

Education, Empowerment and Marginalisation: Do Schools Empower Girls?

Case Studies of Selected Schools in Nairobi and Kilifi in Kenya



Disclaimer: The photographs above were not taken in any of the school studied

Sheila Parvyn Wamahiu (PhD)

Rubai Mandela Ochieng (PhD)

Charity Limboro (PhD)

Jafred Muyaka

May 2015



Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES	III
LIST OF FIGURES.....	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
<i>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations</i>	vi
<i>Executive Summary</i>	vii
CHAPTER I: DOING RESEARCH ON GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT AND MARGINALISATION- THE DESIGN AND PROCESS	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1.1 <i>Research Background</i>	1
1.1.2 <i>Focus of the Qualitative Component</i>	2
1.1.3 <i>Research Questions</i>	2
1.1.4 <i>Clarification of Key Concepts</i>	2
1.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	3
1.2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	3
1.2.2 <i>Research on Girls Education in Kenya</i>	3
1.2.3 <i>Determinants of Girls Marginalization in Education</i>	6
1.2.4 <i>Strategies for Empowering Girls</i>	12
1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN	13
1.3.1 <i>The Methodological Framework</i>	13
1.3.2 <i>Research Design and Procedures</i>	14
1.3.3 <i>Field Preparation</i>	18
1.3.4 <i>Challenges</i>	19
CHAPTER II: DO SCHOOLS REALLY EMPOWER GIRLS? THE EVIDENCE FROM THE FIELD.. 21	21
2.1 INTRODUCTION	21
2.2 THE STUDY FINDINGS.....	21
2.2.1 <i>Contextualizing the Findings</i>	21
2.2.2 <i>Addressing the Research Questions</i>	22
2.3 LESSONS LEARNT	32
2.3.1: <i>Output # 3: Schools provide a safe and supportive environment for girls</i>	33
2.3.2: <i>Output # 4: Girls improve their health, self-confidence and aspirations</i>	33
CHAPTER III: THE QUALITATIVE VS. BASELINE SURVEY FINDINGS - IS THERE CONGRUENCE?	35
3.1 INTRODUCTION	35
3.2 THE EXTENT OF CONGRUENCY: THE ASSUMED BARRIERS.....	35
3.2.1 <i>Barriers Relating to Girl in the Community and Girl in the Household</i>	35
3.2.2 <i>Barriers Relating to Girls at School</i>	37
3.2.3 <i>The Girl Herself</i>	38
3.3 ADDITIONAL ISSUES.....	39
3.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR THE WWW TOC.....	42
CHAPTER IV: THE WAY FORWARD.....	44
4.1 INTRODUCTION	44
4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	44
APPENDICES	46
REFERENCES.....	49

List of Tables

Table 1. 1: Study Locales and Sites	14
Table 1. 2: Sample Grid by Research Subjects, Gender and Methods.....	15
Table 1. 3: Research Instruments by Category	16
Table 2. 1: Girls Aspirations, and Perceptions of Their Life Chances and Capabilities	24
Table 2. 2: Gender in School Environment	26
Table 2. 3: Summary of Physical and Learning Environment by School and Degree of Empowering or Marginalising Attributes	30
Table 3. 1: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Studies Related to Selected Barriers at Community and Household Levels	36
Table 3. 2: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Study Related to Selected Barriers at School Level	37
Table 3. 3: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Study at Level of the Girl Herself	38
Table 3. 4: Children's Perception of Good School by Gender and Research Site	39
Table 3. 5: Things Learners Want in Their Schools by Gender and Research Sites	41
Table A. 1: Investigative Tools Used by Research Questions Addressed.....	46
Table A. 2: Research Method by Type of Data Generated	48
Table A. 3: Counties by Number of Instruments Administered.....	48

List of Figures

Figure 2. 1: Benefits of Leadership as Perceived by Girls	
Figure 2. 2: Factors that Marginalise Girls	

Acknowledgements

The Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK) wishes to thank all individuals and institutions that participated in the qualitative study. It gratefully acknowledges the role of the lead consultant, Dr. Sheila Wamahiu for providing technical guidance to the qualitative process. Dr. Wamahiu is acknowledged for developing the conceptual framework, data collection tools and the framework for analysis. She also facilitated capacity building of the research team members in qualitative research, guided the drafting of the case studies and writing selected case studies as well as the final synthesis report.

We thank the team that was involved in the data collection process, both the senior and junior researchers. Dr. Charity Limboro, Dr. Rubai Mandela, Dr. Mary Mutisiya, Mary Chepkemoi, Jafred Muyaka and Hedwig Ombunda. They worked closely with Benjamin Muthumbi, Dennis Odhiambo, Winniejoy Gatwiri, Brenda Egara, and Joe Chege. In addition, Dr. Limboro, Dr. Mandela and Mr. Muyaka were also responsible for analyzing and writing individual case studies.

We are equally indebted to the critique and contributions of the Wasichana Wote Wasome (WWW) Advisory Board for their insightful inputs into this report. The Team is also grateful to James Angoye and Warue Kariuki for reviewing the draft report. Their inputs were invaluable and substantive, and greatly helped to finalize it.

The support and dedication of Jafred Muyaka, Winniejoy Gatwiri, Peter Njoroge, and Dinah Ogola as part of the WWW Project team, is highly appreciated.

We are grateful to our partner organizations in the two counties of Nairobi and Kilifi for their logistical support. We also offer our gratitude to the County Directors of Education, community leaders, parents and children, head teachers, and teachers of the visited schools who so graciously gave their time and space for the researchers to conduct the data collection.

We are indebted to the Department for International Development (DfID) for their financial support and contribution to the achievement of equitable quality education in Kenya.

To all, we say a big thank you for your dedication and the role you played in the baseline process.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	-	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
AMURT	-	Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team
ANPPCAN	-	African Network for the Prevention and Protection of Children against Abuse and Neglect
ASALs	-	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
CfBT	-	A British charity, formerly an acronym for Centre for British Teachers
DfID	-	Department for International Development
EFA	-	Education for All
ERNESA	-	Education Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa
FAWE	-	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FEMNET	-	African Women’s Development and Research Network
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
FIDA	-	Federation of International Women Lawyers
FPE	-	Free Primary Education
GEC	-	Girls’ Education Challenge
GCN	-	Girl Child Network
HIV	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
JICA	-	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KAACR	-	Kenya Alliance for the Advocacy for Children’s Rights
KICD	-	Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development
KIE	-	Kenya Institute of Education
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
MoEST	-	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
PLAN	-	An international children’s development agency
SMCs	-	School Management Committees
SMT	-	Science, Maths and Technology
STEM	-	Science, Technology, Engineering and Math
ToC	-	Theory of Change
WERK	-	Women Educational Researchers of Kenya
WWW	-	Wasichana Wote Wasome
UN	-	United Nations
UNESCO	-	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children’s Fund

Executive Summary

A WWW baseline survey conducted between July 2013 and December 2014 pointed to some emerging issues that could best be addressed through qualitative methods of investigation. These included issues relating to girls' empowerment and marginalisation in and outside of formal education. To address the gaps a qualitative study focusing on girls' education and empowerment was conducted in July 2014. The study interrogated the complex barriers to girls' education, capturing the perspectives of the key actors: the girls, boys, parents and teachers themselves, and documented factors contributing to their empowerment. The central research question sought to investigate the extent to which schools empower girls in marginalised communities and improve their life chances. This report, designed as a complement to the baseline survey, presents a synthesis of six school-based case studies.

Research Approach and Process

Framed within a qualitative research paradigm, data collection was collected from six purposively selected schools in Nairobi and Kilifi counties. Researchers, in teams of two, immersed themselves in the sample schools for one full week, having casual conversations with pupils and teachers, interviewing them, involving them in activities such as mapping, playing with the pupils, and doing unstructured observations of interactions and activities in a variety of contexts. Together, the data yielded through the use of diverse techniques helped to reconstruct a holistic picture of the context in which the girl child operates, and facilitated understanding of her capabilities, aspirations and life chances, and whether the school is indeed empowering or further marginalising girls.

Sample and Sampling

Schools formed the primary research sites, selected in consultation with WWW implementing partners in Nairobi and Kilifi. Two sampling strategies, purposive sampling and snowballing, were used to select key informants, interviewees and discussants from each site. In total, there were four sites in Nairobi and two in Kilifi. The overall sample was approximately 1300 adults and children. The large sample size was due to the use of selected participatory research techniques that involved whole classes in mapping of safe/unsafe spaces and children at risk of dropping out of school. Though girls were the focus, the study involved both genders as research subjects.

Data Collection and Analysis

Five types of research methods were used to collect data. These were unstructured observations (in and outside the classrooms), key informant interviews (girl leaders), supplementary interviews (boys, teachers, school heads, teachers, SMC members), group interviews (girls and boys) and whole class activities. The tools used were flexible guidelines that focused on key issues and questions that allowed some measure of comparability across the research site.

The data analysis was done manually in two stages. First, the data from the various sources and methods were triangulated per case study. Second, cross-case analysis was done.

Key Findings

1. By the time the fieldwork was conducted in July 2014, it was still too early to see, or feel the impact of the interventions. The study thus provides a qualitative baseline for the WWW Project.
2. The qualitative study generally confirms the findings of the Baseline Survey.
3. Though the qualitative study focused on two of the four dimensions of WWW TOC, the evidence obtained reinforces the case made in the Survey for the re-conceptualization of the ToC to take

into consideration the complexity of the inter-relationship between the four dimensions, and not approach it as linear and non-iterative.

4. The qualitative findings also resonate with the recommendation made in the survey report to adapt the ToC to the specific contexts. While the survey report points out the differences in the community backgrounds in urban areas and ASALs, the qualitative study urges taking into consideration the differences between urban public and private (community) schools as well.
5. The study found that pupil leaders irrespective of gender had high education and career aspirations across all the six schools in the two counties. However, there were clear gender differences in the perception of girls and boys with regard to their capabilities and life chances, and their perceptions of the other. Both girls and boys believed that the latter were better suited to occupy top leadership positions. The attitude of teachers and parents of girls' capabilities, aspirations and life chances was ambivalent.
6. Potentially empowering policies and practices existed in all the schools of focus. However, the extent to which these had positive impact depended on the specific context and how they were implemented.
7. The study revealed the critical importance of strengthening follow up on training provided and support supervision of teachers. It is also important that the interventions target the right people. Otherwise, the activities undertaken will just remain at the activity level and not translate into the desired outcomes.

Findings Related to Selected Outputs

Output 3: Schools Provide Safe and Protective Environment

1. The study findings confirm the argument of UNICEF and others that **a girl-friendly school is a child friendly school and a child-friendly school is a high quality school**. However, the cases examined in the study, revealed that
 - a. Schools were characterised by cultures of violence, rampant child abuse and a total disregard for professional ethics, in extreme cases.
 - b. The learning experiences of both girls and boys were traumatic but even more so for girls.
 - c. Girls given the gender socialisation at home and the community needed the extra push to develop positive self-image and confidence in their capabilities.
 - d. The execution of leadership roles by girls, more than boys, appeared to be sensitive to verbal criticism and to the negative attitude of their friends towards them.
2. The study found non-WWW interventions in the case study schools, sponsored by individual well-wishers and/or charitable organisations. **While theoretically at least, these interventions should be complementing the WWW efforts to provide safe and protective environment for girls in school, the evidence from the field suggests that this was not always happening**. For example, in one of the private (community) schools in Nairobi, a rescue centre for girls at risk of early marriage or dropping out because of poverty appeared to be motivated by non-altruistic reasons, and consequently the wellbeing of the child was not guaranteed.
3. **Schools, instead of breaking the vicious cycle of violence, were found to perpetuate inter-generational reproduction of violence, and not dialogue, as the preferred mode of resolving problems**. Young leaders were internalising the message that the use of violence was a legitimate means of conflict resolution, an essential tool for maintaining order, and enforcing one's authority.

4. **Though female teachers were in the majority in the focus schools, many were among the perpetrators of abuse.** The abuses committed by them (as by their male colleagues) were verbal, psychological and physical.

Output # 4: Girls Improve their Health, Self-Confidence and Aspirations to Learn

- 1 **The home and media appeared to play a more important role in providing girls with role models than did schools.** There appeared to be a clear difference in the perception of female teachers by girls from Nairobi and Kilifi schools, with the latter frequently identifying them positively in contrast to the former who were either negative or silent about them. Many of the girls from both locales appeared to be inspired by national and international media personalities and public figures, and occasionally by their mothers and siblings.
- 2 **There appears to be a relationship between the subject that a pupil likes and her/his perception of the teacher teaching it.** The preference of a majority of the girls interviewed for science and maths coincided with teachers they considered to be their favourites, who tended to be males in most of the schools. The exception was one school in Kilifi where both the girl and the boy leader expressed admiration for their mathematics teacher who was a female.
- 3 The study found that children’s perceptions of the “good” school, the “good” teacher and “good” facilities were reflective of the quality (or lack of it) of the institution, its management and outcomes. Though there were some gender differences, **the children knew what was missing from their educational experience, and had a fairly good idea of what would make their learning environment empowering.**
- 4 **Gender biases were evident in children’s words and interactions.** Though girls were active in clubs and other aspects of school life, and provided leadership in and out of class, they tended to perceive boys as being better suited for top leadership positions. Boys were found to hold gender stereotypical views of the place of women and girl in society, and their potential, vis-à-vis the male gender. Though the school and home cultures reinforced the stereotypes, there was some **evidence of changes in the gender division of labour within the family towards a fairer task allocation.**

Recommendations

Issue	Summary Recommendation	Lead Agency
M & E, Research & Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revise the ToC to reflect complex interplay between four dimensions (the iterative approach rather than linear approach) and contextual and diversities between urban areas and ASALs as well as urban public and private (community) schools as recommended in the Baseline Survey • Use findings of the monitoring exercises to determine the focus of future qualitative investigations • Research on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Female teachers, and their impact on girls’ education and empowerment ○ Sexual abuse of boys in schools ○ Impact of funerals and associated ceremonies on girls’ education ○ Factors that prevent girl mothers and married girls from re-entering school • Engage in analysis of Significant Change Stories and other related data collected by implementing partners to determine what works, and the reasons for their effectiveness. Utilise the knowledge generated to inform the WWW project design, and make necessary adjustments. 	WERK

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiate debate and discussion among the community of researchers and child right advocates on ethical issues relating to research and child protection focusing on conflict between the value of “best interest of the child” and research norms of confidentiality and anonymity 	
Policy Advocacy	Develop policy briefs on issues emerging from the research (e.g. child abuse) and roundtable discussions with policy/decision makers	CfBT
Capacity Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen in-service training of teachers on selected issues using experiential methods and within human rights and gender equality frameworks anchored in the Kenyan Constitution (e.g. positive disciplining, gender responsive pedagogy & child-friendly schools, active learning, rights and responsibilities of teachers and children) paying particular attention to the quality of the interventions Strengthen follow-up mechanisms and quality of the coaching Develop strategy for preventing high turnover of teachers benefiting from in-service training through the project Strengthen capacity development of Guidance & Counselling departments of schools through the placement of professionally trained personnel, who are not only well intentioned but also non-judgemental in the way they deal with the pupils, and address issues arising from their specific gender needs. Putting mechanisms in place to provide psychosocial support for female teachers to enable them to deal with the negative effects of gender socialisation and thereby sort out between the facilitative elements and barriers to their self-efficacy as teachers and role models Focusing on understanding and addressing gender dimensions of violence (females as perpetrators and as targets) in the training programmes 	CfBT, Implementing Partners
Children’s Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening child rights clubs in schools and the integration of child rights into the curriculum of other clubs including those focusing on health, environment, tourism, martial arts and others. The club activities should be child-friendly and fun so as to attract members, and motivate them into practicing what they learn. Strengthen children’s councils, prefect bodies and similar mechanisms by training the executive committee members on their roles and responsibilities as servant leaders. The trend to use the child leaders as disciplinarians, reproducing the concept of violent forms of punishment, is only serving to perpetuate an undemocratic culture in and through schools. 	Implementing Partners
Girls’ Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The self-image and confidence of girls to lead need to be strengthened through customised leadership programmes, reinforced through girls’ empowerment clubs and gender responsive classroom practices. There is need to reinstitute Life Skills Education in the primary school timetable. Currently, the teaching of LSE in Kenyan primary schools is very arbitrary despite it being in the education curriculum. 	Implementing Partners

CHAPTER I: DOING RESEARCH ON GIRLS’ EMPOWERMENT AND MARGINALISATION - THE DESIGN AND PROCESS

1.1 Introduction

The WWW baseline conducted in the eight project counties from the month of July 2013 to January 2014 confirmed the greater disadvantage of girls in education: It reported that the girl child was less likely to be enrolled and retained at school both in ASALs and urban slum areas though there were more barriers to girls’ education in the former than in latter (including home obligations, and working out of the home for monetary gains). There were also more out - of - schoolgirls (13.3%) than boys (9.9%) of age 13 and above in the arid and semi-arid areas. (WERK 2014)

Analysis of the baseline data pointed to some emerging issues that could best be addressed through qualitative methods of investigation. These included issues relating to girls’ empowerment and marginalisation in and outside of formal education. To address these gaps, a qualitative study focusing on girls’ education and empowerment was conducted in July 2014. The study interrogated the complex barriers to girls’ education, capturing the perspectives of the key actors: the girls, boys, parents and teachers themselves, and documented factors contributing to their empowerment.

This report is the first in a series of qualitative studies that will intersperse the WWW project during its lifetime. It complements the Baseline Survey, presenting a synthesis of six case studies¹. The readers are taken through four chapters that recapitulate the research design and process, highlight the key findings, singles out aspects of the findings that corroborate or contradict the Baseline Survey outcomes, and finally based on the evidence, propose the way forward.

1.1.1 Research Background

The WWW project aims to improve school attendance rates and learning outcomes for 124,000 marginalised girls in Kenya in two contexts: ASALs and urban slums. To achieve these outcomes the project is expected to facilitate lasting behaviour change. It focuses on four dimensions (the community, the home, the school and the girl herself) that supports girls’ opportunity to learn, including improved quality of teaching and learning, and positive community attitudes to girls’ education, as articulated in its theory of change. A number of organisations are collaborating to achieve the project outcomes, namely Concern Worldwide, Kenya; Girl Child Network (GCN); Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team (AMURT); and Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK). Funded by the Department for International Development (DfID), the CfBT Education Trust has the overall responsibility for coordination of this process.

A Baseline Study conducted by WERK presented disaggregated data for the evaluation and assessment of the impact of the project on marginalised girls in the ASALs and urban slums in the four selected dimensions. Framed within a quantitative research paradigm, the study set baseline values for

¹ The individual case studies are available in WERK WWW monograph series

monitoring change and evaluation, tested out the assumptions made at the design of the project and where necessary, and used the information from the study to redesign the programme.

While quantitative research has its strengths, it is not sensitive to the nuances of girls' education, empowerment and marginalisation. It is not able to dig deep into the experiences of girls and those around them to adequately explain why things are the way they are, and why change is so abysmally slow in some areas despite decades of advocacy for the girl child. The study identified some gaps and emerging themes that required in-depth and intensive qualitative investigation.

1.1.2 Focus of the Qualitative Component

Consistent with the overall WWW approach, the qualitative research placed the girl at the centre of the investigation, recognizing her multi-dimensionality, but also taking into consideration the boy child and other key actors that directly and indirectly affect her life chances. It focused on two of the dimensions of the project's theory of change, namely, the girl in school and the girl as a person. **The purpose of the research was to better understand girls' pathways and trajectories into empowering and non-empowering practices and behaviours in and through education.**

WWW TOC Dimensions of Focus in the Qualitative Research

Girl at school: aims at strengthening the formal educational environment so that it is more favourable to girls' attendance and completion.

Girl as a person: aims at improving girls' readiness to learn by cultivating their physical and psychosocial wellbeing, their self-confidence, their aspiration to succeed in education and their awareness of child rights.

1.1.3 Research Questions

The broad question that guided this study was: To what extent do schools empower girls in marginalised communities and improve their life chances?

Specifically, the study sought to answer the following five questions:

1. How do primary school girls perceive themselves, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with boys?
2. How do their male peers perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with the girls?
3. How do other key actors in school, home and community perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances?
4. What are the empowering policies, practices, attitudes and behaviours in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances?
5. What are the social structures and the underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalisation?

1.1.4 Clarification of Key Concepts

Empowerment: This term is often misunderstood, especially in the context of women and gender. Lay people often take women (and girls) empowerment to mean the female gender taking over power from males, and asserting their authority over the latter. The meaning adopted in this report is closer

to the dictionary definition of this term, which is “to give power or authority to; to enable or permit; to endow with ability”. It adopts the perspective of feminists and gender equality theorists who conceptualize empowerment as transformative and liberating rather than dominating and oppressive for one gender or the other. In the context of girls’ education, it is taken to mean education that “enables girls to advance their own development”. (Bennaars and Kabira, 1994:9) It “makes girls aware of their potential and allows them to realize their abilities to the full.” (Ibid) Equally important, empowering education “changes boys, their attitudes and values, making them socially responsible” and “prepares girls and boys for mutually supportive roles for nation building”. (ibid)

Marginalization: This concept may be described as a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequalities. It typically starts long before entering school and continues into adult life. (UNESCO 2010) Different variables such as poverty, gender, ethnicity and religion intersect to create overlapping and self-reinforcing layers of disadvantage, limiting opportunity and social mobility for marginalized individuals and groups. The school has the potential of breaking this chain of inequality, but it can also perpetuate the informal norms and practices that produce and maintain marginalization.

1.2 Review of Literature

1.2.1 Introduction

Though the empowerment of girls and women is a buzzword today, it has become the focus of attention by policy makers and development agents relatively recently. It was the World Summit for Children held in September 1990 that first helped to place children on the human development agenda. It was also instrumental in singling out the female child as an especially vulnerable group requiring urgent attention. Within the women’s movement, the push for identifying girls’ needs as distinct from women’s came from South Asia and Africa in the early 1990s, with global recognition of the greater disadvantage of the girl child clearly articulated in the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) and Declaration of 1995². The girl-child was one of the twelve strategic areas of focus in the PFA, while a big chunk of the second area of focus and strategic objective highlighted issues relating to girls’ education. This was in tandem with two of the Education for All (EFA) goals that clearly articulated the right of all children to “access to free, quality and compulsory primary education by 2015” (Goal 2) and “achieving gender equality in education by 2015” (Goal 5). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) similarly recognising the strategic value of girls’ education and gender equality in and through education, incorporated the EFA goals in its eight point agenda for global development.

1.2.2 Research on Girls Education in Kenya

The Early Beginnings

Writing in 1952, Simeon H. Ominde observed: “In order that educational plans may be effective, attention should be paid to those features of social life which most nearly affect education”. (Pg. 70) Based on his research of the Luo girl from infancy to marriage, he argued: “Plans for increased education for Luo girls will no doubt be more effective if the factors which help to shape the character and attitude of the girls are carefully examined”. (Ibid) Clearly Ominde, who in 1964 became the chair

²This was the outcome document of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, a decade after the UN Third World Conference on Women that was hosted by Nairobi School In 1995.

of the first National Education Commission of Kenya, was far ahead of his time. It was not until four decades later that the interest in girls, as the distinct subject of research and development, would gain currency in the country, influenced by a global policy shift.

In Kenya, 1992 was the turning point for research on the girl child. That year, three pieces of research were conducted: the first sought to analyse the situation of girls in Kenya (Wamahiu, 1992) A joint project of UNICEF Kenya, Kenya Alliance for the Advocacy for Children's Rights (KAACR) and the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) Kenya, it took a life

The explanation for this obvious female vulnerability to education may be summed up by reference to the gender role ideology that pervades the learning environments, both at home/community and the school itself, and is perpetuated through the process of socialisation. The gender role ideology with its inbuilt authoritarianism, in fact helps to relate apparently disparate phenomena such as child abuse and violence against women and girls in and outside school, school-girl pregnancies; negative female self-image and consequently lower self-esteem; poorer access, survival, performance, educational and career aspirations of girls; poor resources in girls' schools, and gender insensitive curriculum, into one explanatory framework. Myths relating to female ability (and disability) are used not only by men but, by women themselves, to justify the ideology and thereby maintain the status quo.

Source: Wamahiu, Opondo and Nyaggah 1992: 96-97

cycle approach, viewing girls' situation holistically. It investigated girls' participation in education and labour, and issues relating to their health, security, and protection. Its findings were based on a comprehensive literature survey and field research in Kibra and Pumwani areas of the Nairobi and Kinango of Kwale County. The study concluded that in general, girls' participation in education and the labour market was restricted; she had a greater workload at home that impeded her schooling, and had little authority and autonomy to make decisions regarding her present or future life. It noted the increasing "commodisation" of female children in many parts of the country.

The second and third studies were interrelated and focused on the educational situation of the Kenyan girl-child. Both were part of a regional initiative, a collaborative of UNICEF and the Educational Research Network of Eastern and Southern Africa (ERNESA). One was a desk review, comprising appraisal of literature, published and unpublished statistical data and relevant newspaper reports covering a nine-month period in 1991. It analysed the situation of girls, taking a gender perspective, not only within formal education (from pre-school to the tertiary levels) but also explored their learning environment at home and the community and the informal learning that they received within these contexts. For the first time, issues relating to the quality of girls' schooling, violence against girls, and the "hidden" curriculum were explored.

The other study used qualitative methodology to reconstruct profiles of the Kenyan girl-child in six counties, namely, Kwale, Mombasa, Embu, Nairobi, Kiambu and Kajiado. It documented the educational experiences of girls, their time use, educational and career aspirations, and attitudes towards specific gender issues, that is, marriage, dowry and bride wealth; sex in and out of marriage; use and abuse of drugs; and wife beating and gender-based violence.

Girls' Education as a Problem

The two studies concluded that it was justifiable to view "girls' education in Kenya as a problem": Girls "in the Kenyan education system continue to under-participate, underachieve and are consequently under-represented in positions of power and authority in public life." Drawing evidence from a deeper

analysis of available statistics, the researchers challenged the Government claim that gender parity had been achieved in primary level, alleging that this was just an “illusion”. They argued that national statistics were cloaking regional disparities in enrolment and dropout rates by gender, and the differences between lower and upper primary levels of education. They also pointed out that some economically advantaged areas such as Meru, Embu, Nyeri and Kisii counties “actually have more girls than boys enrolled in the primary level.” (Wamahiu, Nyaggah and Opondo, 1992: 94) The studies also identified poorer performance of girls in science; mathematics; and technology related subjects resulting in fewer females making it to these disciplines at the tertiary level, and subsequently into the more prestigious and better remunerated careers.

Assessing Progress, Or the Lack of It

In the intervening decades, some progress has been made in many countries particularly with regard to reducing gender gaps in enrolment in the lower grades. In addition, as UNESCO (2010) notes, the share of girls in the out-of-school population has come down from 58 per cent in 1999 to 54 per cent in 2010. However, as Livingstone (2008) argues, increases in numbers are simply not enough: “in order to truly see girls thrive at school, benefit from their education, and enjoy elevated social status, gender equality must be more than quantitative” (Pg. 54) Available evidence point to the persistence of critical issues relating to retention, transition, performance, attainment and quality that impact negatively on the education of girls, more than that of boys, especially in marginalised areas and resource constrained environments, and prevent the achievement of gender equality in and through education more than twenty years after Beijing. The Global Monitoring Report of 2010 points out that the odds of getting to school continue to be heavily stacked against girls from poor, generally rural households. (UNESCO 2010)

Educational statistics in Kenya do reflect overall improvements on some select indicators. The Free Primary Education Programme (FPE) introduced in 2003 (for the fourth time in the history of the country)³ expanded access, especially for children of the poor. It resulted in unprecedented growth in overall enrolments and impressive progress towards gender parity (Livingstone, 2008). However, gains in enrolment and gender parity were not sustained as one ascended the education ladder. Transition rate increased from 46.5 per cent in 2001 to 73.3 per cent in 2011, but in most of the years, boys exceeded girls thus creating disparity between boys and girls. (JICA, 2012)

The tapering off of girls in the upper classes, especially at the tertiary education institutions, reflects earlier patterns of inequity reported by Wamahiu et al in 1992. Though there have been some improvements, at the end of primary school national exams, 29 per cent of girls and 50 per cent of boys achieved the national average mark or above. (Plan 2012) There are still relatively fewer girls than boys performing well in the sciences and mathematics at the secondary school level examinations. A study conducted by the National Council for Science and Technology in 2010 indicates that boys by far outperform girls in science, mathematics and technology (SMT) subjects in the secondary school leaving examinations between the years 2002 and 2006. The “incessant” low academic performance in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects especially among girls at Form Four level in Kitui Central District, over the years, as discussed by Musau

³Presidential decrees in 1971, 1973 and 1978 eliminated school fees in all the remote districts; ensured free education for all children in grades one through four and established a standard annual fee for students in grades five through seven; and finally abolished primary school fees outright respectively.

(2013) is reflective of the situation in most parts of the country. This persisting disparity has a ripple effect, reducing the pool of those girls who have the grades to join sciences and mathematics faculties. It also means that the capacity of women to engage in knowledge-based society is being grossly underdeveloped and underutilized.

1.2.3 Determinants of Girls Marginalization in Education

Kenya has been hailed as having a pro-rights and pro-equality Constitution. The Constitution, which was enacted in 2010, guarantees the rights of all citizens, irrespective of sex, to “equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres.” (RoK 2010 Chapter Four 27:3) This includes the right to education. Non-discrimination is one of the guiding principles of governance. The Constitution also makes provision for affirmative action, in recognition of the wide gender inequities that characterize the Kenyan social and political landscape. However, gender equality in and through education is yet to be realised in the Kenyan context.

Investigation of factors that account for the weak participation and performance of girls in formal education continue to draw the attention of educational researchers. Early marriage and pregnancy are perceived to be major gender specific factors contributing to the poorer performance of girls and their premature exit from schools. (Chemwei, 2013; Kipkulei, 2008) Similarly, using Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) techniques, a USAID funded project reported the most commonly mentioned problems regarding girls’ education across thirty-one communities in Bungoma, Kilifi, Baringo (Koibatek district), Kuria, and Nairobi (Kibera and Mukuru slums) as poverty, pregnancy, and lack of guidance and counselling. (Thomas, 2002) Similar reasons are forwarded for the low educational and occupational aspirations of girls in secondary education. Daniel (2009) in a study of girls participation in secondary schools in lower eastern Kenya, identifies pregnancy, peer pressure, lack of school fees, lack of parental guidance and counselling, drug addiction and intimate boys/girls relationships as the key barriers to girls’ advancement up the educational ladder.

Writing in 1994, Njau and Wamahiu argue: “the survival or non-survival of girls in the education system is influenced by a complex interplay between macro-level policy (both international and national) and micro-level practices and attitudes. Together they determine whether households/communities feel it profitable to educate their daughters; whether, sending girls to school is wise or poor investment for the future”. (FAWE, 1994: 56-57) In its analysis of the situation of girls education in Africa in 2012, Plan International highlights the way poverty shapes parental decisions on “how to utilise extremely limited resources and how best to provide a secure future for their family”. (Plan 2012: 25) On specific factors that affect girls’ access and retention in formal education, the following are identified: Gendered attitudes in society; costs of education, transactional sex, early pregnancy, child marriage, child labour and distances to schools. It also highlights the role of teachers, gender sensitive materials and approaches and violence in schools. Literature on some of these factors is reviewed in more detail later in the section.

In the late 1990s, an analytical shift occurred from questions of educational access and retention to issues of quality, and an intensification in the direction of a focus on the school life and how this shapes students’ expectations, aspirations, and definitions of self as individuals and as citizens. (Stromquist, 2008) Methodologically too, there appears to be a shift away from survey type of research to the use of mixed methods approaches. The Action Aid commissioned base-line study on girls’ education and

violence in the Tana River County used combined quantitative data collection instruments such as the questionnaires with qualitative tools, that is, interview and focus group discussions (FGD) guides. The mixed methodological approach provided in-depth data about violence against girls and generated findings that were measurable. (Abagi, Sifuna and Oanda, 2011)

However, much of the research emanating from Kenyan universities in particular touch on the symptoms, rarely digging deep enough to uncover the underlying causes of girls' persisting disadvantage. In-depth, ethnographic studies are few and far between, and even when they are available, hardly are their findings utilised to inform policy and action in teacher education, professional development, or in the delivery of education. Furthermore, Kenyan policy has largely ignored the findings of the feminist literature relating to equality and empowerment, instead focusing exclusively on achieving parity in enrolments. (Livingstone 2008)

Changing Images of Women and Girls in Education

Anna Obura's (1991) seminal work focusing on the portrayal of women and girls in Kenyan textbooks was exceptional in its influence on educational policy and practice in the country. Inspired by a study commissioned by UNESCO in the Ukraine, Obura reviewed twenty-four primary school textbooks covering mathematics, science, technical subjects, languages, and the social sciences. She combined quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, capturing both the visual impact and the flavour of the text. The study provided hard evidence of gender inequalities created by the textbook writers and publishers and reproduced by teachers through the teaching-learning materials in use in Kenyan classrooms. The study found that:

- Women and girls were largely invisible in the Kenyan textbooks, and increasingly so in the higher classes
- Women and girls remained anonymous as compared to men and boys who tended to be named on multiple occasions
- Men were portrayed as
 - > Engaging in a wide range of income-generating activities as compared to women who were rarely shown to be income earners, and even when they were, their activities were shown to be limiting
 - > Owners of property (land, cattle, vehicles) and cash vis-à-vis women who were depicted as possessing little money and property, largely dependent and subordinate
 - > Generous and giving of gifts and money to their family and other people
 - > Having ability to take out loans and make investments and savings
 - > Active, energetic, rich and successful unlike women who were presented as retiring, of minor interest, engaged in trivial activities, dull, unintelligent, poor, largely unemployed and not mobile
- Women were seen predominantly as mothers who were usually in the company of children
- Fathers were not seen in homes but were found in the public arena as professionals and leaders

The study very effectively demonstrated the marginalization of women and girls in the Kenyan classroom through the use of gender-biased textbooks. The implications of the findings for the promotion of girls' education and the achievement of gender equality were profound. For example, the invisibility and anonymity of women in the textbooks and their portrayal as housewives and

mothers to the exclusion of other, more public roles highlighted the need for positive role models for girls to inspire them and shape their educational and career goals. A review of Social Education and Ethics textbooks published by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE⁴) revealed gendered images of girls and boys that were as shocking as they were sociologically incorrect and biased.

“A woman has a greater aptitude for household administration jobs than a man does. This is due to her feminine character” (KIE, 1987a: 130)

“Due to her feminine character, a woman has a greater facility for taking care of food, clothes and the general home set-up.” (KIE, 1987a:15)

“By nature, man plays the role of father and woman the mother [...] As a consequence of his paternity, a man is the family’s breadwinner.” (KIE, 1987: 139)

“[W]omen enjoy complimentary remarks. (KIE, 1988:67) [M]en [should] talk about the things men think and feel about life’ [as] “interesting conversation and experiences may win her favour” [because] “a normal girl loves anything of an unusual and thrilling character.” [Girls should therefore] “radiate a charming personality and employ the right methods” (KIE, 1988:68)

Source: Cited in Wamahiu, 1992

The Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK)⁵ sought to correct the perception that women were silent bystanders in the annals of Kenyan history as suggested by the textbook writers and publishers. In 1994 it produced six booklets featuring women in Kenyan history, each from a different ethnic group. Five of the six were public leaders, holding positions of power within their communities. Two of them, Mekatilili wa Menze from the coastal region, and Moraa Moka Ngiti were freedom fighters that rallied their people against the foreign domination. Man’gana was a traditional chief from Western Kenya, while Ciokalaine-o-M’Barungu and Wangu wa Makere were sub-chief and chief in Nyambene, Meru North and Muranga respectively appointed by the British. These research-based profiles demonstrated that women could, and did get involved in decision-making and change processes within the established structures of ethnic societies despite male dominance and ideologies. Yet, for the Kenyan publishers and textbook writers, these women did not exist. Ironically, the only woman leader whose story was included in a primary textbook prior to the mid 1990s was mentioned adversely and ridiculed, her history distorted and truth replaced by myth. It is disturbing that the author of the textbook, John Osogo, was considered to be a historian of repute specializing in the Abaluhya peoples, albeit not on the Agikuyu, the ethnic group to which Wangu wa Makere belonged. In the textbook, Wangu was presented as a cruel Queen, who enjoyed disciplining men. N. Wai’s (1994) well-researched life of Wangu demonstrated this depiction to be far from the truth.

The contribution of WERK to the reinstatement of women in Kenyan history is modest but significant. Sustained evidence-based advocacy by women and feminist organizations like the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) and African Women’s Development and Development Network (FEMNET) informed the Ministry of Education’s decision to include gender responsiveness as a mandatory criterion for their official approval of primary school textbooks in 2002. The Women in Kenyan History series produced by WERK was utilized by FAWE and FEMNET as an advocacy tool to drive home to publishers it would no longer be acceptable to exclude women from textbooks on the grounds that women historical figures were non-existent.

⁴ Currently known as the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD)

⁵ Then known as the Ad Hoc Group of Women Educational Researchers of Kenya

More recent analysis reveals mixed impact of the MoEST efforts to engender Kenyan textbooks. Kobia (2009), in his review of selected primary school English textbooks found the under-representation of female gender in authorship, editorship, typesetting, photography and illustrating a series of English language textbooks entitled "Let's Learn English". His findings further indicated that males outnumbered the females as reflected in the usage of characters portrayed in illustrations, photographs, names and titles used to refer to the genders. However, the study found that the reviewed textbooks "tried" to use gender inclusive, neutral and gender sensitive language.

Based on analysis of secondary school literature set books Gachari (2012) came up with more similar results. She found that the books reviewed all had elements of gender bias, stereotyping of characters and role, unequal representation of male and female characters and use of gender insensitive language. At the same time, like Kobia, she found evidence that the writers had actually made attempts to make the books gender responsive. Both authors appear to be indecisive in their conclusion: Were the overall messages transmitted by the books gender responsive or not?

An investigation of the effects of gender roles portrayed in primary school textbooks concluded that gender stereotypes had an impact on pupils' academic aspirations. This was because the pupils tended to mostly identify with characters of their gender in the textbooks. (Mburu, 2012) The implications of this are obvious for girls' empowerment and the achievement of gender equality through the education system. The continued exclusion or denigration of female characters deprives girls of female role models to emulate. While there is clearly a need for more research on the extent to which teaching-learning materials (including textbooks) and classroom processes have been engendered, existing evidence points to weaknesses in the implementation of the gender criterion established by the Ministry of Education for the approval of textbooks, and in the proposed Gender Policy in Education (2007) strategy of ensuring that the primary and secondary learning environments are gender responsive.

Bennaars and Kabira (1994) attribute the problem of girls' education to the pedagogy of difference that stresses the differences between girls and boys, and women and men, rather than their similarities. "Such a pedagogy of difference," they argue, "starts at home and in the community. Parents educate girls differently from boys because the parents, and the relatives, and the neighbours, perceive girls to be radically different from boys." (Pg. 2) The differential treatment, which begins at birth, translates into discriminatory behaviour and stereotypes based on beliefs in the superiority or inferiority of one gender or the other. This process is continued into the formal education setting with children's books being an early source of gender role stereotyping. Mathuvi et al (2012) identified common gender displays in 40 children's picture books used as supplementary English texts for classes 1 to 3 in Kenya published between 2005 and 2010. Their findings indicated that the behaviour of women and girls is significantly different from that of men in the selected English children's books. In most instances, women were presented as second to men in function (occupational) ranking. Motifs of female character presentation that seemed to consistently appear throughout the years were the feminine touch (women constantly touching themselves), ritualized subordination (tendency for lying down at inappropriate times) and licensed withdrawal (women never quite being a part of the scene).

It is important to point out that the "pedagogy of difference" as a barrier to the achievement of gender equality in education should not be interpreted to mean that the needs of all boys and girls are identical. It is equally critical that we recognize that girls are not a homogenous group, and that one approach may not suit all girls. (Gipps, 1996)

Gender Bias in the Teaching-Learning Processes

One of the factors identified in global literature as affecting the empowerment of girls and the achievement of gender equality is gender-biased pedagogical practices. Following on the findings of research on gender discriminatory pedagogy, FAWE produced several tools to help educational practitioners to be aware of the issues and eliminate bias from the teaching-learning processes. The ABC of Gender Analysis, first published in 1997, went beyond Obura's focus on just the written text (and illustrations) to the "text-in-use", that is the way the text is mediated in the classroom by teachers and learners in the context of the lesson. In 2005, FAWE published a more comprehensive manual focusing on gender responsive classroom pedagogy that has been adapted for use in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa by teachers' training colleges and ministries of education. Unfortunately, literature describing the teaching-learning processes in Kenyan classrooms from a gender perspective is not available. It is not clear whether a planned evaluation of the implementation of FAWE's Gender Responsive Pedagogy was completed, and if yes, with what result. A few studies were commissioned by FAWE in Malawi and Rwanda to investigate gender-responsiveness in selected schools and examine their effectiveness in retaining girls. The studies highlighted the centrality of teachers' to success of learners, arguing that their understanding and awareness of gender-responsiveness is key to the effective participation of girls and boys in learning processes. (FAWE 2012:22) The few existing studies of classrooms interactions in Kenya have used structured instruments for data collection and/or analysis and have ignored gender (Mugo et al, 2011; Ngware et al, 2010). Yet, as global literature on gender and education tells us, the impact of the processes may not be the same for girls and boys.

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Education

The paucity of literature on gender in the teaching-learning processes notwithstanding, studies on children's rights and girls' education reveal violence in and outside the classroom that impact negatively on learning acquisition by girls and boys. Wamahiu and Chege (1996) observe: "...teachers maintain control over their pupils through a combination of authoritarian techniques including threats, denials, verbal abuse and physical punishments. [...] While the authoritarian climate of the classroom affects both boys and girls, punishment may be meted out differently to each gender." (Pg. 12) The paper also noted that sexual violence is also used as a form of punishment, though it is difficult to gauge with any accuracy the extent to which it is common given the sensitivity of the topic. The UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children (UNVAC) confirms the prevalence of violence against children in the school setting. The report states:

[...] In many countries, physical punishment is a routine of school life. Teachers can be cruel, humiliate children, physically abuse them or even use sexual violence, Teachers do so because they think it makes pupils work better or because they want to show their power. Violent discipline teaches children to fear, but it doesn't teach them to use their own initiative. It teaches them that violence is good way to solve conflicts, but it doesn't teach them values like tolerance or justice. It can also make them feel bad about themselves. (UN 2006: 25)

The UN Study lists the different types of violence that exist in school as

- Physical violence from teachers
- Cruel treatment and humiliation from teachers
- Bullying, both physical and mental violence from other students
- Sexual and gender-based violence.

In a research paper written in preparation for the African Court of Women in 1999, WERK classifies violence in schools as physical, psychological and sexual. In the paper, WERK reiterates its earlier position that “gender violence in education is reflective of, and influenced by the culture of violence that pervades Kenyan society as a whole.” (WERK, 1999:4) It argues: “In a society where gerontocracy intersects with patriarchy, the female child as the most vulnerable socio-biological sub-group, is often (though not exclusively) the target for harassment and abuse.” (Ibid) Researchers from WERK found the use of inhuman and demeaning physical and psychological punishments by teachers on pupils, both boys and girls, though the way the punishments was administered was gender specific. They reported cases of girls being physically abused by their boyfriends, who were their peers in school, on suspicion of infidelity. In other cases, boys would allegedly beat their female classmates “to intimidate them into not performing better than them in their studies.” (WERK 1999: 7) Psychological intimidation of girls by boys in order to make them “fail in exams” was also reported. The Action Aid (2011) study confirms multiple forms of violence perpetrated against girls in Tana River, with the most frequent form being physical forms of violence, such as whipping and beating by boys.

While psychological harassment of girls is commonly associated with the male gender, both teachers and peers, the literature reveals that female teachers were also complicit. (Ngau and Wangui, 1998; Wamahiu and Kireia, 1996; Wamahiu, 1995) The studies on different types of harassments ranging from alleged gossiping about their female pupils, victimization because of the way girls dressed, undignified health inspections, and deliberately crude pregnancy tests. It is worth noting that though Kenya Basic Education Act of 2013 prohibits any form of physical punishment and the mental harassment of school children in any manner whatsoever (Article 36.1) it is unlikely that the situation has changed much on the ground.

Sexual violence may take the form of power rape at one extreme, and/or sexually explicit labels that are derogatory on the other. (Wamahiu and Kireia, 1996; Wamahiu and Bennaars, 1993) Following Chege, (1998) one may differentiate between three forms of sexual violence:

- Physical: touching of breasts/genitals/buttocks; holding shoulders; beating; winking as well as exposure such as display of genitals; demonstrations of sexual motions; and rape including date rape and gang rape
- Written: letters and notes seeking sexual intercourse or seeking intimate relationship
- Verbalised: direct insults, unpleasant nicknaming; sexually explicit to buy sex; ridicule biophysical changes; references to cultural-religious stereotypes as justification for perpetrating sexual harassment and abuse.

Abagi et al (2011) reports that girls in Tana River are often victims of sexual violence perpetrated by boys in schools, homes and communities. A quarter of girls in their study sample reported having experienced sexual harassment such as unwanted touching of breasts, and one in ten reported that they had been raped. The frequency of the acts of violence leads them to believe that some boys and men see touching, grabbing, and sexual insults as acceptable or as a way of demonstrating manliness. The study also reported occasional incidents of boys or men forcefully taking possession of girls’ bodies to claim ownership.

Distance to School and Violence against Girls

Available literature also highlight the dangers that children, especially girls face, going and coming from school, and in the home and community environment, all of which have negative implications for their health, well-being and educational participation and outcomes.

A pioneering study, conducted by WERK in 1994, highlighted the plight of schoolgirls commuting to and from schools in public transportation known as the “matatu”. Using ethnographic methods of investigation, the researchers concluded: “the ‘matatu’ as an alternative mode of transport is hazardous for school children, particularly for adolescent girls. [...] it poses several risks; both physical and psychological [...] even school-girls themselves have serious concerns for their physical safety during ‘matatu’ travel to school”. (Chege, Rimbui and Olembo, 1994) The UNVAC (2006) study went further to suggest that girls’ likelihood of being molested increases the farther the school is from home.

Pregnancy and Early Marriage

The Basic Education Act (2013) makes education compulsory for all Kenyans below the age of 18, in conformity with the Kenyan Constitution, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and other international legal instruments and declarations. It makes it mandatory for parents to enrol their children in school and keep them there. The Children’s Act (2012) protects children from harmful societal practices including early marriage and from sexual exploitation. Yet, girls continue to drop out of school even before completion of the first education cycle. Studies indicate that in Kenya one of the most critical factors contributing to the dropping out of girls from school is teenage pregnancy. Muganda-Onyando and Omondi (2008) estimated that between 10,000 and 13000 girls left school each year due to pregnancy alone. When early marriage was included, it was found that almost 13 per cent of girls leaving school did so due to these two factors despite a school re-entry policy. Omwancha confirmed the lack of enforcement of the re-entry policy, in place since 1994, in his study of public secondary schools in Kuria county. (Omwancha, 2012)

Sexual encounters put both genders, but girls more so, at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases including HIV and AIDs. For girls, unwanted pregnancy and early marriage are additional possible consequences. (Wamahiu and Kirea, 1996) While some of the pregnancies could be the result of consensual sex between peers, many others are the outcome of coercive sex and “commercial” or transactional sex.

Jewitt and Ryley (2014) warn that poverty coupled with low levels of sexual and reproductive health and rights education can exacerbate gendered bodily inequalities as girls face an increased risk of sexual exploitation when they reach puberty. Chege (1998) reported that some poor, single mothers where she conducted her research encouraged their daughters to engage in transactional sex to supplement household income. Research conducted by Plan International revealed that “engaging in transactional sex negatively affected girls’ participation and performance in school as they tended to be more distracted and less able to concentrate in class.” (Plan 2012: 28)

1.2.4 Strategies for Empowering Girls

Adolescent girls have a multiplier effect in the fight against global poverty. When the life of one girl is changed, her family, community and the world benefit. This has been described as the girl effect. The

Human Development Report 2013 places particular emphasis on girls' education and states for instance that mothers' education level is more important to child survival than household income. The report also points out that girls' education is critical as it relates to demographics as educated women tend to have fewer healthier and better educated children. Along these lines studies have also shown that children in Africa whose mothers receive five years of primary education are 40 per cent more likely to survive beyond the age of five. An educated woman is furthermore 50 per cent likely to have her children immunised against childhood diseases. Studies have also shown that women with at least basic education are much less likely to be stuck in perpetual poverty. The provision of only one extra year of schooling beyond the average to girls has been illustrated to potentially increase their eventual wages by 10 to 20 per cent.

Breaking the cycle of girls' marginalization and addressing gender equality and quality of education requires concerted and integrated efforts at various levels. Recent literature identifies at least three areas of intervention within the school itself: Increasing female teachers, providing gender responsive teaching-learning materials and implementing gender responsive pedagogy (Plan, 2012; FAWE, 2013). There is also an increasing recognition that gender includes boys as much as girls, and intensified calls for the involvement of boys in addressing issues of gender-based violence and in the creation of gender equal environments (Plan 2012; Mannathoko, 2008). It has been argued that making school environment safe for girls enhances their learning and continued stay in school. Tackling stigma in schools contributes to creation of an environment that facilitates re-entry of girls who give birth during their teenage years hence making it possible for them to complete their primary and secondary education (Onyando and Omondi, 2008). Leach (2004) recommends that efforts need to be made through the curriculum and through school management to encourage more collaborative relationships between pupils and between teachers and pupils. Teachers in school and parents/guardians at home should take the responsibility of listening to both boys and girls and engaging them with constructive dialogue. In this men and boys need to be seen as part of the solution and not the problem.

Research literature confirms that giving equal opportunities in school leadership to both genders enhances girls' participation in decision-making. Rachel and Takavarasha (2010) notes that exposing adolescent girls to women in positions of leadership and power changes their attitudes in relation to desired educational attainment, desired fertility, and desired occupation. According to Thomas, (2002) girls who participate in school-based economic empowerment clubs have an opportunity to choose and implement income-generating activities (IGAs) and take part in curriculum that includes sessions on career choices, relationships and reproductive health. Acknowledging that school going adolescents sometimes engage in sexual activity, teaching about sexual health in a more constructive environment is critical. In addition, guidance and counselling departments in schools need to be strengthened to deal with the special needs of girls as it significantly contributes to improving the education status of girls (Onyando and Omondi, 2008).

1.3 Research Design

1.3.1 The Methodological Framework

The key features of the methodology employed to generate and analyse the data are a predominantly qualitative approach, gender sensitivity and child-friendliness. Qualitative research takes the

researcher right into the situation where the action is taking place. It looks at the situation through the eyes of “insiders”, and records their feelings, attitudes, and emotions, telling the story from their perspectives. Because the focus is on a few, the data generated is in-depth, going beyond the “what” to the “how” and the “why.”

The qualitative research paradigm is guided by a philosophy that maintains that social reality is fundamentally different from the natural world, and therefore the same methods used to investigate the latter are not appropriate in the study of the former. Human beings have “consciousness” and are active participants in the creation of their own reality. Consistent with the philosophical underpinnings, qualitative research is iterative; the questions evolve and are not pre-determined or structured. Unlike quantitative samples, where randomness and representativeness are key, in qualitative the exceptional and unique are important, with researchers going “where the research takes” them. This flexibility is also reflected in the research instruments that tend to be open-ended; data analysis is continuous, contextual and inductive moving from the specific to the general, from the concrete to the abstract. Research findings are presented in narrative form, and include thick and vivid descriptions of the situation(s) being documented using words and visuals, that may include voices, pictures and drawings.

1.3.2 Research Design and Procedures

There are different ways that one can do qualitative research, depending on one’s theoretical orientation. The present study adapted the ethnographic case study method to the collection and analysis of data. This involved the researchers immersing themselves in the sample schools for one full week, having casual conversations with pupils and teachers, interviewing them, involving them in activities such as mapping, playing with the pupils, and doing unstructured observations of interactions and activities in a variety of contexts. Together, the data yielded through the use of diverse techniques helped to reconstruct a holistic picture of the context in which the girl child operates, and facilitated understanding of her capabilities, aspirations and life chances, and whether the school is indeed empowering or further marginalising girls. More details follow.

Sample and Sampling

Study Locale and Sites

The study was multi-locale and multi-site. Two locales were purposively selected from among the eight WWW project counties:

Table 1. 1: Study Locales and Sites

County Name	Region	Criteria for Selection	No. of Sites
Nairobi	Nairobi	Urban slum, had the majority of the WWW schools, accessibility	4
Kilifi	Coast	Represents the ASALs in the former Coast Province, accessible with relative security at the time	2

The choice of two rather than all eight counties was guided by practical and financial considerations. A total of six project schools constituted the primary research sites. The initial criteria for the selection of the sites were the presence of “successful” school clubs as identified during the baseline survey.

The final research sites were selected randomly from the schools with active school clubs, as identified through the Baseline Survey.

Informants, Interviewees and Discussants

Two sampling strategies, purposive sampling and snowballing, were used to select key informants, interviewees and discussants from each research site. Consistent with qualitative research conventions, the maximum sample size of key informants and supplementary interviewees were left open to be determined by the “saturation point” criteria, though a minimum number was specified for each type of instrument taking into consideration time available for the fieldwork. As Table 1.2 indicates, almost 1300 children and adults were interviewed both individually and in groups.

Table 1. 2: Sample Grid by Research Subjects, Gender and Methods

Methods	Children		Adults		Total
	Girls	Boys	Women	Men	
Key Informant Interviewing	37	0	0	0	37
Supplementary Interviewing	29	6	18	14	67
FGD	54	56	0	0	110
Whole Class Mapping	279	255	0	0	534 ⁶
Whole Class Identification of Girls-at-Risk	259	270	0	0	529
TOTAL	658	587	18	14	1277

Girls as Key Informants, Discussants and Participants

Girls’ voices were central to the qualitative component of this research. The study sought out two categories of girls as key informants: (a) those identified as leaders by the school administration and teachers (b) those that may have dropped out of school for whatever reason, including marriage and/or pregnancy and identified by peers and/or teachers.

Girls were also selected to participate in both single and mixed gender focus group discussions. Two main criteria were used to select the discussants for the different FGDs: (a) active participation in school clubs and activities (e.g. sports, performance arts); and (b) class (upper primary). In addition, girls were involved in mapping safe and unsafe spaces in both single and mixed gender groups. The mapping exercises were whole class activities.

The Role of Boys

Though girls were the primary focus of the study, boys were involved as focus group discussants and mapping participants. The inclusion of boys in the sample in case of mixed gender groups may be justified on several grounds:

1. Boys’ perspectives on issues to do with girls’ empowerment and education are critical as they can be allies or they can actively obstruct girls’ success.
2. Not including them in the sample may have served to alienate them yet their involvement in the project implementation process is crucial.

⁶ The whole class mapping exercise involved children from Class 6 while children from Class 7 participated in the identification of girls at risk. The numbers for the whole class activities presented here are based on the total enrolment for these classes in the selected schools.

Boys, like girls, were selected based on their membership in school clubs and activities, and class (upper primary.) They participated both in single and mixed gender focus groups, and in mapping exercises.

Supplementary Interviewees

Supplementary interviews were conducted with head teachers; teachers and parents some of whom were also school management committee (SMC) or parent-teacher association (PTA) members. Efforts were made to include both males and females in the sample.

Data Collection Methods and the Generation of Data

As mentioned, the study utilized observations, interviews and selected Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) method to collect the field data. A comprehensive research guidance document was developed to assist the research teams with data collection. It provided researchers with brief and simplified descriptions of the research methods and tools, and step-by-step guidance on the procedures to follow in the administration of the instruments. The purpose of the guidance document was also to ensure some element of comparability across the locales and research sites, while maintaining the uniqueness of each. The details provided in the interview and topic guides were meant to encourage probing and not to restrict the researchers along a rigid line of questioning. The researchers were advised to focus on the core issues and adapt the tools to their particular contexts. Each instrument also included analytical questions that were designed to get the researchers to reflect on the data collected on a daily basis, and to foster on-going analysis and identification of gaps. In addition to the research instruments, the guidance documents included a number of annexes with sample free-flow observations, further tips on interviewing and FGD techniques, advise on what not to do, suggestions on building rapport with children, and Stage 2 transcription format for recording and analysing interviews and FGDs.

There were five sets of qualitative instruments as described below:

Table 1. 3: Research Instruments by Category

1. Observations	2. Key Informant Interviews	3. Group Interviews	4. Whole Class Activities	5. Supplementary Interviews
Classroom	Female School Leaders	FGDs	Mapping	Boy Leaders
Playground	Female Club Leaders	Small group (club leaders)	Identification of girls-at-risk	Head teacher
Assembly	Out-of-School Girls			Teachers
School Walkabout				Parents, SMC/PTA members

Thirteen tools were contained in the bag and were meant to facilitate the data collection across the six sites. While the tools were designed to help obtain comparable data from the different research sites, they were flexible enough so as not to compromise on the basic underlying principles of qualitative research. More details on the tools contained in the “bag” are provided in tables the Appendix.

Data Recording, Transcription, Quality Assurance and Analysis

In qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument for collecting and generating data. This was kept in mind even as equipment such as audio-recorder and cameras were used to record data,

guided by the triple ethical considerations of consent, confidentiality and protection of the rights of informants.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, researchers were advised to do on-going analysis while in the field to identify gaps in their data, and adapt their questions and observations accordingly with the intent of addressing these. Qualitative research is to a great extent intuitive. The daily reflection helped to provoke the “eureka” moments, helping to give direction to the line of questioning and make sense of the masses of data that were being generated.

Once back from the field, each research team was required to write up their manual notes, and where relevant, transcribe the audiotapes. Transcription of audiotapes is a tedious and time-consuming process (see section on Challenges), with each 30 minutes of recorded tape expected to take at least 2 hours to transcribe. In reality, the process took much longer. Once transcribed, the researchers were required to merge their observation notes with the transcriptions, and transfer them to the Stage 2 Formats in the case of interviews and FGDs for submission to the Qualitative Research Co-ordinator. The submissions were expected to include evidence of on-going analysis and reflection, as well as summary using the analytical questions. The observations provided the context for each interview and FGD, which is absolutely critical for qualitative analysis. Each research team was also expected to submit the data obtained through the observation tools showing evidence of reflection and highlights of the key findings per tool and observation using the analytical questions. The actual transcripts submitted were in the active voice, capturing the views and perspectives of the research subjects, with the perspectives of the researchers clearly separated so as not to contaminate the data.

The data generated through the fieldwork process has been massive averaging 150 of typed A4 pages per research site. The data obtained were rich, vivid and credible, bringing out the views of children (girls and boys) distinctly from those of adults (teachers and parents).

The data analysis was done manually, and at multiple levels that included:

1. Preliminary analysis during fieldwork:
2. On-going analysis of each individual interview and observations by the team involved in the data collection from the field.
3. Analysis of each data transcript using the analytical questions by team leaders.
4. Post-fieldwork analysis of data from individual research sites
5. Triangulation of data from various data sources (pupils, teachers, Head Teacher, parents, and members of SMCs and community members if available) and obtained through multiple techniques (observation, interview, selected PLA tools), were done by the research team leaders to validate the information and reconstruct the sub-cultures of each school. These together with the transcriptions were submitted to the overall team leader, and to the core team members.
6. Reconstruction of individual case studies based on each research site. Each of the four core team members took responsibility for different research sites, further analysed the data, identified emerging patterns and outliers to reconstruct the case studies, and assess whether the school environments are empowering or marginalizing for the girl child.
7. Comparative analysis was done at two levels:
 - a. First, it was done by research locale, that is, the findings from the research sites within any particular locale were analysed for emerging patterns and differences.

- b. Second, the analysis was done across locales to determine if it is the school sub-cultures or the external environment that contribute to the empowerment or marginalization of girls.

1.3.3 Field Preparation

The field preparations were led by the overall Qualitative Research Co-ordinator and supported by three senior researchers from WERK. Together, the Research Co-ordinator and the three senior researchers formed the Core Research Team. With inputs from the Team Members, a Bag of Tools was developed to provide guidance to the training and data collection process (discussed in more detail later).

Selection of the Research Teams

There were a total of six research teams, with each team consisting of an experienced qualitative researcher and one in a learning capacity. It was expected that the senior researcher would mentor the junior researcher, and that the latter would benefit from the hands on experience. Three of the Core Team Members were among the senior researchers who participated in the data collection exercise.

The selection of the teams was rigorous. Using the WERK network, applications were invited for the positions of Associate Researcher and Junior Researcher. The applicants were required to submit samples of their qualitative research work in addition to their curriculum vitae⁷. Over 400 applications were received. A carefully assessment scheme was developed to evaluate the suitability of the applicants for the task. Higher academic degree did not automatically qualify an applicant; there was more emphasis on practical demonstration of qualitative research skills than on theoretical knowledge.

Training and Orientation

The selected researchers were prepared through training/orientation undertaken in Nairobi. The total duration of the training/orientation was four days, split into two blocks of three days and one day respectively. During the first three days, knowledge of the participants on qualitative research was reinforced, using participatory learning methods. They were exposed to the major paradigmatic difference between quantitative and qualitative approaches of data collection and analysis. Focus was placed on interviewing and observations as the two basic research methods commonly used by educational researchers to obtain data from the field. They also got opportunity to practice some of the specific research techniques like mapping of safe and unsafe spaces.

During the second block, the workshop participants were taken through each of the five categories of tools, to familiarise them with the contents and techniques. One of sessions during the training/orientation discussed the challenges faced by researchers doing qualitative research, and issues relating to ethics and child protection.

Debriefing as a Research Tool

One day after return from the field, a debriefing session was organised for all those involved in the data collection process. Facilitated by the core group members, the debriefing focused on insights

⁷Associates were expected to submit two transcripts of interview and/or FGD and/or Observations done by them individually or one paper report written individually and one transcript. Juniors were asked to submit evidence of qualitative note-taking and/or transcripts of interviews/FGDs/Observations conducted.

gained from the fieldwork, both positive and negative. Researchers shared their experiences that included some of the challenges (logistical, methodological, substantive and personal) and how they were mitigated. Some of the issues shared during this session have provided useful inputs into this report.

Gaining Access to the Field and Ethics

The identification of the research sites (schools) and access to the field (schools and communities) was facilitated by WERK/CfBT partners, though in some cases, WERK had previously established good relationship with the local and school administrations. Facilitation of access did not, however, preclude the need for building rapport with the research subjects, especially children. Child friendly strategies were used to break the ice including playing games with them in some cases. Immersion in the respective schools for a full working week opened opportunities to build relationships with teachers and children alike.

WERK's Child Protection Policy and Research Ethics Policy guided all interactions and follow-up with the research subjects. In keeping with these, the names of the schools visited and the research subjects have been kept anonymous. All names used in the report are pseudonyms.

1.3.4 Challenges

As in all social research, the researchers were confronted by several challenges. The first set of challenges was related to the non-availability of adequate resources; the second had to do with identifying and accessing informants while the last set was environmental.

Resource Constraints

Financial constraints had consequences for the allocation of time to collect data and transcribe the notes. The one-week fieldwork period was, not surprisingly, inadequate for completion of all the recommended activities. For instance, some groups did not manage to observe both morning assemblies as suggested in the Bag of Tools. In some cases, it was also not possible to get certain categories of informants, or do follow-up interviews especially with parents, out-of-school girls and members of the SMCs.

Credibility of and Access to Informants

"Fake" Informants

At least one research team alleged that in their research site, the teacher assigned to help them attempted to "cook" informants for them. When requested to identify the club leaders, they were given a girl who confessed that she had just been appointed that very same day. Others admitted that they were not leaders at all. They also had difficulties finding "genuine" out-of-school girls. To quote one of the researchers: "We were bombarded by about four 'fake' informants because apparently the head of the school had spread word around that we were sponsoring girls for education." (Researcher, Nairobi School 2)

Hostility from Gatekeepers

Additionally, in both Nairobi and Kilifi, researchers reported meeting with suspicion and hostility from potential informants from outside the school setting. In one of the Nairobi research sites, the

researchers were mistaken to be officials from the Ministry of Education. In other contexts, male gatekeepers (a father and a husband) prevented access to the out-of-school girls.

“Disappearance” of Informants

In one of the schools in Nairobi where there was a high turnover of teachers, some of the teachers who had been identified as informants were laid off the day they were scheduled for the interview. This included the Patron of the school club.

Physical Environment

The physical environment of the researchers was not always friendly. Research team members had to deal with things like bed bugs to barking dogs (one of the research team members was evidently very scared of dogs). On one occasion, the researchers had to choose between eating the food offered by a school head and offending their host by refusing to partake of it because of the unhygienic conditions under which they may have been prepared.

Comparison vs. Intervention Schools

The focal person from the partner organisation responsible for selection of the schools changed one of the schools initially selected in Kilifi County at the last minute. This school, as it turned out, was the only non-intervention school in the entire sample. For this reason, the school has not been included as one of the case studies in this report despite the high quality of data generated during the fieldwork.

Chapter II: Do Schools Really Empower Girls? The Evidence from the Field

2.1 Introduction

To what extent do schools empower girls in marginalised communities and improve their life chances? This was the central question posed in the investigation of selected WWW intervention schools in Nairobi and Kilifi counties. The research sites were selected by WERK from the respective counties based on a list of intervention schools with operational clubs identified through the Baseline Survey. Of the six sample schools, five acknowledged that they had staff members who had benefited from the CfBT training. The Head teacher of the sixth school, a community school located in Nairobi, was not aware of any of her staff having been trained. The CfBT records indicated that the proprietor of the school had attended the training herself. One of the schools talked of GCN promising them school kits for returnee girls. At any rate, by the time the fieldwork was conducted in July 2014, it was still too early to see, or feel the impact of the interventions. However, it was possible to establish a qualitative benchmark describing the situation on the ground, focusing on the school environment and practices, and the implications of these for empowering girls and achieving gender equality in and through education.

This Chapter is organised into two substantive sections: In the first, it presents the synthesized context and findings of the qualitative research based on cross-case analysis, and framed within the five research questions that guided the study. In the second section, it describes lessons learnt organised around selected WWW project outputs.

WWW Project Outputs Addressed in the Study

Output # 3 Schools provide a safe and supportive school environment for girls
Output # 4 Girls improve their health, self-confidence and aspirations

2.2 The Study Findings

2.2.1 Contextualizing the Findings

The six case studies synthesized in this chapter were of intervention schools located in marginalised communities of Nairobi and Kilifi counties. While in Nairobi County, two of the four schools were private (community), in Kilifi both were public, sponsored by the National Government and District Education Boards. All schools documented were mixed, day schools.

In Nairobi, the four schools were spread out in the urban slums of Korogocho, Kangemi, Kawangware and Mathare, situated 1.5km northeast, 13km west, 15km west and 13km east respectively from Nairobi's Central Business District. These slums consist of informal settlements that are congested, with no central sewer system, piped fresh water, or a system of street lighting, resulting in increased insecurity and heightened crime rates. A majority of residents in these intervention locales are youthful; significant numbers have no permanent jobs and live on less than one dollar a day. Teenage pregnancies are high in the communities as are drug and alcohol addiction. Young boys are often recruited by powerful drug cartels to peddle drugs that lead to other forms of criminality.

The WWW Project classifies Kilifi County, where the other two schools were located, as part of the ASALs. Occupying the northern part of Kenya's coastal strip, the county is characterised by extreme

income inequalities and abject poverty. The two schools were 25 km apart, and approximately 40 km and 70 km from Kilifi Town. Like in the Nairobi slums, the majority of Kilifi residents are among the poorest in the country; the county counts among the five with the highest income inequalities. Compounding the problem of poverty are retrogressive traditions such as early marriages, funeral rituals and widespread belief in witchcraft and low literacy rates. Early sexual debut (before the age of 15), teen pregnancies and early marriages, contribute significantly to the drop out of girls from primary school. A report by FIDA (Kenya Chapter) also identifies domestic violence, wife inheritance, rape and defilement, prostitution and transactional sex as forms of gender-based violence that are prevalent in Kilifi County. (FIDA 2012) The county also has a high HIV prevalence rate.

All the six schools visited drew their pupils from the surrounding socially and economically disadvantaged homes. Family members worked in poorly remunerated, low status and often, insecure jobs that included casual labour, domestic work, and 'boda boda' (motorbike taxi) riding. Some worked as security guards, petty trading such as brewing traditional beer and snacks by the roadside. In Kilifi, the hotel and tourism industry provided employment while other jobs centred on activities related to fishing. Some of the children lived with relatives (grandparents or aunts) or headed households themselves in the absence of parents and other adults. Some of the absentee parents worked away from home or were divorced. Some of the children were orphans. It is against this background, that the findings relating to the five research questions are explored.

2.2.2 Addressing the Research Questions

The five main research questions are revisited in this section. Answers to each of these questions are presented in the following pages.

The Research Questions

- 1. How do primary school girls perceive themselves, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with boys?**
- 2. How do their male peers perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with the girls?**
- 3. How do other key actors in school, home and community perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances?**
- 4. What are the empowering policies, practices, attitudes and behaviours in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances?**
- 5. What are the social structures and the underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalisation?**

Girls' Perceptions of Their Aspirations, Capabilities and Life Chances

Despite the adverse conditions in which they lived and studied, the girl leaders who were interviewed appeared to have high aspirations, hoping to pass their primary and secondary school well enough to gain admission into high performing secondary schools and eventually transiting into higher education institutions.

The majority of the girls, regardless of where they came from, aspired to take up well-paid, high status professions like medicine, accountancy, law, mass communication and athletics. Others expressed wish to become nurses or university lecturers. It is not clear the extent to which teachers counselled

girls on careers. What is evident is that the inspiration of girls to “become somebody” came not from their female teachers (who ironically saw themselves as role models to the girls) but from prominent public figures like Nobel laureates Wangari Mathai and Mother Theresa, politician and former Minister for Justice Martha Karua, media personality Julie Gichuru, Academy award winning actor Lupita Nyong'o, lawyer Kethi Kilonzo and well-known evangelist, Katherine Kiuna that they had learnt about through the media. The Rev. Kiuna hosts a sponsored programme on a local television channel on women’s empowerment. All the role models mentioned, except for Mother Theresa, were Kenyans. In a few cases, the girls identified with role models from their family or community.

There were indications, however, that teachers were an influence on girls’ interest in subjects. Interestingly, eight of the ten girls identified either mathematics or science as their favourite subjects in Nairobi School 1 where they responded to this question. In Kilifi School 2, the two girl leaders who revealed their subject preference also said that their best subjects were either mathematics or science. In all the ten cases, across Nairobi and Kilifi, the girls linked their liking for these subjects, traditionally associated with boys, with the way teachers taught these subjects. In fact, one girl in Kilifi School 2 identified her mathematics teacher (a female) as inspiring and a career model. There appeared to be a clear difference in the perception of female teachers between Nairobi and Kilifi schools, with the latter frequently identifying them positively in contrast to the former who were either negative or silent about them.

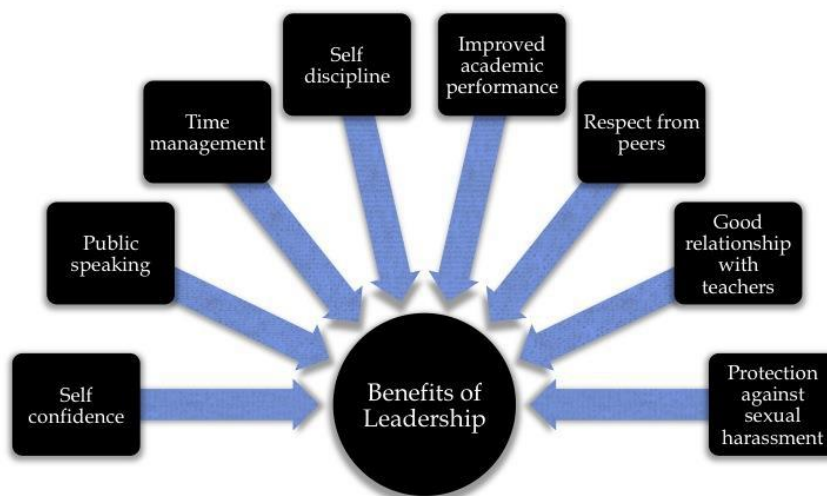


Figure 2. 1: Benefits of Leadership as Perceived by Girls

exception of one, they believed that being leaders had helped to improve their academic performance, self-awareness, confidence and communication skills. It had also elevated their standing among their peers. In one case, an informant listed protection from sexual harassment by peers as a benefit leadership for girls. (See Figure 2.1)

Despite their optimism, girls from at least four of the schools perceived themselves to be less capable than boys, especially when it came to assuming leadership positions whether in school or in their communities. Not only did they perceive boys to be better leaders, they said they would not vote in girls as president because they felt that boys were “strong and brave” and do not get tired easily.

All the girl leaders saw formal education as a way out of poverty, and a certain path for improving the quality of their lives, and attain high social standing. The fact that some of them came from families that could not afford to pay their school fees regularly did not seem to weaken their resolve or dim their vision for the future; rather it served to motivate them to work harder with the expectation of doing well enough to get sponsorships to continue with their education. With the

Though there were a few who expressed the contrary view, even they believed that girls had little chance of being elected to top leadership position in an open contest against boys.

These findings are all the more disturbing when examined against the fact that the informants were girl leaders---Head Girls, prefects, monitors and executive members of school-based clubs. The Head Girls in these schools confessed that they would not want to seek re-election mostly because they were not comfortable with imposing harsh punishments on their peers, and suffering the adverse consequences of doing so. The perceived consequences included the fear of being beaten up, poisoned or killed through witchcraft (the latter two were mentioned by girls in the Kilifi schools). It is interesting to note that one of the two schools where girls appeared to have more confidence in their capabilities to lead was in Kilifi as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2. 1: Girls Aspirations, and Perceptions of Their Life Chances and Capabilities

	Nairobi School 1	Nairobi School 2	Nairobi School 3	Nairobi School 4	Kilifi School 1	Kilifi School 2
Capabilities						
Aspirations						
Life Chances						
KEY	High Aspiration or Belief in Positive Life Chances or Confidence in Capability to Lead		Moderate Aspiration or Belief in Positive Life Chances or Confidence in Capability to Lead		Low Aspiration or Belief in Positive Life Chances or Confidence in Capability to Lead	

Sources: *Girls FGDs and Key Informant Interviews*

While those who were club executives appeared to be more comfortable with executing their responsibilities, most occupied positions of either deputy chairs or secretaries. Among the skills that they acquired from being club executive members, the most frequently mentioned was that of taking minutes of meetings.

Boys' Perceptions of Girls

Many of the boys admitted that girls were equally good academically as them. They gave examples of girls who had outshone boys in examinations. However, this acknowledgement of the capability of girls did not extend to a belief in their leadership ability, especially at the highest level. All the boys said given the choice, they would elect a male president instead of female one largely because they perceived top leadership to be traditionally associated with men. Only one boy had a contrary view. This boy felt that his school administration would prefer a female pupil to be the school president, as girls were perceived to be more submissive than boys and less likely to challenge the authority of the teachers. Many believed that girls could never win in open elections. Boys who had sisters were ready to support them in leadership roles as long as their siblings recognised the authority of their brothers.

In contrast to the girls, the boy leaders who were interviewed appeared to be very confident about themselves, and in their capabilities to lead. They saw themselves as strong, authoritative, hardworking and "able to do many things" unlike their female peers who they perceived as weak, shy and fearful.

Like girls, the boys too had high education and career aspirations. However, there was a notable exception in one of the two Kilifi schools, where a boy leader appeared to be less optimistic about his

life chances given the poverty in which he lived. Though ideally he would have wanted to continue with his education after completion of the primary level, he was not confident that he would have the resources to do so.

In the one school (Nairobi School 1) where boy leaders identified role models, for boys, they were successful people from outside the school, as in the case of girls. They included among others, Xavi Hernandez, a professional footballer from Spain. Like the girls, the only boy (from Kilifi School 2) who stated that his best subject was mathematics, praised his female mathematics teacher for “teaching well”.

Home, Community and Teachers’ Perceptions of Girls

The attitude of teachers and parents towards girls’ capabilities, aspirations and life chances may at best be described as ambivalent. While on the one hand, the parents interviewed appeared to share their daughters’ educational aspirations, not all were confident that they would be able to break through the vicious cycle of poverty to achieve their dreams. They pointed to the lack of positive role models, to high rate of attrition from primary school, particularly because of teen pregnancies in both the informal settlements of Nairobi and in Kilifi.

Though teachers claimed that their choice of pupil leaders was not driven by gender bias, they contradicted their statements by repeating gender stereotypical views of girls’ leadership capacity. Most were of the view that good academic performance did not necessarily mean girls’ should occupy top leadership positions. Given the choice to choose between girls and boys to be the president of the school, most tended to opt for the latter, despite the fact that there were girls who were performing well as head girls, prefects, and chair or deputy chairs of the school-based clubs. Parents appeared to share the teachers’ views on girls’ leadership capability.

Both parents and teachers confirmed pupil’s impression of the generally negative community attitudes towards girls’ education across all the research sites.

Empowering Policies, Practices and Behaviours in Schools

The table 2.2 below summarizes some of the gender responsive practices in the school case study schools. Three interventions stand out across all the six case study schools: Girls active participation in pupil councils, school-based clubs and HIV prevention education delivered to girls and boys in single gender spaces. Others that closely follow are equal opportunities for girls to be in leadership positions, gender segregated toilet facilities and the distribution of sanitary pads, and in four schools, opportunity for girls to play games that are traditionally classified in the male domain. There were also some outliers, notably, being allowed to bring baby siblings to school and meeting Ministry of Education standards for water and sanitation in schools. It is also interesting to note that the teaching staff was not gender balanced in any of the schools though women were visible in top management in a majority of cases. Some of these actions taken by the school are discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

Active Participation and Equal Opportunities in Leadership in Children’s Councils and Clubs: Children’s Parliaments and other similar bodies were introduced into schools to teach learners the rudiments of good governance and instil in the leaders sense of responsibility. They were also meant to help teachers to do three things: maintain discipline in the school, ensure cleanliness of the

environment and improve learning outcomes by getting the leaders to teach their peers. The extent to which these outcomes were actually achieved depended on the perception of good governance and qualities of good leaders by the teachers. Children could also become executives of the school-based club, and participate actively in their running.

The schools varied in the way learners were chosen to be leaders, ranging from fairly democratic elections to totally teacher/administration driven processes. Though theoretically gender neutral, both in the case of “open” elections and selection by teachers, the stacks were piled up against girls to assume the very top leadership positions. However, the schools had taken deliberate action by creating positions of Head Boys and Head Girls, to ensure that girls could assume top leadership of the pupils’ councils equally with boys. With rare exceptions, boys however dominated the top leadership positions in clubs with girls taking on the roles of deputies.

With the notable exception of Nairobi School 4, girls in all the other schools felt that boy-leaders had more authority over their peers than they did. Many expressed outright discomfort with having to discipline their school and classmates, fearing harm to themselves. In the coastal schools in particular, girls expressed fears of being beaten up, poisoned or falling victim to witchcraft. Corresponding to their lower self-image, teachers (including females) perceived girls to be weaker and less capable to taking the top leadership roles than their male counterparts.

The gender-specific challenges faced by the girl leaders notwithstanding, they appreciated the diverse ways in which leadership had benefitted them. They talked of how it had helped to develop their awareness of self; self-confidence; ability to speak in public especially in English; better time management; sense of responsibility; given them wider exposure to the outside world; punctuality; and self-discipline.

Table 2. 2: Gender in School Environment

Gender Responsive Practices/Interventions	Schools					
	N1	N2	N3	N4	K1	K2
Infrastructure						
Gender segregated toilet facilities for learners	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Girl: Toilet Ratio conform to MoES Standards	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Boy: Toilet Ratio conform to MoES Standards	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Washroom/washing facilities for girls	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Urinals for boys	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Gender segregated toilet facilities for teachers	No	No	No	No	NI	No
Sanitary pad disposal bin available for female teachers/girls	No	No	No	No	No	No
Staffing and School Leadership						
Gender balanced teaching staff	No	No	No	No	No	No
Women visible in senior leadership position in school	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Girls and boys have equal opportunity to be leaders	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School pupil leadership gender balanced	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Girl leaders have equal responsibilities as boy leaders	Yes	Yes	No	NI	Yes	Yes
Both girl and boy leaders authority accepted equally by pupils	No	NI	No	Yes	No	No
Teachers perceive girls and boys to have equal capacity to lead	No	No	No	Yes	No	ST
Classroom Practices						
Teachers pay equal attention to girls and boys	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Girls and boys support each other in class	Yes	NI	No	Yes	No	No
Teaching-learning processes promote gender equality	No	Yes	No	NI	No	No
Co-Curricular Activities						
Girls participate equally in school-based Clubs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Girls play games traditionally associated with males	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other						
Sanitary pads given to girls	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Girls at risk of drop-out rescued, sheltered, sponsored	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Permission to pupils to come to school with baby siblings	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Re-entry of girls who drop out of school because of pregnancy and marriage	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Girls who are identified/suspected of early sex/pregnancy counselled	Yes	Yes	No	NI	Yes	Yes
Girls counselled on teen pregnancy/HIV and related issues	Yes	Yes	No	NI	Yes	Yes
Boys counselled on impregnating girls/contracting HIV and related issues	Yes	Yes	NI	NI	Yes	Yes
Life skills/HIV prevention education delivered in single gender spaces	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
KEY	Yes, present in school	No, it does not happen/exist in school	NI: No Information		ST: Sometimes	

Sources: Varied FGDs, Pupil Interviews, Teacher and Head Teacher Interviews and Observations

Apart from one girl, all others noted that their academic performance had improved. They also mentioned enjoying increased respect from their peers and better relationship with teachers. In one case, a girl reported that being a leader acted as protection against sexual harassment by boys in school.

HIV Prevention Education: Though all schools mentioned this, how it was delivered varied from one school to another. On one end of the spectrum, it was left up to the whims of female teachers who decided when and if to teach it. On the other end, schools had regular single gender talks and counselling sessions with girls and boys on the risks of early sexual debut including HIV infection, early pregnancy and drug abuse. The emphasis of these talks on HIV prevention appeared to be on the sexual mode of transmission at the expense of other ways of transmission. Sometimes speakers from outside---the local health clinic/hospital, churches or NGOs were invited to talk to the children. The extent to which pupil's knowledge had improved and attitudes changed as a result of the talks are yet to be established. However, children in one school commended a NGO for reaching out to them on matters of relationships and sexuality, observing that without their intervention "this school would be so bad". Though the Head in this school asserted that the local church was working to inform and

counsel pupils on HIV prevention and related issues, none of the child informants mentioned the church as a source of information on these matters.

Gender Segregated Toilets: Apart from one school in Nairobi, all others had made attempts to provide separate sanitation facilities for girls and boys. However, only one met the Ministry of Education recommended ratio of 1 toilet cubicle to 25 girls. Similarly, of the six schools considered in the study, the provision in only one school (a different one from that cited earlier) met the standards of 1:35 boys. The toilet to pupil ratio was in one instance as high as 1:100.

In three schools there were one or two urinals for boys but in none of the schools were there washrooms for girls. Generally, uninterrupted and adequate water supply was a problem in all the schools. There were no bins for disposal of the soiled sanitary pads leading girls in two of the schools to throw them into the pit latrines.

Despite these shortcomings, girls on the whole felt safer going to the gender segregated toilets, especially where the toilet for boys faced away from that of girls. They reported decrease in sexual harassment, bullying and teasing by the boys.

Play and recreation: Though gender was still an important factor in deciding who was going to play what with whom, there was some evidence of children breaking barriers in the playground. In four of the six schools, girls were found playing football, a game that is generally perceived to be in the male domain. However, the game was segregated, with the facilities available for girls poorer than those for boys. Girls were observed to be playing the game informally without consideration of football rules and regulations. It was only in Nairobi School 1 where girls and boys mixed freely, playing football and other games with each other. In a casual conversation, the Physical Education teacher, a female, told the researcher that her policy was to have girls and boys do their activities together in Kilifi School 2. However, girls said that they did not like playing with boys for two reasons: First, because boys are rough (and the boys confirmed this), and second, because they feared being teased by their peers for playing with the opposite gender. In all schools, mixed gender play by children in lower primary was more common than in upper primary.

Baby-sitting in schools: This was an interesting outlier in one of the schools in Nairobi. It addressed the problem of opportunity costs of schooling for children, especially girls, in low-income and resource-constrained living environments. Being able to come with their siblings made the difference between the girls, and some boys, attending classes or remaining away from school. However, there were no support services in the school for the babies, meaning that the sole responsibility of caring for them was left to the girls (and sometimes boys) even during classes. Some of the female teachers also came to school with their babies, and were taken care of by the female pupils. The babies appeared to be distractions not only for their young carers but the school as a whole.

Gender balance in teaching staff: The gender imbalance in the context of the six schools was in favour of women teachers. In all cases, there were more women than men. This imbalance could possibly be attributed to the location of the schools---none of the schools were located in hard-to-reach areas. In fact, five of them were situated in urban locales. The pattern of female employment in the teaching profession reveals that they tend to cluster in urban schools because of accessibility and safety considerations.

There was a clear dichotomy in girls' perception of female teachers depending on whether they were from Nairobi or Kilifi. On the whole, the Kilifi girls mentioned female teachers positively more often than Nairobi. In one Nairobi school, one particular female teacher stood above others in terms of her popularity. However, the school's proprietor and Head Teacher, both females, were repeatedly cited adversely along with other female teachers who were not named.

Marginalising Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours in Schools

Table 2.3 summarizes some of the key empowering and marginalizing elements characterizing the school environment and cultures. The colour red and orange, indicating extremely marginalizing and unfavourable school experiences for the girl-child, dominate the table at 65 per cent of the total. As the table reveals, the two community schools in Nairobi were at the very bottom of the marginalisation scale. Nairobi School 3 in particular was completely devoid of any empowering elements. Here not only was the location, next to a dump site at the heart of one of the most dangerous slums, threatening but a combination of negative norms, attitudes and behaviour of teachers and community members made for poor learning experiences and outcomes for both girls and boys.

Marginalising features also characterised the two Kilifi schools, though to a lesser extent than Nairobi School 3 and 4. Though both the Kilifi schools were equally in the red, Kilifi School 2 was worse off than Kilifi School 1, having more unfavourable indicators than the former. In contrast to these, more than half of the indicators in Nairobi School 1 and 2 were either empowering or encouraging (63% and 59% respectively). Figure 2.2 graphically presents the main marginalizing factors that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, each of which are elaborated upon in the following pages.

Use of Corporal Punishment:

Most disturbing across all the six schools were the safety concerns for all children. Corporal punishment was liberally used in all schools in the pretext of "disciplining" or "correcting" the pupils. There were horrific stories of severe beating coupled with public psychological humiliation of the learners. There were several cases of what may only be described as enhanced torture techniques used by the teachers on the pupils. What was equally worrisome was that some of the children interviewed had internalised the belief that corporal punishment was justifiable. By being given the power to discipline using the cane, the vast majority of school leaders irrespective of gender were being "trained" by teachers to resolve issues of perceived indiscipline with the use of force, thereby perpetuating a culture of violence.



Figure 2. 2: Factors that Marginalise Girls

the belief that corporal punishment was justifiable. By being given the power to discipline using the cane, the vast majority of school leaders irrespective of gender were being "trained" by teachers to resolve issues of perceived indiscipline with the use of force, thereby perpetuating a culture of violence.

Insecure School Premises: The schools were either not fenced at all or had poor fencing. This encouraged all kinds of people to walk in and out of the school premises at will, exposing children to drug pushers and sexual predators. In some schools, children were at risk of accidents from cars and motorbikes that came into the compound without restriction. In one case the very same security guard who was expected to protect the children that girls identified as a sexual predator. While girls were reportedly at greater risk of rape and sexual assault, in one of the Kilifi schools children alleged forced "sodomisation" of boys by perpetrators external to the school. The child protection mechanisms within the school and community were either non-existent or weak.

Health Concerns: Not all schools had designated playgrounds. In one instance, a school rented the playground of a neighbouring school to enable their pupils to participate in games and sporting activities. However, even where playgrounds were available, the children were at risk of hurting themselves because of stones and rocks that had not been cleared from the fields. In addition, the play space was gendered in favour of boys. Older girls in particular tended to be sedentary, preferring to cluster in conversation groups with their female peers instead of engaging in active play. This meant that they were denied the health benefits of participating in sports and games in school.

Another health concern was the location of the kitchens (where they existed) in close proximity to the overcrowded toilets posing health hazard for all. The inadequate supply of water in all the schools for washing hands after using the toilets has already been mentioned. The lack of water also meant that children were unable to wash their hands before eating food, thereby greatly multiplying the risks of diarrhoeal diseases. It must be remembered that the location of several of the schools next to or in close proximity to dumping sites added on to the health risks for children. For adolescent girls, the lack of washrooms and non-availability of water was particularly disempowering given the stigma associated with menstruation and menstrual blood, and had negative implications for the maintenance of their personal health and hygiene.

Table 2. 3: Summary of Physical and Learning Environment by School and Degree of Empowering or Marginalising Attributes

Indicator	School					
	N1	N2	N3	N4	K1	K2
School Location	Orange	Orange	Red	Red	Orange	Orange
Infrastructure (Buildings, classrooms, toilets)	Green	Light Green	Red	Orange	Green	Orange
Fencing	Light Green	Orange	Red	Red	Red	Red
Pupil: Toilet Ratio	Light Green	Light Green	Red	Red	Orange	Red
Hand Washing Facilities	Green	Red	Red	Light Green	Red	Red
Playground/Sports	Light Green	Light Green	Red	Red	Light Green	Orange
Clubs	Green	Light Green	Orange	Green	Green	Green

Feeding Programme	Light Green	Dark Green	Orange	Orange	Red	Orange
Location of kitchen	Red	White	Red	Red	Light Green	White
Learning Facilities	Dark Green	Orange	Red	Orange	Orange	Red
Trained Teaching Staff	Dark Green	Dark Green	Red	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green
Class Control	Red	Dark Green	Red	Light Green	Orange	Red
Disciplinary Method	Red	Orange	Red	Red	Red	Orange
Teacher-Pupil Relationship	Orange	Dark Green	Red	Light Green	Orange	Orange
Peer-to-Peer Relationship	Orange	Light Green	Orange	Orange	Orange	Orange
Children's Representation	Light Green	Light Green	Orange	Orange	Light Green	Orange
Child Leaders Actively Involved	Light Green	Dark Green	Orange	Light Green	Light Green	Orange
Protection against Violence	Red	Orange	Red	Red	Red	Orange
School-Community Relationship	Orange	Light Green	Red	Red	Red	Red
KEY TO COLOUR CODING						
Red: Very Marginalising Environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poses serious safety, security, health and psychosocial threats to girls and boys. 2. Completely missing or barely present 					
Orange: Unfavourable environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Available, but inadequate, especially for girls 					
Green: Encouraging environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evidence of implementation of girl-friendly MoES policies, guidelines, standards though not fully compliant 					
Dark Green: Empowering environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Safe, protective and healthy 2. Meets MoEST policies, guidelines, standards 3. Friendly to girls 					
White	No information					

Sources: Varied FGDs, Pupil Interviews, Teacher and Head Teacher Interviews and Observations

Poor Teacher-Pupil Relationship and Classroom Pedagogy: Despite the fact that the teachers in the public schools were qualified, and some had received in-service training including from CfBT, most of the teachers appeared to have poor class control and pedagogical skills. Observations in several of the schools revealed classes that were laissez-faire and characterised by chaos as pupils openly disobeyed teachers despite the use of corporal punishments. Teachers complained of disrespectful learners, especially boys, who referred to teachers in unacceptable language. The congestion in the classrooms and the inadequate teaching learning-materials did not help to improve relationships between the pupils and their teachers.

As insinuated earlier, teachers preferred authoritarian style of classroom leadership and teaching by the cane rather than develop critical pro-learning skills and attitudes in pupils. In addition, the

classroom processes were replete with examples of gender insensitive practices and language use. The common system of tracking learners into ability groups appeared to disadvantage girls, especially overage girls and the few girls with disability in the schools, more than the boys. The teachers preferred to interact and engage boys in the classroom discourses. The boys were, on the whole, more active as compared with the girls who tended to be passive and retired in their attitude to learning.

The pupils had mixed feelings about their teachers. On the one hand they appreciated teachers who, in their estimation, informed, explained, encouraged, worked hard, and came to class regularly. They also talked of teachers who had sense of humour, related well to the learners, and went out of their way to help them even in personal matters such as buying them sanitary pads for girls or medicines if necessary. However, the children described majority of their teachers to be harsh and unjust, caning them for what they perceived to be minor infractions. They also noted frequent absenteeism and tardiness among teachers, impatience and their unwillingness to explain, and lack of sensitivity towards the problems of learners.

School-Community Relationship: In four of the six schools, relationship between the school and community was extremely poor. The teachers blamed much of the problems confronting pupils—their negative attitudes and behaviours—on parents and community members. For example, mothers were accused of encouraging daughters to engage in transactional sex, both parents were seen to be responsible for early marriages. Many of the marriages were described as intergenerational, with parents allegedly marrying off their daughters who became pregnant while still in school. They reported cases of fathers and other male relatives of having incestuous relationship with their daughters. Additionally boys, in the view of some teachers were spoilt by their mothers and encouraged to be undisciplined.

Two traditional practices—liquor brewing businesses and traditional funerals were perceived to encourage early initiation of girls into sexual intercourse, the latter in Kilifi. While girls in some cases consented to having sex with their age mates, more often than not they were allegedly seduced by promises of gifts and money, and sometimes coerced into sexual intercourse. Traditional funerals were also identified as contributing to pupil absenteeism especially in Nairobi where in some cases they were pulled out of school to attend burial ceremonies of relatives in their ancestral homes.

Teachers also complained of the irregular payments made to the school by parents and guardians. In Nairobi School 3, a private institution, this was cited as the main reason for high teacher turnover. Parents, teachers and pupils agreed that the non-payment of school dues caused learners to be sent home temporarily, and in the case of Nairobi School 3, the high turnover of teachers were cited. However, on a positive note, parents and pupils agreed that the schools generally understood their plight and allowed them back after agreeing with parents or guardians on payment plans.

2.3 Lessons Learnt

Though the findings of this study may not be generalizable to all primary schools in Kenya, or even to the 500 or so intervention schools, it does provide critical insights for increasing the retention of girls and improving their life chances. In this concluding part of the chapter, some of the lessons learnt from the various case studies are categorised under selected WWW programme outputs that are relevant to the focus of the Qualitative Study. It should be noted that though the WWW programme outputs are five in all, only the two that are of direct relevance to the qualitative study component are considered here.

Output 1: Communities support education of marginalised girls;

Output 2: Households support their daughters' education;

Output 3: Schools provide a safe and supportive environment for girls to learn;

Output 4: Girls improve their health, self-confidence and aspirations to learn; and

Output 5: Ministry of Education capacity to support education for marginalised girls is increased.

2.3.1: Output # 3: Schools provide a safe and supportive environment for girls

1. **The overall quality of education is a requisite for the achievement of gender equality.** Framed differently, the study findings confirm the argument of UNICEF and others that a girl-friendly school is a child friendly school and a child-friendly school is a high quality school. However, the cases examined in the study revealed schools that were far from friendly, though the degree of “unfriendliness” varied from one site to another. The schools were characterised by cultures of violence, rampant child abuse and a total disregard for professional ethics, in extreme cases. The learning experiences of both girls and boys were consequently traumatic but even more so for girls who, given the gender socialisation at home and the community, needed the extra push to develop positive self image and confidence in their capabilities. The execution of leadership roles by girls, more than boys, appeared to be sensitive to verbal criticism and to the negative attitude of their friends towards them.
2. It is recognised that other individuals and organisations apart from the implementing partners may also support schools where WWW is intervening. However, **it is important to ensure synergy between these, not conflicts, to ensure that the total environment is indeed empowering to the girl.**
3. **Schools, instead of breaking the vicious cycle of violence, are perpetuating inter-generational reproduction of violence, and not dialogue, as the preferred mode of resolving problems.** The use of violence as means of conflict resolution is being inculcated into young leaders as an essential tool for maintaining order, and enforcing authority. This is very dangerous and has negative implications not only for boys and society at large, but also on the safety and security of girls.
4. **In the schools studied, female teachers were in the majority but they did not necessarily act to protect the children. In fact many were among the perpetrators of abuse.** This finding indicates that finding gender balances in the teaching staff must do hand in hand with training in child protection, human rights, empowerment of girls and gender equality.
5. **Doing interventions in school is not enough but the follow up including support supervision of teachers is absolutely critical.** It is also important that the interventions target the right people. Otherwise, the activities undertaken will just remain at the activity level and not translate into the desired outcomes.

2.3.2: Output # 4: Girls improve their health, self-confidence and aspirations

6. **The home and media appear to play a more important role in providing girls with role models than do schools.** It is not clear the extent to which teachers draw on examples of historical icons like Meketalili wa Menza in Kilifi or contemporary achievers to encourage girls to venture into non-traditional professions. Though schools perceive female teachers to be providing girls with role models, most girls do not identify with them. In only one instance did a girl from Kilifi School 1 explicitly expressed wish to emulate her female Mathematics teacher. Most girls derived inspiration from national and international media personalities and public figures, and occasionally from their mothers and siblings
7. **There appears to be a relationship between the subject that a pupil likes and her/his perception of the teacher teaching it.** The preference of a majority of the girls interviewed for science and

maths coincided with teachers they considered to be their favourites, who tended to be males in most of the schools. The exception was one school in Kilifi where both the girl and the boy leader expressed admiration for their mathematics teacher who was a female.

8. **The rationale for a gender approach that recognizes importance of changing mind sets of boys and men in order to guarantee the safety and security of girls, and ensure that their retention and performance in school emerges clearly from the data.** If interventions target girls alone, it will be counter-productive as girls and boys will tread opposite paths rather than that of gender equality.
9. **It is important to listen to the voices of children in designing and implementing projects.** They have a fairly good idea of what constitutes a “good” school, and a “good” teacher, and what is working or not working in the school. For example, when they identify the flag, school bell, timetable and school rules and regulations as things that would like their schools to have, it speaks volumes for the quality of the institution, its management and the expected outcomes.

Chapter III: The Qualitative vs. Baseline Survey Findings - Is there Congruence?

3.1 Introduction

The WWW Qualitative Study was designed to complement the Baseline Survey, providing deeper insights into factors that empower and marginalise girls in the school environment. There was also an expectation that the qualitative research would lead to the discovery of important information that quantitative results had not touched on. In this chapter, we take a look at the extent to which this study has achieved its complementarity function. It does so by comparing selected findings of the Baseline Survey and the Qualitative Study against the major assumptions and assumed barriers underlying the WWW Project.

Specifically, the following questions are explored in this chapter:

1. To what extent and in what ways are the findings of the qualitative study and baseline survey congruent?
2. What new information does the qualitative study present that is of significance to the overall WWW Project goals that has not been touched upon by the Baseline Survey?
3. Are there areas of dissonance between the two studies? If yes, what are these?

3.2 The Extent of Congruency: The Assumed Barriers

The congruency (or the lack) of it between the Survey and Qualitative Study was assessed using selected barriers to girls' education and empowerment as assumed in the WWW Theory of Change (TOC) as the points of comparison. At the onset, it is important to note that the Baseline Survey was administered at the household level while the schools were the primary sites for the qualitative study. However, despite this, the overall findings of the qualitative study corroborate the Survey results.

3.2.1 Barriers Relating to Girl in the Community and Girl in the Household

Though the focus of the study was on the Girl in School and the Girl Herself, it did explore the perceived impact of the home and community on girls' education and empowerment. In addition to the pupils and the teachers, a small number of parents and community members were interviewed to get their perspectives on issues of interest to the study. Table 3.1 compares findings of the Qualitative and Survey findings relating to three of the assumed barriers identified in the TOC.

The qualitative data confirms the persistence of home and community-based barriers to girls' education, including boy preference. Some of the girl leaders complained of continued heavy workloads home; a coping strategy for home-school balance was to delegate some of their duties at school to other prefects, and having them step in for them when necessary. However, a few of the girl leaders reported being able to balance their school and home responsibilities because of supportive parents, especially mothers who ensured that they were not overloaded with domestic chores. Beyond this, there is evidence of slowly changing gender relationships at the household as more boys get assigned to take on responsibilities that were previously performed by their sisters

Table 3. 1: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Studies Related to Selected Barriers at Community and Household Levels

Assumed Barriers	Baseline Findings	Qualitative Findings
<p>Negative attitudes towards girls' education</p>	<p>Survey was not very discriminating on this especially questions on attitudes on girls' education. However, analyses of available data indicated that the community support structures for girls' education was weak.</p>	<p>The study interviewed selected number of parents/community member as supplementary informants. It is expected that more comprehensive data will be collected on attitudes in the second Qualitative Study that will focus on the community as the primary research site.</p> <p>Data from the current study point to a widespread perception of persisting negative community attitudes towards girls' education. Parents and teachers who were interviewed noted that most community members preferred to educate boys if confronted with a situation where they could not afford to educate both sons and daughters.</p> <p>However, most of the pupil leaders who were interviewed, both girls and boys, talked of supportive parents, especially mothers who made sure not to overload their daughters with excessive housework. Most of the boy leaders also talked of participating in household chores assigned to them by their mothers. Some maintained that they were assigned work equally with their sisters.</p>
<p>Young mothers lack the means to look after their children and attend school</p>	<p>Young mothers rarely return to school because of opportunity cost, the negative attitude towards young mothers in the school setting and the general lack of community support for such girls (including the perception that they are no longer girls but are women)</p>	<p>Apart from one school in Nairobi, there was a denial of the occurrence of cases of schoolgirl pregnancy. There was, however, an insinuation by a teacher that girls procure abortion, or leave the school before a pregnancy is detected.</p> <p>In Killifi, informants from both schools noted schoolgirl pregnancies to be common. In Kilifi 1, pregnant girls were allowed to return after delivery and according to pupil informants, were treated the same way as other learners. However, re-entry of the girls depended on whether they were able to organise for childcare for their babies. Their husbands prevented married girls from returning to school, partly due to the perception that they were no longer girls, but women.</p> <p>In all research sites, some teachers and children raised the issue of negative parental/community attitude towards girls who get pregnant while in school. Parents who were interviewed concurred that many in the community did not support girls' education.</p> <p>Head Teachers and teachers expressed readiness to take back pregnant girls, and most pupils—girls and boys—agreed that they should be allowed to return. Some admitted that girls were teased when they re-entered school. The Deputy Head of Kilifi II admitted that teachers had initially resisted the idea of re-entry but had since, changed their attitude. (Girls reported that the former Head Teacher was completely against the re-entry of girls</p>

		<p>who became pregnant while in school. A new Head took up office the week of the fieldwork.)</p> <p>Apart from one school, none of the others allowed pupils to come with babies as a way of addressing opportunity costs. Babies who were present in the school belonged either to teachers or were younger siblings of the learners. In either case, the learners (mostly, not always, girls) were assigned the responsibility of baby-sitting.</p>
Parents are not aware of the importance of enrolling children in school at an early age.	There are more age appropriate learners in the urban slums than in ASALs.	Over age learners, including girls, were enrolled as pupils in the Kilifi schools. The implications of this for the education and empowerment of girls need to be further investigated.

The lack of childcare facilities at home and school continue to constitute a barrier to the education of girls. Though school Heads, teachers and pupils were positive to the notion of single teen mothers returning to school to complete their education, they noted that support structures did not exist in the community or home, nor did the schools provide any childcare facilities. For married girls, the main barrier was negative spousal attitude to returning to school.

3.2.2 Barriers Relating to Girls at School

The comparison of Survey and Qualitative Study findings relating to two selected barriers on the Girl at School are presented in Table 3.2. The data confirms that gender is a factor in teacher-pupil interactions in upper primary. However, it cautions against concluding that gender equality exists in a classroom based solely on a quantitative count of parity in a teacher’s interaction with girls and boys. The quality of the interaction is critical in determining if a girl is being empowered or not.

With regard to the infrastructure, the qualitative findings point to significant differences based on whether the schools are public urban or private urban. The infrastructure in private urban, like the public rural schools in the sample, appeared to be poorer than public urban.

Table 3. 2: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Study Related to Selected Barriers at School Level

Assumed Barriers	Survey Findings	Qualitative Findings
Teachers treat boys and girls differently in school, which leads to girls being less successful in learning.	There is generally more balanced pupil—teacher classroom interactions with boys and girls in the lower grades. In terms of numbers of interactions in observed lessons, there appears to be gender parity in lower classes, which reduces in the upper classes. In Grade 2, more girls (53.3%) interacted more frequently with the teachers than boys (46.7%). However, in Grade 5 more	<p>Gender bias in class was discernible, with teachers generally engaging boys more often, addressing them by name, though there were exceptions. Boys were more active as compared to girls who tended to be passive and retired in both lower and upper grades observed.</p> <p>In a lower primary class in Nairobi, the teacher (female) who had been trained by CfBT, attempted to enforce gender responsiveness by calling on girls and boys in turn to answer questions. She did not, however, go beyond applying this quantitative measure. While she did not treat girls and boys differently, she did not appear to be an inspiring teacher.</p>

	boys (51.2%) interacted with the teacher than girls (48.8%).	Another teacher (male) teaching upper primary classes in the same school introduced an element of competition between girls and boys to motivate participation. His class was livelier, and he also appeared to have better class control. He was relatively new in this school.
Poor school infrastructure is a barrier to girls' attendance and learning.	There is a difference in infrastructure between urban slum and ASAL schools.	No distinct pattern of difference in infrastructure could be discerned in the urban slum and ASAL schools. For example, all schools except for one private community school (N4) had gender-segregated toilets. At the opposite end of the spectrum, none of the schools had fencing or perimeter walls apart from N1, a public school. The divergence in findings here could be reflective of the very small, non-randomly selected qualitative sample. On the whole, however, the Nairobi public schools had relatively better infrastructure than either the Nairobi private (community) schools or the Kilifi schools, both of which were publicly funded.

3.2.3 The Girl Herself

As presented in Table 3.3, the qualitative data, while corroborating the Survey findings that clubs promote active participation of both girls and boys, reveal that gender equality is yet to be achieved in schools in terms of top leadership roles. With some exceptions, the data show that girls are not as confident about their capacity for top leadership as compared to boys. In the view of the majority of girls, societal support for females who want to vie for top leadership positions is generally lacking. The qualitative data does, however, associate girls' leadership with supportive family members, particularly mothers.

The data also gives an insight into what type of club attracts girls (and boys). It suggests that club activities need to be thought through carefully if they are to achieve their goals of empowerment and wellbeing of girls.

Table 3. 3: Comparison of Findings of Survey and Qualitative Study at Level of the Girl Herself

Assumed Barriers	Survey Findings	Qualitative Findings
Girls low self-esteem and confidence, aspirations, gender stereotypes among boys and girls	Schools have clubs that encourage participation of both girls and boys. The findings also point to girls who are increasingly confident and motivated to take decisions regarding what they do in school, and their future lives but with less autonomy.	Clubs encouraged participation of both girls and boys, and gave opportunity to them to take up leadership positions. Girls were also nominated or elected, depending on the school, to become leaders in the pupils' councils, prefect system, games and co-curricular activities. However, with few exceptions, they tended to play second fiddle to boys, and despite performing well, expressed unease with being reappointed/re-elected into the pupil's council and prefect body. Girl leaders also believed that they had little chance of winning against boys in presidential elections. They attributed this to two factors (a) prevalent gender biases against girls; (b) perception among girls themselves that boys are better suited for top leadership positions, indicating lower self-esteem and self-confidence than boys.

		Girls had high education and career aspirations emanating from outside, not the school. The media appears to be more important in providing girls with role models than teachers at school. Mothers of girl leaders reportedly gave them both moral support, and the space to study at home by reducing on their domestic chores.
Girls who are healthier will learn better.	Most of the school clubs were addressing health issues such as biases against HIV/AIDS.	The number of clubs in the schools visited ranged from one to seven. The clubs varied in focus. Health clubs that were operational addressed issues of HIV and AIDS, nutrition, cleanliness, water and sanitation. In one school with multiple clubs, the membership of the health club was limited in number despite it (together with the science club) being active. Its failure to attract members in large number was attributed to the type of activity it was undertaking (toilet cleaning).

3.3 Additional Issues

Children's Attitude towards School

An overwhelming number of girls (98%) who were interviewed during the Survey expressed positive attitude towards schooling. They claimed to like school and found it to be a good place to be most of the time. However, when girls were asked to list 'bad' things in their schools, most girls identified school infrastructure and the learning process as contributing to the components they see as not good in their schools. Girls observed that the learning environment was full of violence with both teachers and students identified as perpetrators. In addition, they mentioned early marriages, child labour, inadequate and dirty toilets and lastly the availability of few desks, classes and textbooks.

The results of the Qualitative Study were similar. The girls saw education as a way out of poverty, to "become somebody" in society. The girls' description of what they liked, and did not like about their schools corroborated the Survey findings. The Qualitative Study went further than the Survey by taking a gender approach, seeking perceptions not only of girls, but also of boys, on what they liked (or not) about their schools. Their perspectives are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3. 4: Children's Perception of Good School by Gender and Research Site

Children's perception of good school (what they like)	Girls	Boys	Schools
Clubs, life skills, creative arts, choir, singing & dancing	☐	☐	N4, N1, K1
Play equipment & grounds, time to play	☐	☐	N1, N2, K1
Talks by external speakers	☐	☐	N1, K1
Sufficient teachers, good teachers who teach & explain well, are committed	☐	☐	N4, N3, N2, N1, K1, K2
Teachers who are fair, helpful, friendly, funny, patient, hardworking, respectful	☐	☐	N4, N3, N1, K1, K2
Children learn and examination performance is good	☐	☐	N4, K2
The school environment is clean and neat.	☐	☐	N2, N4, N1
The school has good learning conditions including sufficient number of books and other necessities	☐		N4, N1, K1
Story books	☐	☐	K1

Good infrastructure (water, toilet, buildings) and adequate number of classrooms	☐	☐	N2, N4, N3, K1, K2
Children have time to read and do homework	☐	☐	N4
Homework given everyday	☐	☐	N3
Girls are comfortable in school. No sexual harassment by male teachers	☐		N4, N1
Sanitary napkins are available	☐		N2, K2
School helps pupils in need.	☐		N4
Most children are good, disciplined and friendly.	☐	☐	N4, N3, N1
Punishments not very severe, no caning	☐	☐	N4, K1
Girls' personal space, style are respected and rights protected	☐		N4, N1
School feeding programme	☐		N3, N1, N3
No bullying	☐	☐	N4, N1
Affordable fees, (extra) tuition fee scrapped	☐	☐	N1, K1, K2
Students not sent home frequently for whatever reason	☐	☐	N1, N2, K1
Good security	☐		N1
School that is near home	☐		K1
Rewards for performing well/punishment for poor performance	☐	☐	K1, K2
Speaking English is emphasized		☐	K2
Colour Code Key			
Mentioned by girls' only in 3 or more schools	Mentioned by both girls and boys in 4 or more schools	Mentioned by boys only	
Mentioned by girls' only in 1-2 schools	Mentioned by both girls and boys in 3 schools	Mentioned by both girls and boys in 1-2 schools	

Sources: Varied FGDs and Pupil Interviews

An analysis of the above table reveals some interesting patterns. Teacher characteristics topped the list of what learners across the schools identified as what they liked, and perceived to be in “good” schools. Teacher characteristics enumerated by the children, irrespective of gender or school, focused on qualities related to teaching effectiveness and delivery of the academic curriculum. A good teacher, as discussed in the previous chapter, was repeatedly described as “one who explains until one understands.” The ability of the teacher to communicate and simplify academic content was considered to be of utmost importance. At the same time, pupils highlighted qualities in the psychosocial/affective domain such as commitment, hard work, good interpersonal skills, empathy and sense of humour as qualities that teachers in a good school should have.

Teacher Absenteeism as a Problem

The Baseline Survey found 68 per cent of the teachers were absent from the sampled schools at least once a week. This was consistent with the findings of the Qualitative Study that found teacher absenteeism to be a problem in all the schools, albeit some more than the other. Some children described a good teacher to be one who does not miss school, and stands in for teachers who are absent from class. When asked what additional things they would want to see in their school, children

in two out of the six schools said they would want their teachers to come to class regularly and on time. (See Table 3.5) Children also wished for more teachers, teachers who were committed to their work, caned them less and respected their rights, all characteristics of good schools.

Prioritisation of the Physical Environment

Not unexpectedly, the physical environment was identified as a hallmark of a good school. Though mentioned by children from four of the schools (two private schools in Nairobi and both the Kilifi), when asked what was missing from their schools that they would want to have, pupil informants from all schools identified various things relating to infrastructure and facilities that they were lacking. These ranged from more, spacious and rehabilitated classrooms, availability of water and electricity, and perimeter fences.

Table 3. 5: Things Learners Want in Their Schools by Gender and Research Sites

<i>What additional things children would like to see in their school</i>	G	B	Sites
Playground, games & games' uniform, outdoor activities, musical instruments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4, N3, N1, K1
Flag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4, N3
Library	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4, N1
Fence, perimeter wall, gate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N1, N2, N3, K1, K2
Rules and regulations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Timetable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Bell	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Good hygiene and cleanliness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4, N3
More and serious teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Teachers not to beat or punish indiscriminately and respect children's rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4, K1
Teachers to be committed, punctual and regular	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N1, K1
Pupils to stop bullying.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N4
School location where it does not flood, away from dumping site	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Children to wear uniform	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
More & bigger classrooms, repair classrooms, blackboards, floors, roofs, toilets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3, K1, K2
Provision of security guards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
More classroom furniture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3, N1, K1
More textbooks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3, K1
More story books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	K1
Sanitary pad distribution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3
Changing room, soap	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	K1 K2
Water	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N2, N3, K1, K2
Debate club, drama, trips	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	N3, K2

Electricity, gas	☐	☐	N1, K1, K2
School bus	☐		N1, N2, K1
After school tuition, coaching	☐		K1, K2
Boarding facilities	☐	☐	K1, K2
Affordability of fees, Sponsors		☐	N2, K1
Feeding program	☐	☐	K1, K2
Counselling for boys		☐	K2
Colour Code Key			
Proposed only by girls	Infrastructure & facilities	Books	Other
Proposed only by boys	Teacher related	Co-curricular	

Sources: Varied FGDs and Pupil Interviews

The Outliers

Analysis of what children want by school type reveals some interesting outliers. The national flag was identified as missing by children from only two Nairobi private schools. Gender analysis reveals the school bell, rules and regulations, and timetable---things that one expects any school to have regardless of location or type---being identified curiously by boys alone from Nairobi School 3. It is not clear why there was this gender differentiation in the identification of needs.

It was also only a boy from the same school who expressed the need to have security guard in his school, though a girl from a Nairobi public school listed “good security” as a hallmark of a good school. Children (both genders) from four schools across the two locales identified perimeter fences and walls, as things that their school should have, to keep out people from the community from walking in and out, or driving in, thereby putting the learners at risk. Boys in N4 and K2 identified the necessity of stopping bullying and access to counselling services for their gender respectively. Both girls and boys from two public schools in Nairobi and Kilifi described a good school to be one where there is no bullying. However, it was generally agreed the perpetrators of bullying were mainly older boys, and sometimes girls, while the victims were younger children irrespective of gender.

Girls’ only responses reflect a concern with issues that address their specific gender needs as adolescents. Some of the girls described a good school as where they are not caressed by male teachers or peers, where they are safe. The demand for school bus and schools that are nearer home reflect both safety concerns and strategies to reduce on commuting time, and by implication, more time to do after school learning whether homework and revisions or tuition.

3.4 Implications of the Study for the WWW ToC

Though the qualitative study focused on two of the four dimensions of WWW ToC, it did consider the household and community related barriers from the perspective of teachers, children and to a lesser extent the parents. The evidence obtained reinforces the case made in the Survey for the re-conceptualization of the ToC to take into consideration the complexity of the inter-relationship between the four dimensions, and not approach it as linear and non-iterative.

The qualitative findings also resonate with the recommendation made in the survey report to adapt the ToC to the specific contexts. While the survey report points out the differences in the community

backgrounds in urban areas and ASALs, the qualitative study urges taking into consideration the differences between urban public and private (community) schools as well.

Chapter IV: The Way Forward

4.1 Introduction

The study findings indicate a need for a holistic approach to the issue of girls’ empowerment and gender equality in and through schools. While the home and community are important influencers, the school with the “right” environment that puts the “best interest” of children, girls and boys, at the centre of programmes design, processes and outcomes, can make significant changes to empower girls and boys. Empowering girls require levelling the playing field by taking deliberate actions in their favour. It also requires changing the attitude and behaviour of boys, so that they learn to be respectful to their female peers and to the teachers. The study reinforces the importance of careful monitoring of project implementation if the desired results are to be obtained.

Though the study confirms many of the assumptions identified by the Theory of Change (ToC), it draws attention to weaknesses in the model. It reaches the same conclusion as the Baseline Survey, that the ToC should be modified to reflect the complex interface between its four dimensions. It also recommends the need to tailor interventions to the contexts, taking into consideration not only the differences between the urban and ASALs but also between the urban public and private (community) schools.

4.2 Recommendations

The individual monographs in the WWW qualitative study series enumerate case study specific recommendations. In this final section of the synthesis report, the main recommendations are highlighted and presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1: Summary of Recommendations

Issue	Summary Recommendation	Lead Agency
M & E, Research & Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revise the ToC to reflect complex interplay between four dimensions (the iterative approach rather than linear approach) and contextual and diversities between urban areas and ASALs as well as urban public and private (community) schools as recommended in the Baseline Survey • Use findings of the monitoring exercises to determine the focus of future qualitative investigations • Research on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Female teachers, and their impact on girls’ education and empowerment ○ Sexual abuse of boys in schools ○ Impact of funerals and associated ceremonies on girls’ education ○ Factors that prevent girl mothers and married girls from re-entering school • Engage in analysis of Significant Change Stories and other related data collected by implementing partners to determine what works, and the reasons for their effectiveness. Utilise the knowledge generated to inform the WWW project design, and make necessary adjustments. • Initiate debate and discussion among the community of researchers and child right advocates on ethical issues relating to research and child 	WERK

	protection focusing on conflict between the value of “best interest of the child” and research norms of confidentiality and anonymity	
Policy Advocacy	Develop policy briefs on issues emerging from the research (e.g. child abuse) and roundtable discussions with policy/decision makers	CfBT
Capacity Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen in-service training of teachers on selected issues using experiential methods and within human rights and gender equality frameworks anchored in the Kenyan Constitution (e.g. positive disciplining, gender responsive pedagogy & child-friendly schools, active learning, rights and responsibilities of teachers and children) paying particular attention to the quality of the interventions • Strengthen follow-up mechanisms and quality of the coaching • Develop strategy for preventing high turnover of teachers benefiting from in-service training through the project • Strengthen capacity development of Guidance & Counselling departments of schools through the placement of professionally trained personnel, who are not only well intentioned but also non-judgemental in the way they deal with the pupils, and address issues arising from their specific gender needs. • Putting mechanisms in place to provide psychosocial support for female teachers to enable them to deal with the negative effects of gender socialisation and thereby sort out between the facilitative elements and barriers to their self-efficacy as teachers and role models • Focusing on understanding and addressing gender dimensions of violence (females as perpetrators and as targets) in the training programmes 	CfBT, Implementing Partners
Children’s Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening child rights clubs in schools and the integration of child rights into the curriculum of other clubs including those focusing on health, environment, tourism, martial arts and others. The club activities should be child-friendly and fun so as to attract members, and motivate them into practicing what they learn. • Strengthen children’s councils, prefect bodies and similar mechanisms by training the executive committee members on their roles and responsibilities as servant leaders. The trend to use the child leaders as disciplinarians, reproducing the concept of violent forms of punishment, is only serving to perpetuate an undemocratic culture in and through schools. 	Implementing Partners
Girls’ Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The self-image and confidence of girls to lead need to be strengthened through customised leadership programmes, reinforced through girls’ empowerment clubs and gender responsive classroom practices. • There is need to reinstitute Life Skills Education in the primary school timetable. Currently, the teaching of LSE in Kenyan primary schools is very arbitrary despite it being in the education curriculum. 	Implementing Partners

Appendices

Table A. 1: Investigative Tools Used by Research Questions Addressed

Code	Tool	Research Question Addressed	Recommended Sample Size
A.1	Classroom observations	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalisation?	4
A.2	Playground observations	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	2
A.3	Assembly Observations	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, practices, attitudes and behaviours in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the social structures and the underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	2
A.4	School Walkabout	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	1
B.1	Key Informant Interview: Girl Leaders	Q. 1: How do primary school girls perceive themselves, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with boys? Q. 4: What are girls' experiences of schooling?	5
B.2	Key Informant Interview: Club Leaders	Q. 1: How do primary school girls perceive themselves, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with boys? Q. 4: What are girls' experiences of schooling?	2
B.3	Key Informant Interview: Out-of-School Girls	Q. 4: What are girls' experiences of schooling? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	3

C.1	Group Interviews: FGDs	Q. 4: What are girls' experiences of schooling? Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	3
C.2	Group Interview: Club leaders	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalisation?	1
D.1	Whole Class Activity: Mapping Safe and Unsafe Spaces	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	2
D.2	Whole Class Activity: Identifying Girls at Risk	Q. 5: What are the empowering policies, <u>practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalisation?	1
E. 1	Supplementary Interviews: Boys	Q. 2: How do their male peers perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? How do they compare themselves with the girls?	2
E. 2	Head Teacher Interview	Q. 3: How do other key actors in <u>school</u> , home and community perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances? Q. 5: What are the empowering <u>policies, practices, attitudes and behaviours</u> in school that facilitate their empowerment, strengthening their capabilities, and helping them to achieve their aspirations and improved life chances? Q. 6: What are the <u>social structures</u> and the <u>underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours</u> that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, thereby contributing to their marginalization?	1
E.3	Teacher Interview	Q. 3: How does other key actors in school, (home and community) perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances?	4
E.4	Parent Interview	Q. 3: How does other key actors in school, (home and community) perceive girls, their capabilities, aspirations and life chances?	2

Table A. 2: Research Method by Type of Data Generated

Method	Research Objective #	Type of Data Generated	Research Subjects Involved
Key Informant Interview	1, 4	Perception + contextual data, life history, time allocation data, how they compare with boys, experience of schooling, critical incidence data	Girl leaders & out-of-school girls
Supplementary interview-1	2	Perception + contextual data, time allocation data, how they compare with girls	Boy leaders
FGDs	4, 5, 6	Perception on themes relating to empowerment and education to be identified; experiences of policies, practices, behaviour	Girls & boys in upper primary in clubs
Supplementary interview- 2	3, 5, 6	Perception of girls (and boys); identification/description of policies & practices	School administration, teachers, local leaders, parents
Mapping	4, 5,6	Safe/unsafe friendly/ unfriendly spaces; girls-at risk, excluded girls	Girls, boys (whole class upper primary)
Free-flowing observations	5,6	Policy implementation, behaviour, practices in class, playground, clubs, assembly	Girls interactions with boys and teachers

Table A. 3: Counties by Number of Instruments Administered

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

REFERENCES

- Action Aid International Kenya, (2011). *The status of girls' education and violence in Tana River, Kenya: A baseline Survey Report. Kenya.*
- Bennaars, G ., & Kabira, M. K. (1994). *Girls' education: an agenda for change.* Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- Chege, F., Rimbui, Z., & Olembo, W. (1994). *Travelling to and from school in Nairobi: girls and the painful "matatu"ride.* Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK), 1994.
- County Assembly. (2014). *County assembly of Kilifi: The Hansard.* Kilifi.
- Daniel, K. (2009). *Sociology and anthropology: the factors militating against the education of girls: a case study in Kenya, 1 (7),* 116–123. Retrieved from <http://www.academicjournals.org/ijisa>
- Department for International Development /The British Council. (1998). *Girls' clubs: a patron's manual.* Nairobi, Kenya: focus publications ltd for a DFID.
- FAWE. (2012). *Strengthening Gender research to improve girls' and women's education in Africa.* FAWE, Vol. 2(Fawe Research Series).
- FIDA. (2012). *Baseline survey on community-based legal assistance schemes partnerships (LASPS).* Kenya.
- Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), & International Development Center of Japan Inc. (IDCJ). (2012). *Basic education sector analysis report -Kenya.*
- Jewitt, S., & Ryley, H. (2014). It's a girl thing: Menstruation, school attendance, spatial mobility and wider gender inequalities in Kenya. *Elsevier*, 137–147.
- Kipkulei, C. B. (2008). *Selected factors affecting girls' participation in primary school education in Barwessa division of Baringo district, Kenya* (Thesis). Egerton University, Kenya.
- Kobia, M. J. (2009). *Feminity and masculinity in English primary school textbooks in Kenya.* Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

- Leach, F. (2004). *Violence in and around schools: Gender violence in schools*. UNICEF, 7(1).
- Livingstone, S. S. (2012). *Numbers are not enough: why gender inequality in education persists in Kenya* (Thesis). Simon Fraser University, Columbia.
- Morara, N. A., & Chemwei, B. (2013). Drop out among pupils in rural primary schools in Kenya : The case of Nandi North District, Kenya. *IISTE*, 4 No. 19. Retrieved from www.iiste.org
- Mwangi, I. (2014). *Our children matter. The status of child abuse and child protection in Kenya and Kilifi County 2014: Challenges and recommendations*. Kesho.
- Obura, P. A. (2011). *Gender equality in education planning and management in Kenya*. Paris: Ministry of Education, Nairobi, Kenya and the International Institute for Education Planning (IIEP), UNESCO.
- Ominde, H. S. (1977). *The Luo girl: From infancy to marriage*. East African Literature Bureau
- Onyando, M. R., & Omondi, M. (2008). *Down the drain: Counting the costs of teenage pregnancy and school drop-out in Kenya*. Centre for the Study of Adolescence (CSA).
- Plan International. (2014). *Kilifi County has unenviable child marriage record*. Plan International.
- Plan International (2012). *Because I am a girl: Africa report 2012 progress and obstacles to girls' education in Africa*.
- Plan International (2012). *Because I am a girl, so what about boys: The state of the world's girls 2011*. Italy: Plan.
- Plan International (2008). *Learn without fear: The global campaign to end violence in schools*. Plan.
- Rachel, G., & Takavarasha, K. (2010). *Empowering young women*. Nike Foundation.
- Republic of Kenya. (2010b). *The Proposed constitution of Kenya*. Government Press.
- Republic of Kenya. *The basic education ACT, 2013, No. 14 215* (2013).
- Sebates, R., Akyeampony, K., Westbrook, J., & Hunt, F. (2011). *Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, The hidden crisis*. Armed Conflict and Education. Centre for International Education.

Thomas, E. (2002). *Healthy futures: Reducing barriers to primary school completion for Kenyan girls* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.). Washington DC: The Academy for Educational Development: University, Centre for Communication Programs, Population Communication Services.

UNESCO. (2010). *EFA global monitoring report 2010: Reaching the marginalized*. Oxford England: Oxford University.

UNVAC. (2006). *United Nations Secretary-General's study on violence against children adapted for children and young people*. UNICEF.

Wai, N. (1995). *Wangu wa Makeri: A pioneering Kenyan feminist*. Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK).

Wamahiu, P. S. (1992). *The situation of girls in Kenya*. Unpublished.

Wamahiu, P. S., & Chege, F. (1996). *Girls schooling and a democratic culture: Towards gender equity in Kenya*. Unpublished.

Wamahiu, P. S., & Keria, S. (1996). *Exploring adolescent pregnancy and secondary school dropout in Kenya*. Unpublished.

Wamahiu, P. S., Opondo, A. F., & Nyagah, G. (1992). *Educational situation of the Kenyan girl child*. The Educational Research Network in Kenya (ERNIKE).