secrecy’

How is it possible to empower girls?

- ‘The firmness of the decision of the girl depends on the girl herself. Some only say it once they don’t insist very well and the boy thinks I don’t need to follow that. Some they try, but sometimes it is difficult to convince the boy, so they give up.’
Abstract

**Objective:** Tanzania faces high numbers of early school-leavers. A significant cause for this in girls is pregnancy. A major government strategy to decrease the high numbers of early school-leaving due to pregnancy is the implementation of school-based sex education in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools since 2004. This study aims to describe the current state of pregnancy-related school drop-out in the Morogoro Region and to explore the current state of school-based sex education. This research concludes with recommendations on how to improve the current practices of sex education in order to prevent more schoolgirls from getting pregnant.

**Methods:** Besides literature study, document analysis and questionnaires, participatory research methods are used in this qualitative and explorative research. First, a theoretical framework based on literature study is made from the causes of early school-leaving and early pregnancy. Subsequently the need for sex education programmes is stated and the requirements of effective sex education programmes are discussed. Five critical areas are described that influence the desired effect of sex education, namely: *responding to the specific risks and needs, the existence of favourable school climates, competent teachers who feel confident to deliver sex education, fitting in with local systems and creating local support, and a conducive policy environment.* The findings of this study are largely based on the perceptions and experiences of different actors from the Morogoro Region. Data were collected at two primary and two secondary schools through semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, headmasters, parents, people from NGOs and other important actors. Also, a focus group was held with different experts in the field.

**Results:** In the Morogoro Region pregnancy appeared to be the second major cause of school drop-out among girls. A wide range of causes turned out to contribute to the risks that schoolgirls face of getting pregnant. Girls have needs that are related to deficiencies regarding their own person - like the need for sexual and reproductive health knowledge, future goals and valuing their own education -, but girls have a bigger need for strategies that enable them to cope with the external factors that put them at risk of getting pregnant. Several actors argued that current forms of sex education are not effective because what is given is not enough and does not fit in with the specific needs of pupils.

**Conclusion:** Answers to all research questions are formulated and possible solutions for the improvement of school-based sex education are worked out in 10 recommendations. To improve sex education it appeared to be essential to involve actors at all levels and make an all-out effort.

**Discussion:** In the discussion of this research, the execution and findings of this research are reviewed critically, necessary differentiations are formulated, and suggestions for further research are given. The findings from this research can be valuable in comparable situations. However, it is recommended to apply an ecological approach in which the broader socio-economic contexts of the target population should play a major part to adequately tackle the issues described.