THE EFFECT OF THE MUNGIKI SECT ON ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN NYERI COUNTY, KENYA

BY

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E55/CE /11417/07

A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MASTER OF EDUCATION DEGREE IN THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

MAY 2014
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for an award of any study programme in any university or any institution of higher learning.

Signature __________________________  Date __________________

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E55/CE/11417/07

We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under our supervision as university supervisors. This thesis has been submitted for review with our approval as the university supervisors.

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Signature___________________________  Date________________________

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DEDICATION

To my wife Margaret Muthoni for her consistent encouragement and assistance throughout my entire course.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the strength and courage to undertake this challenging study.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my supervisors, Prof. Paul Wainaina and Dr. Daniel Nyanje, for their guidance and patience during the writing of this thesis. I would also wish to most sincerely thank all the persons, be they civil servants, education officers, police officers, teachers, church leaders and students who agreed to participate in this study. Mr. Antony D. Bojana deserves gratitude for editing the final work.

Finally, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the staff of Nelsah Cyber Cafe, Nyeri for their devotion in typing this thesis. To you all I say, God bless you.
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ABSTRACT

The central problem of this study is that despite a lot of effort being exerted by stakeholders to achieve gender equity and equality in accessing quality education, a fundamentalist sect (Mungiki), that opposes modern formal education may hinder the youth from accessing benefits associated with formal education. The sect, in its teachings, refers to formal education as neo-colonialism. The sect advocates for a return to pre-colonial African literature and cultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM). The sect hinders the young people from accessing education by either recruiting them into the sect or by causing insecurity in the areas in which it operates in. The purpose of this study was to establish the extent to which Mungiki Sect interferes with access to quality education by both genders in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the Education for All (EFA) goal. A combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in terms of descriptive survey and case study were used. Nyeri County was chosen as a case for study with both cluster and purposeful sampling methods being used to arrive at the type and number of respondents. Questionnaires, an interview guide and document analysis was used as methods of data collection. The data were further analyzed through the use of the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) and presented through frequency tables in form of percentages, means and/or standard deviations. The findings of the study show that Mungiki has caused enrolment in the county to drop. The forced initiation into the sect and its teachings, the practice or threat of FGM, the taking of drugs and the insecurity caused by the sect members are the major challenges the county is facing in regard to interference with education. Based on these findings, it is recommended that the TSC should post well trained guidance and counselling teachers to schools to counsel students on dangers of joining retrogressive groups. Schools should use peer counsellors to mentor fellow students while stakeholders in education, who include the government and religious institutions, should come up with effective and decisive intervention measures to curb the emergence and/or the teachings of fundamentalist sects.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEO</strong> - District Education Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>DN</strong> - Daily Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EFA</strong> - Education For All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ETS</strong> - Educational Trend Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FAWE</strong> - Forum for African Women Educationalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FGM</strong> - Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FPE</strong> - Free Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GoK</strong> - Government of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HELB</strong> - Higher Education Loans Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KNEC</strong> - Kenya National Examinations Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MDG</strong> - Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NGO</strong> - Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OCPD</strong> - Officer Commanding Police Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PANA</strong> - PanAfrican News Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SAGA</strong> - Semi-Autonomous Government Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SSE</strong> - Subsidized Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Std</strong> - The Standard-a newspaper printed in Nairobi, Kenya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSC</strong> - Teachers Service Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNICEF</strong> - United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WHO</strong> - World Health Organization</td>
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

Many young Kenyans are flocking to an aggressive religious cult that claims to reject the trappings of Western culture. Followers of the Mungiki youth sect see themselves as the true sons of former freedom fighters and decry what they regard as the more degenerate aspects of Western culture (Harris, 2000; Kagwanja, 2003:30). The rapid spread of the unregistered Mungiki religious sect, which among other demands is advocating female circumcision, has alarmed mainstream churches, the government and the community in Central Province and other parts of the country. The sect has been involved in constant confrontations with government officials. Some people view the sect as an upshot of a revolutionary society (PANA, 2000). The Mungiki Sect is purportedly a revolutionary group which has realized its goal of converting many Kenyan youth to their ideology within a short time. The sect claims that their aim is to spearhead African socialism, to mobilize and bring economic, political and social changes in society so that the masses can control their destiny (Mwai, 2000). Mungiki, whose members are mostly from Kikuyu community, is derived from the words *muingi-ki*, we are the public or literally, it is us (Githongo, 2000; Wamue, 2001:454; Kagwanja, 2003:29).

Mungiki’s militancy and ruthlessness may have been inspired by the violent nature of other ethnic militias such as Kalenjin warriors, Masai morans and Digo warriors (Kaya Bombo Youth). These militias were involved in ethnic clashes that rocked the country between 1991 and 1998. Since the Kikuyu community was among the “migrant” communities targeted by the militia, Mungiki began administering oaths as a way of uniting its members with the aim of defending their own against the ethnic attacks (Kagwanja, 2003:35-36). As a result, in 1998, the Mungiki Vigilante were able to repulse local militias who had planned to attack the Kikuyu in Njoro and Laikipia.

Though the Kalenjin warriors, Maasai Morans and Digo warriors militia were formed for political reasons, the tension and fighting they generated negatively
affected education. Many schools in the affected areas closed down as people, including parents, teachers and learners fled their homes. While some lost their lives, other people lost their livelihoods. People, especially the young, were traumatized by what they experienced and witnessed. Trauma, loss of livelihoods and displacement all affected learning in a negative way.

Mungiki’s ideological and religious leanings may have been inspired by revivalists movements such as Dini ya Msambwa, Legio Maria, Akorino and Hema ya Ngai wi Muoyo (Tent of the Living God). These sects urged followers to embrace traditional values. They challenged the teachings of the mainstream churches and the injustices of the state (Kagwanja, 2003:33). When militancy, ruthlessness and sectarianism are combined, as in the case of Mungiki, the outcome is a fanatical and ruthless sect that inspires fear to both its members and non-members. Of all the groups mentioned, none combines the two, militancy and sectarianism, except Mungiki.

Mungiki’s militancy is demonstrated by the ruthlessness the sect employs in dealing with dissension and defection. The sect’s modus operandi instills deep fear to its adherents and much apprehension amongst non-adherents. Similarly, the sect’s crusades against its opponents send a strong message to the potential recruits. The most vulnerable potential recruits are the youth. The target group comprises anyone identified as being of use to the sect’s continued survival and operations. According to Maslows basic needs theory, effective learning can only take place after the lower basic needs such as security and avoidance of fear have been addressed (Ngari, 2008:142). On the side of ideology, the sect professes fundamentalism as core to its value system. The advocacy for a return to some pre-colonial African cultural values runs counter to the modern symbols of western-based modernity such as formal education.

Mungiki leadership claims to have two million members around the country, which includes 400,000 women, 6,000 regular police officers and over 1,500 Criminal Investigations Department Officers (Anderson, 2002:538; Kagwanja, 2003:34). These are members who would not necessarily sport dreadlocks but support and finance the sect behind the scenes (Kagwanja 2003: 34). The issue of numbers and membership is
important as a way of either intimidating opponents or enticing potential recruits. Opponents may fear facing a formidable force. The potential recruits may feel that after all, they will be joining a group that is not only formidable but includes the high and mighty amongst its ranks. Persuasion to join is, therefore, easier.

What is known is that the sect operates in secrecy, taking unusual oaths and saying strange prayers in forests and rivers in central Kenya. According to sources interviewed by the researcher, gory images of the sect’s rituals were described of Sect members standing in rivers wearing only loin cloths wrapped around their waists. As part of their ritual, members engage in snuff-taking sessions. The actual oath of allegiance would involve use of blood mixed with goat tripe.

According to education officials and police sources, schools have not been spared by the Mungiki Sect onslaught. Lack of immediate economic gain from schooling has led to the devaluation of schooling by a skeptical public, including school age youth (Achola, 2000:1). The implication being that these youth could easily be lured by gangs who promise immediate financial returns (Wamue 2001: 60; Kagwanja 2003: 32; Katumanga 2005: 513).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has a right to education which should be free at elementary and fundamental stages (Article 26). This is an indication that education has been recognized as a basic human right. It also means that any hurdles that come between the learner and acquisition of elementary education must be identified and removed. These hurdles may include poverty and cultural practices among others. The emergence and activities of sects rooting for fundamentalism, such as the Mungiki, should therefore be viewed as an affront to a basic need. This therefore called for a research to establish the extent to which such sects may be interfering with the youth’s ability to access and therefore benefit from education.

The declaration of the Rights of the Child by the General Assembly of the UN urged that the child is entitled to receive education at least in the elementary stages
(Principle 7). This reinforces the importance attributed to education in the growth and development of a person. On its part, the Government of Kenya (GoK) has introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) and a heavily subsidized Secondary School Education (SSE) in pursuit of the above.

Despite these efforts, access to education in terms of quantity and quality is being impeded by organized gangs that not only instill fear to the school-going youth but also disrupt economic activities of parents who contribute to sustenance of the learners in schools. The gangs interrupt transport (for commuting learners and teachers) as well as carry out horrific murders that leave learners traumatized for long periods of time. The learners are recruited into the sects thereby cutting short their lives in schools. This is because membership means one has to carry out instructions issued by the Sect. Some of these instructions, such as gang raids or oathing ceremonies may interfere with attendance or concentration in schoolwork. Furthermore, cultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) are either carried out or are threatened upon youth resulting in fear or youth leaving their homes to seek safety elsewhere.

When confronted for the recruitment, the youths may find themselves being made to choose between a rock and a hard place. Refusal to be recruited means death, joining means no withdrawal, since defection attracts death (Wamue, 2001). Continued stay in the sect may attract death from the vigilantes opposed to the Mungiki or from police who have vowed to wipe out the Mungiki (Daily Nation-DN -16/6/2004). The youth who are recruited into the sect may become reluctant to continue with formal education. This is because the sect has a negative perception of education which they associate with westernization and colonialism. According to Wamue (2001), the Mungiki Sect insists on going back to the African Culture through oral literature.

Students have either been killed, oathed, orphaned, forced to flee, or forced to join the sect. Discipline in schools has been compromised for fear by school authorities that punishing Mungiki member-students could lead to retaliatory attacks against the disciplinarians. This compromises discipline and by extension educational standards.
On 21st April 2009, Mungiki Sect adherents invaded a village in Nyeri East District. The mission was to avenge the killing 14 of their own by security vigilantes. In the retaliatory attack, over 30 villagers were killed. This incident is commonly referred to as the Mathira Massacre. According to an education official within Nyeri County, schools in the vicinity of the Mathira Massacre recorded a noticeable drop in their National Examinations as follows:

Table 1.1: KCPE/KCSE mean scores for the schools in the locality of the Mathira Massacre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School A</td>
<td>226.33</td>
<td>197.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KCPE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School B</td>
<td>269.20</td>
<td>247.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KCPE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School A</td>
<td>3.1430</td>
<td>2.3333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KCSE )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School B</td>
<td>2.6600</td>
<td>2.4444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KCSE )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** District Education Office- Nyeri County.

**NOTE:** Anonymity has been employed in the table and subsequent citation.

The Education Official attributed the drop to the insecurity that ensued after the attack. According to the Education Official, four students from the cited secondary schools fled their homes after villagers positively identified them as being Mungiki members. The students had been threatened with lynching by a vigilante group. A student from secondary school B was killed by the vigilantes on similar suspicions. The affected students were in form 3 in their respective schools.

According to senior Provincial Administrators, intelligence reports indicate that youth in schools have been recruited into the sect. Furthermore, police sources confirmed the arrest of pupils from primary and secondary schools with paraphernalia associated with the Mungiki Sect. Other youths have been arrested during prayers and oathing ceremonies. On many occasions, education and other government officials have been
quoted by the press complaining about the harmful effects of the cultural practices being advocated by the Mungiki Sect on education.

1.2 Statement of the Problem
The presence of and activities of fundamentalist sects may be an important factor in the ability and willingness of the youth to fully participate and therefore, gain from formal education. Such sects may hinder the youth from acknowledging that education has been identified as among the main factors in socio-economic success (Datta, 1984:43). Though the government and other stakeholders may take appropriate steps to ensure that the youth get access to basic education, other forces may hinder the realization of this goal. The learner must be intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to desire to participate in formal education in order to gain from it. If obstacles and distracters are erected on the path of the learner, then the desire to access and participate in education will get diminished. Threats of violence and fundamentalist activism by the sect are bad for education. Recruitment of the youth into such sects that do not rate the so-called Western Education is even worse. This is because all these become obstacles and distracters to the youth’s ability to access education.

According to Sifuna et al (2006:222), conflict theorists rightly contend that any upheavals in the society will negatively affect education. The mungiki, a fundamentalist sect, with roots in Central Province, Rift Valley and Nairobi among other areas, is a fierce opponent of what it calls western education. The Sect maintains that the Kikuyu should abandon Christianity and western education and revert to Kikuyu traditional beliefs and practices (Wamue, 2001:460). The Sect's ideologies and activities will therefore hinder the youth from accessing the benefits of modern education.

1.3 Purpose and of the Study
The government of Kenya’s policy is to give every child, irrespective of the socio-economic background, the right to education. This has in effect, led to introduction of free primary education (FPE) in 2002 and a subsidized secondary education (SSE) in
2008. However, noting the prevalence of the Mungiki fundamentalist sect operating in many parts of the Central Region, it was prudent to find out how the sect’s teachings and activities were interfering with the government's plan of ensuring that all eligible youth benefit from formal education. The research also unearthed specific Mungiki-related activities that may be interfered with the youth's ability and willingness to pursue their formal educational goals.

1.4 Hypotheses
The study sought to test the following hypotheses:
H1. Mungiki affects education in Nyeri by their fundamentalist ideologies of social practices.
H2. Girls are more likely to drop out of school as a result of FGM and its perceived ascription of social status to womanhood.
H3 Both girls and boys are likely to terminate their studies due to recruitment into the Mungiki Sect.
H4 Fear generated by Mungiki’s militancy and ruthlessness adversely affects acquisition of education in terms of quality and quantity to both genders.

1.5 Significance of the Study
This study was important in the following respects. First, it would help the government and the Ministry of Education in particular in redesigning appropriate strategies to counter interference in the education sector brought about by fundamentalist sects which interfere with the formal education sector. Second, the study would assist all stakeholders come to terms with the extent to which sects and militias may adversely affect accessibility of education by children of both gender. This in turn would ensure that stakeholders come up with appropriate measures to counter these adverse affects.
1.6 Research Objectives

1.6.1 General Objective

This study sought to explore the impact the Mungiki Sect may have on access to formal education in Nyeri County.

1.6.2 Specific Objectives

i. To assess the current status in terms of statistics with regard to school attendance in the county.

ii. Identify Mungiki sect related factors that affect the education subsector in the era of FPE and subsidized secondary education.

iii. To evaluate gender disparities vis-a-vis societal expectations in educational achievements.

iv. To evaluate Mungiki teachings and their implications on the acquisition of formal education against ascribed gender roles.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The following were considered the bottlenecks to this study. First, the study was affected by financial resources and time. Due to limited resources, the sample size was limited to only one area - Nyeri County. Second, there was classified and/or sensitive information which takes time and proper authorization to obtain. This included police files, intelligence reports and provincial administration reports. Some of this information was not readily given due to its sensitivity. In order to access the sensitive information, the study targeted senior government officials with the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality and the assurance that the study was an academic necessity. These officers either agreed to an interview or authorized their juniors to cooperate in the study.

Lastly, this study was limited by the fear generated by Mungiki and some respondents withheld some vital information. To address this, the researcher briefed the selected respondents in order to assure them that the information given was to be treated with utmost confidentiality. The sitting arrangement, in the case of questionnaires, also ensured that no other respondents would see what the other respondent was writing.
1.8 Basic Assumptions
It is assumed that the respondents were honest and accurate in giving information regarding their socio-economic background and other key bits of information. It was also assumed that the eligible youths who are out of school are pushed out by circumstances beyond their control. In addition, it was assumed that the questionnaires used and interviews were fair and thus free from interviewers or situational modified bias.

1.9 Theoretical Framework
The study heavily leaned among other theories, on Karl Marx’s conflict theory. Karl Marx (1818-1883) believed that all human history is the history of class struggles. He asserted that there will always be a conflict between the various classes in society, especially between the rulers and the ruled because the subjects feel dissatisfied with the way rulers handle the sharing of scarce resources. Marx felt that the oppressed must use all means at their disposal to create a classless society. Ralf Dohrendorf (b. 1929), Max Weber (1864-1920) and Georg Simmel (1858-1918) added the aspect of power, authority and privileges to Marx’s list of scarce social economic resources (Sifuna et al., 2006:220), seeing conflict as inherent in all relations that involve authority. The result is a constant struggle throughout society to determine who has authority over what (Henslin 2004:15; Sifuna et al., 2006:219). This is seen in the constant wars waged between gangs such as the Mungiki and Kamjeshi to control important sectors of the society such as matatu routes and the security sector (Katumanga, 2005:514; Kagwanja, 2003:45; Anderson, 2002:540; Wamue, 2001:463).

Conflict theorists view the society not as an entity comprising co-operative and harmonious people, but an arena in which ceaseless struggles must be engaged (Lindsey & Beach, 2001:21). This would, for example, explain the formation of two rival militia in Kisii County, Chinkororo and Amachuma, by rival politicians. The militia would be used to intimidate the opponent for political supremacy. Conflict theorists argue that many social struggles are zero-sum games in which if one party wins, the other(s) lose (Lindsey & Beach, 2001:21). This has led to the formation of
private armies such as Jeshi la Embakasi by the late David Mwenje, Jeshi la King’ole by Harun Mwau in Ukambani, Jeshi la Mzee by Fred Gumo in Nairobi and Kaya Bombo Youth by Coast politicians to scare and intimidate political opponents.

According to Lindsey and Beach (2001), the question posed by conflict theorists is, even if some social arrangements are functional, for whom are they functional? Conflict theorists therefore, view change, not stability, as the norm. Accordingly, social order is a result of the exercise of elite power rather than a reflection of true consensus. This then means that people are in a constant balancing act with conflict lying uneasily beneath the surface. The result is that sub-cultures are borne out of the need by a micro group to show its dissatisfaction or disapproval of how an issue or issues are being handled by the larger group.

A sub-culture is a segment of a macro culture sharing characteristics that distinguish it from the broader culture (Lindsey & Beach 2001: 75). In some instances, a subculture may take the form of counter-culture which propagates values that sharply contrast the norms of the dominant culture (Henslin, 2004:45). A subculture’s ideology, music, sexuality and use/abuse of drugs may be at variance with the societal mores and may subsequently be viewed as subversive, backward, dangerous and outrightly wrong by the society. Oathing and induced fear of reprisals result in compliance and non-withdrawal. The sub-cultural groups come up with envious promises. It then convinces its recruits how easy and practical the promises are to achieve. According to Lindsey and Beach (2001), the seemingly immediate gratification of the set goals lures the youth to become easy recruits into the sub or counter-cultures. Topping (1992) in Lindsey and Beach (2001:73) supports the Mungiki Sect contention that schools and literacy were tools for implanting the dominant colonial ideology in local children. This domination, subsequently, eroded the values of the traditional, orally transmitted culture.

Many of these sub-cultures subsequently socialize members to become dysfunctional for the members themselves as well as to the society as a whole. Members await instructions from ‘above’ that must be adhered to without questioning. The
instructions are always ‘right’ and they must be carried out to the latter. Mungiki feel that their Africanness has been violated by embracing the white man’s culture. This brings in the idea of one culture dominating the other which according to the sect, must be reversed by all means. The good old values such as FGM must be re-introduced. This creates a conflict between the modernists and feminists on the one hand, and the tradionalists such as Mungiki on the other. The sect also feels that the masses must control their destiny and the voice of the youth clearly heard. The government on the other hand views the sect as a threat to security as well as being a retrogressive community. Accordingly, the government has not only refused to register the sect but it has also vowed to wipe it out.

The sect views western education not as a liberating tool but an oppressing tool. The sect claims that education is an avenue used for introducing western culture—a trend that must be resisted. The sect strives to “return the river to its course” a reference to the supposedly “good old days” when oppression was non-existent. This blends well with Karl Marx’s vision of fighting the ‘new’ capitalist ideology and the returning of all means of production to the masses hence abolishing classes in society. This way, education, being the tool of modernization suffers from Mungiki beliefs.

Education is delicate and conflict in other social institutions affects it. This is because its upkeep, performance, achievement and change are strongly dependent on other social institutions such as religion, economy and politics (Sifuna et al., 2006:222). It is in this regard that the activities of the Mungiki sect that interfere with these institutions of the society harm education.

1.10 Conceptual Framework

There is no doubt that education is one of the best means to achieving growth and development at both individual and societal level. The higher the level of formal education attained, the better the chances of reaping fruits from education (Datta, 1984:31; Banks, 1976:5). However, apart from the personal efforts an individual may put towards attaining education, other forces are at play to either enhance or hinder these opportunities. Figure 1.1 indicates some of the forces and factors that may play
a significant role in determining educational outcomes. The educational outcome is measured by the quantity (level) and quality (performance) of the education one has attained. These active forces include peer, social norms and values, the school environment, expected benefits accruing from education and the socio-economic background. Sub-cultures are also important players because they impart their values and norms on their members. Fundamentalist sects, with their sub-cultural values and norms may interfere with the ability of their members and even non-members to acquire formal education. This is because they may come up and enforce values and norms that are contrary to those of the macro society. It should also be noted that due to the gendered nature of the macro society, any upheavals are bound to create an unbalanced response in the equally gendered educational sector. This is because sects lay a firm grip on their members and subsequently have a great influence on the behavior and choices made by their adherents. Figure 1.1 shows the roles many factors and actors play in determining the educational achievements of learners.

Figure 1.1: The interrelationship of factors that determine educational outcomes

Though most of the independent variables are interconnected, this study concerned itself with three closely linked variables. These are the sub-cultural activities, the peer influence and the gender roles and perspectives. The peer influenced one to join a
sect. The sect on the other hand laid stress on gender roles because of its fundamentalist stand. Other factors such as the socio-economic background, opportunity costs, motivation, school environment and social norms and values were controlled factors in the study. This study hoped to find out the role the Mungiki Sect, a fundamentalist movement, may be playing in hindering the youth from accessing and fully participating in formal education.
1.11 Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms and concepts, as used in the text, are defined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anomie</td>
<td>A feeling of aimlessness or despair provoked by modern social life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymity</td>
<td>A situation where real names or identities are not disclosed for protection of identity and privacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter-culture</td>
<td>A sub-culture which propagates values that sharply contrast the values/norms of the dominant culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Unless otherwise specified, means formal education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gang</td>
<td>A group of people who work together for some criminal or antisocial purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>The crime of killing somebody deliberately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathira Massacre</td>
<td>Refers to the episode on 21st April 2009 in which over 30 people were killed by adherents of the Mungiki sect in Nyeri East District (Mathira).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militia</td>
<td>Unauthorized quasi-military group who arm themselves and conduct quasi-military training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mores</td>
<td>The customs and behavior that are considered typical and acceptable in a particular social group or community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mungiki</td>
<td>A quasi-religious sect that strives to return Africans, especially the Agikuyu ethnic group, to the pre-colonial traditional culture and values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwene-Nyaga</td>
<td>The Kikuyu name for God who resides on top of Mt. Kenya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihilism</td>
<td>The belief that nothing has any value, especially that religions and moral principles have no value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect</td>
<td>A close-knit non-mainstream religious group with beliefs and practices at variance with those of the more established religious groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-culture</td>
<td>A segment of a culture – within a culture – sharing characteristics that set it apart from the broader culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The cut”</td>
<td>A casual reference to circumcision.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature related to the study under the following sub-headings: Sub-cultures in general, peer group influence on adolescents behaviour, sects in general, Mungiki Sect vis a vis education, FGM vis a vis education, school dropout, gender and education and research gap.

2.1 Sub-Cultures in General

E. B. Taylor (1871) defines culture as the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a person as a member of society. The term subculture though not the concept, was not commonly used in social science literature until after World War II. Wolfgang and Ferracuti credit Albert Cohen with "the first and most fertile theoretical statements about the meaning of subculture" (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967).

According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967,103) , a sub-culture is a normative system of some group or groups. These groups are smaller than the parent society. The sub-cultural group has value judgments or has a social value system which is mainly similar but a bit different from the parent culture. According to these writers, if a sub-culture pursues values that are totally contrary to the parental values, it becomes a contra culture.

The sub-culture then comes up with a set of "conduct norms". These are the rules governing the various ways in which a person might act under certain circumstances. The violation of the norms arouses a group reaction (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 101). If some form of punitive action was not taken by the group in response to a violation of one of these conduct norms, the group would lose its separate identity. Upon recruitment, the transmission of sub-cultural values involves a learning process that establishes a dynamic lasting linkage between the values and the individuals (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 107). But also important to Wolfgang’s theory of sub-culture of violence is the notion that people may be born into a sub-culture (Wolfgang
Ferracuti, 1967: 99-100). Examples of sub-cultures include the Amish, Mormons, delinquents, prison inmates, ethnic groups, and social classes (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 100).

The concept of a culture of violence has been used to explain high rates of homicide and other violent behaviours in certain cultures and segments of society. The concept expresses the notion that cultural values and social conditions rather than simply individual biological or psychological factors are significant causes of violent behavior. For example, the culture of violence thesis has been used to explain the higher rates of violent crime in urban inner-city areas (Gottesman & Brown, 2009) as well as the propensity among males in the American South to use violence to settle disputes (Lundsgaarde, 1977; Montell, 1986; Nisbett&Cohen, 2006).

In anthropological writings, the concept of culture of violence has been considered when comparing the values, attitudes, and behaviours characteristic of generally peaceful cultures, such as the Limbu of Nepal, with those of violent societies like the Yanomano of Brazil or the Bena Bena of New Guinea (Langness, 1974; Northrup, 1985). In the criminology and delinquency literature, a sub-culture of violence thesis has been introduced for the purpose of explaining social-structural causes of violence in urban areas. The general model of such a sub-culture is one characterized by “dense concentrations of socio-economically disadvantaged persons with few legitimate avenues of social mobility, lucrative illegal markets for forbidden goods and services, a value system that rewards only survival and material success, and private enforcement of the informal rules of the game” (Gottesman & Brown, 2009). In this context, the sub-culture of violence thesis emphasizes Durkheim’s (1893) idea of anomie rather than normative socialization.

According to Merton (1968), inner-city minority nihilism is sourced in the disparity between the cultural ideal of equal opportunity and real structural inequalities. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) emphasized that the form that deviant or criminal behavior takes in response to these anomic conditions—criminal, violent, or retreatist (drug addiction)—depends on the opportunity structures for illegitimate activity. Also,
socialization remains an aspect of concern here because the exposure to generations of children to violent life experiences refashions inner-city norms to favour violence over non-violence (Clark, 2002; Shaw & McKay, 1931). This rendering of the sub-culture to violence concept has been used to analyze juvenile gang violence (Clark, 2002; Kennedy & Baron, 2003; Thompson & Lozes, 1976; Walker, Schmidt, & Lunghofer, 2003); adolescent delinquency (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2009); violence committed by black women against black men (Ray & Smith, 2001), as well as generalized violence in urban inner-city neighbourhoods (Baron & Hartnagel et al., 2008; Clarke, 2008).

Perhaps the best known elucidation of the sub-culture of violence thesis appeared in the work of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967). These writers concluded that young, lower socio-economic class African-Americans possessed a value system in which violence was an acceptable and “normal” part of everyday life in the inner city. Recently, Wolfgang and Ferracuti’s point of view has been widely criticized because of its stereotyping of young African-American males. The thesis also failed to address the socio-structural sources of the values in question, including the differential treatment of blacks and whites by criminal justice agencies and the media (Madriz, 2009). Despite these limitations, the sub-culture of violence thesis can be a useful approach for understanding the extent to which certain types of violence are socially situated rather than for focusing exclusively on individual factors.

Like all human behaviour, Wolfgang noted, homicide and other violent assaultive crimes must be viewed in terms of the cultural context from which they spring (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 150). Deviant behaviour is not evenly distributed throughout the social structure. There is much empirical evidence that class position, ethnicity, occupational status, and other social variables are effective indicators for predicting rates of different kinds of deviance (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 151).

According to Wolfgang (1958), homicide is most prevalent among a relatively homogeneous sub-cultural group in any large urban community. Homicide and other serious crime rates are highest among males, non-whites, and young adults. In the
study of 588 criminal homicides in Philadelphia, Wolfgang found that non-white males aged 20-24 had a rate of 92 per 100,000 compared to 3.4 for white males aged 20-24 (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 152). Non-white females had a rate of 9.3 compared to 0.4 for white females (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 152). Wolfgang then correctly proposed that by identifying the groups with the highest rates of homicide, we would find in them the most intense degree of sub-culture of violence (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967: 153).

Basically, the sub-culture of violence theory rightly holds that the overt use of violence is generally a reflection of basic values that stand apart from the dominant, the central, or the parent culture. This overt (and often illicit) use of violence constitutes part of a sub-cultural normative system that is reflected in the psychological traits of the members of the sub-culture (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967:158).

Wolfgang and Ferracuti argue that the black sub-culture actually values violence and that it is an integral component of the sub-culture which experiences high rates of homicide. Just as the dominant society punishes those who deviate from its norms, deviance by the comparatively non-violent individual from the norms of the violent sub-culture is likewise punished, either by being ostracized, or by being treated with disdain or indifference. According to Wolfgang, it is not far-fetched to suggest that a whole culture may accept a value set dependent upon violence, demand or encourage adherence to violence, and penalize deviation. Also, the more a person is integrated into this sub-culture, "the more intensely he embraces its prescriptions of behavior, its conduct norms, and integrates them into his personality" (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967:155-156). The stakeholders in education, therefore, need to beware of the potential danger posed by fundamentalist sects to the education sector. Studies to unearth the extent to which such sects or other organized sub-cultural groups are affecting the social lives of the youth need to be carried our extensively. In the event that the youth a potential recruit, mitigating factors need to be put in place. The dangers inherent in joining the groups need to be spelt out to the youth in advance.
In the event that the youth have already been recruited, appropriate measures to undo the indoctrination should be set up at an early stage. This is because, as the subculture of violence theory avers, it will become very difficult to convince the fully integrated youth to pull out of such groups or sects. The integrated youth may already have become entangled in the intricate web of the sect’s doctrines, oathing and activities. In such a situation, withdrawal from membership would be resisted by the group which would feel that too many of their secrets may be revealed by the defector. This would lead in decisive measures being taken to stop the defector from divulging the secrets. These measures may include elimination by killing. On the other hand, the prescribed behaviour, with time, may become assimilated and subsequently become accepted as the right way of doing things. The recruit may, therefore, be unwilling to either pull out or denounce the group.

Notably, however, Wolfgang and Ferracuti, decline to speculate as to how a subculture of violence originates (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967:163). The sub-culture of violence theory includes the following six corollaries:

(1) No sub-culture can be totally different from or totally in conflict with the society of which it is a part.

(2) To establish the existence of a sub-culture of violence does not require that the actors sharing in these basic value elements should express violence in all situations. Otherwise normal social functioning would be virtually impossible. Members of groups having a sub-culture of violence might need to carry weapons for protection against others. But the very act of carrying these weapons becomes a common symbol of willingness to participate in violence, to expect violence, and to be ready for its retaliation.

(3) The potential resort or willingness to resort to violence in a variety of situations emphasizes the penetrating and diffusive character of this cultural theme. The degree and extent to which an individual resorts to violence in response to provocation is dependent upon the degree to which he/she has adopted the cultural values associated with violence.
(4) The sub-cultural ethos of violence may be shared by all ages in a sub-society. However, the propensity towards violence is most prominent in a limited age group, ranging from late adolescence to middle age.

(5) The counter-norm is non-violence. The violation of normative violence is likely to result in sanctions imposed by the group, including ostracism.

(6) The development of favourable attitudes towards, and the use of violence in a sub-culture usually involves learned behaviour and a process of differential learning, association, or identification.

According to the theory, not all persons exposed—even equally—to the presence of a sub-culture of violence absorb and share in the values in equal portions. Differential personality variables must be considered in an integrated social-psychological approach to an understanding of the sub-cultural aspects of violence. Aggression is a learned response, socially facilitated and integrated, as a habit, in more or less permanent form, among the personality characteristics of the aggressor.

Even many years after it was published, Wolfgang and Ferracuti’s “The Subculture of Violence” remains the definitive argument for society’s role in creating violent criminal behaviour. Even critics agree that the theory is among the most cited in sociological and criminological literature (Cao, Adams, & Jensen, 2007:367). The sub-culture of violence theory might be even more relevant today than it was when it was first published, especially with regard to juvenile crime. It seems to be a common fear that adolescents today are more violent and lacking in empathy than those of only a generation or two ago. In fact, shortly before his death, Wolfgang had observed that the current juvenile offenders probably did about three times as much serious crime as did the crime-prone boys born in the 1940s and 1950s, and he feared that they could represent a new and especially challenging sub-culture of violence (Wolfgang, 2007).

As noted, these studies were carried out in America. However, the Mungiki sect has all the characteristics found in the subculture theory of Wolfgang and Ferracuti.
The sect has its own values, but it continues to co-exist within the parent society. This is despite the fact that the sect has its own deviant practices that the wider society disapproves. Practices such as tobacco sniffing, oathing rituals, insistence on a return to traditional forms of worship as well as cultural practices such as FGM are highly disapproved by the parent society. The sect recruits members and then proceeds to indoctrinate them. The sect is also associated with numerous homicide cases as well as killing and dismembering the bodies of the defectors. The sect also unleashes extreme violence when demanding payment from reluctant members of the public.

As the violence theory avers, youth from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to join the sect. This is because they view their chances of upward economic mobility as slim. The feeling of anomie makes them more susceptible than those from higher economic echelons. True to the theory, exposure of the youth to violent early life experiences has been identified as a cause to their embracing the culture of violence as a way of solving their problems or expressing their disapproval. As the theory avers, the sect is not in a violent mode all the time. In fact, there are times the sect leaders challenge the government for a dialogue. As Wolfgang observed, the adolescents today are becoming more violent and lacking in empathy. In the society, this is best exemplified when rioting secondary school students resort to burning their colleagues to death and the rising arson cases. Encouraging the youth to embrace the culture of violence, as the sect does, will give them the impetus they require to carry out acts of violence under the guise of airing grievances or expressing disaffection. This study hoped to establish whether the Mungiki sect sub-culture has any negative impact on the ability of the youth in acquiring the right quality and quantity of formal education.

2.2 Peer Group Influence on Adolescents Behaviour

It is widely accepted that membership in peer groups is a powerful force during adolescence. These groups provide an important developmental point of reference through which adolescents gain an understanding the world outside of their families. Failure to develop close relationships with age-mates, however, often results in a
variety of problems for adolescents—from delinquency and substance abuse to psychological disorders (Hops et al., 2007). Furthermore, higher peer stress and less companionship support from peers has been associated with a lower social self-concept in adolescents (Wenz-Gross, Siperstein, Untoh & Widaman, 1997).

As children progress through adolescence, they build knowledge bases that help them navigate social situations. An abundance of literature has suggested that there is considerable individual variation regarding cognitive skill development during adolescence as it relates to peer influence. Dodge's (2003) research indicates that poor peer relationships are closely associated with social cognitive skill deficits. He correctly concludes that adolescents who have developed positive peer relationships generate more alternative solutions to problems and proposes more mature solutions, and are less aggressive than the youth who have developed negative peer relationships. Along those same lines, Bansal (2006) found that adolescents who compared themselves negatively in reference to their peers experienced a reduction in attention to problem-solving tasks.

Most public and private childcare systems continue to overlook peer influence despite the growing body of literature indicating that it represents a powerful force in maintaining orderly, productive, and positive academic and rehabilitative environments (Bellafiore & Salend, 1983; Brendtro & Lindgren, 1988; Emery, 2000; Gadow & McKibbon, 1984; Gibbs, Potter, Goldstein, & Brendtro, 2006; Salend, Jantzen, & Geik, 2002; Wasmund, 1988). Schools ignore the incorporation of peer group strategies as a vehicle for developing problem-solving skills in the classroom, focusing instead on individual memorization of facts and concepts (while removing "problem" children from the classroom). One only needs to review the contents of school proficiency tests to realize that education administrators have become more interested in teaching children "what" to think than "how" to think. The “how” gap is then taken up by peers.

Similarly, rehabilitation programmes generally focus on rules and conformity, practices that are often designed to control youth and maintain staff-imposed order. Mental health systems commonly focus on individual pathology and seek to improve
client functioning through adult-child counselling approaches. In those instances where peer group approaches have been used with adolescents, it has usually been to arrest or change maladaptive social behaviours. Pettit (2007) found the peer group to be a useful resource in decreasing violence and aggression in children. Brannon, Larson and Doggett (2001) reported that the peer group process facilitated the disclosure of victimization by adolescent sexual offenders. Owing to its immense influence on its members, the peer group can be used by recruiting agents to reach out to the youth for recruitment to contracultures or sects. This study hope to find out whether the Mungiki sect uses peers to recruit members from the school-going youths.

2.3 Sects in General
According to Giddens et al (2003:537), sects are small, less highly organized (than church) groups of committed believers, usually set up in protest against an established church (or religion). Sects aim at following “the true way”. Giddens says that they either try to change the parent society or to withdraw from it into communities of their own (revival). A sect can either be aloof or hostile to the society surrounding it and membership is by a conversion experience (Demerath and Hammond, 1969 and Bainbridge and Stark 1997 in Lindsey and Beach (2001:437). Henslin (2004: 372) points out that in order to appeal to a broader base, the sect shifts some of its doctrines, redefining matters to remove some of the rough edges that created tension between it and the rest of the society.

Most sect members regard the established churches from which they have split as corrupt and / or oppressive (Giddens et al., 2003:540). Giddens states that many sects have few or no officials and all members are regarded as equal participants. Mostly, people are not born into sects, but actively join them in order to further commitments in which they believe in. This then means that membership into a sect is not an ascribed one but is an achieved one (Lindsey & Beach, 2001:437). Since spiritual perfection is a major goal of sects, membership standards are high – a factor that functions to keep membership low. Leaders are charismatic and sects often have one identifiable leader and emphasize a lack of hierarchy.
Sects flourish in religiously pluralistic societies that tolerate them. They most often maintain a judgmental attitude toward non-members who are not part of their exclusive community of believers (Lindsey & Beach 2001:436). The sects, therefore, often shield themselves using a constitution that permits freedom of worship which of course does not stipulate time and venue (Wamue, 2001:465, Kagwanja 2003:40).

According to Reed (1972), in joining a sect, younger people may be escaping from a harsh materialistic society and enter into an idealistic lifecycle. Some older people find it hard to make up their minds and wander from one cause to another. Finally, there are those who wrestle with a marital complex and the childhood’s need for such archetypal figure may persist in later life. Such feelings may subsequently be transferred to ‘the master’ who then holds sway over him/her. According to Reed, the weaker the individual’s independence, the more will she/he be tied to the group. This author contends that members who understand group-mechanisms will benefit most as they are selective in picking up the cream of what is given and taking the rest with a grain of salt.

Sects can be classified as religious movements (Giddens et al., 2003:540). In the first phase, a religious movement derives its life and cohesion from a powerful leader-classified by Max Weber as charismatic. These leaders have inspirational qualities capable of capturing the imagination and devotion of a mass of followers – Jesus, Mohammed and Mao Tse-Tung belong here (Giddens et al., 541). Many movements fade away when their leaders die or lose their influence. Wilson (1982) points out that new religious movements (sects) are an outcome of rapid social change. Thus, as traditional social norms are disrupted, people search for both explanations and reassurances. Wilson adds that many individuals feel a need to reconnect with their own values of beliefs in the face of instability and uncertainty.

According to Wallis (1984), a new religious movement may appeal to people who feel alienated from mainstream society. The collective, communal approaches of sects and cults can offer support and a sense of belonging. In our current scenario, the youth feel frustrated and alienated by the older generation. They see a dim economic future ahead of them. They fall easy prey to recruitment to sects, vigilantes and gangs.
Accordingly, the Mungiki has taken advantage of the youth’s frustrations hence luring them to the sect.

2.3.1 Sects, Vigilantes and Gangs in Kenya

From the 1980s, Kenya has experienced a phenomenon of private armies, gangs and vigilantes. The aims of formation of these gangs are varied ranging from politics (private armies), protection of people and their property (vigilantes) and outright criminal activities and extortion (gangs). The private armies are associated with either an individual politician or a group of politicians with similar interests. According to Anderson (2002), Sri-Lanka and the Kuzacha boys were notorious criminal gangs operating in the slums and estates of Mombasa in the 1980s. These gangs also had political overtones. Baghdad Boys was formed in 1991 by a political clique to target political opponents in Nyanza. The Kaya Bombo youth were recruited, trained and organized in Kwale District at the instigation of prominent politicians. This group started the ethnic violence in the run up to the 1997 elections at the Coast. They raided and killed 6 policemen at Likoni police station. Chinkororo and Amachuma were formed by opposing politicians in Kisii. Jeshi la King’ole was formed by Harun Mwau to counter political aggression in Ukambani.

The Taliban vigilante group was formed by elders in Kariobangi (Nairobi) to protect residents and their property from thugs. The group later started terrorizing and extorting money from the same residents. A militia, "Group of forty" operated as a gang involved in criminal activities in Dandora, Nairobi. A vigilante gang called Kamjeshi fought with Mungiki to control matatus termini in Nairobi but the Mungiki appears to have triumphed (Katumanga, 2005: 514). Unlike the other groups mentioned, Mungiki has outdone all in its formation, organization, objectives, determination, membership and geographical spread. Whereas the other gangs comprise at most a few hundred members, Mungiki at one time claimed to have 1.5 Million members. This included 400,000 females (Wamue, 2001:454; Kagwanja, 2003:34). Unlike the other gangs, Mungiki legitimizes itself as a religious sect; claims that among its membership are senior government officers including the military, the police and members of parliament (MPs). It has clear objectives and aspirations and
has a well defined hierarchy. It has a way of showing unwavering determination to have things go their way. The sect is ferocious when it comes to executing orders and retaliating whenever one of their own or its territory is threatened. Unlike the other gangs, Mungiki adherents are found both in the urban and rural settings (Anderson, 2002:537). Mungiki has given the government nightmares more than any other group due to the ruthlessness of their operations and their unrelenting resolves.

Notably, the Mungiki has its own political wing, the Kenya National Youth Alliance. This means that the sect feels confident enough to venture into the competitive political arena. On a positive note, Kagwanja (2003:37) correctly states that after 1997, Mungiki intensified its moral crusade. It came up with a system to mete out justice to address drunkenness, drug addiction, broken families and prostitution. This crusade was very successful in some slums in Nairobi.

According to Kagwanja, the sect’s alleged monthly income of Kshs 4.5 Million makes Mungiki the most financially and stable indigenous organization in Kenya. However, due to its anti-Christian and anti-westernization crusade and its campaign towards pre-colonial African cultural practices, it is felt that Mungiki is posed to negate the gains made towards gender equity and equality in access to education. Other sects that have urged followers to embrace traditional values includes Akorino (Kikuyu), Legio Maria (Luo), Dini ya Msambwa (Luhya) and Hema ya Ngai wi Muoyo (Tent of the Living God) (Kikuyu). However, these have been mild and non-combative as compared to Mungiki Sect. This justifies the need to carry out research to find out the extent to which Mungiki activities impede access to quality education by both genders.

2.4 Mungiki Sect and Education
There exists many theories on why the Mungiki was formed. Some theories lean on politics while others lean on religion. One theory has it that Mungiki was formed in 1988 with the aim of toppling the government of former President Daniel Arap Moi.
The sect was, at one time, associated with Mwakenya, an underground movement formed in 1979 to challenge the former Kanu regime (Kagwanja, 2003:31; Anderson, 2002:536; Wamue, 2001:464). Other reports say Mungiki was founded in 1987 by some young students in central Kenya to reclaim political power and wealth which its members claim was stolen from the Kikuyu (Kennedy & Baron, 2003).

One of its leaders, Maina Njenga, claimed he had a vision from God (Ngai) commanding him to unite the Kikuyu and fight foreign ideologies. Away from the running battles with the police, the Mungiki members have also been involved in other anti-social acts among others stripping women wearing miniskirts and trousers in public, forcibly imposing female circumcision and raiding police stations to free their own members who were under police custody (Kennedy & Baron, 2003).

Mungiki beliefs run counter to the current educational setup. This is because the current education system is borne out of colonization and Christianity. The Mungiki sect rejects westernization and all things that they believe to be the trappings of colonialism including Christianity (Wamue, 2001; Anderson 2002:535; Katumanga, 2005:513; Kagwanja, 2003:3). It would amount to a serious conflict to advocate for a return to an indigenous culture and expect “western” education to thrive at the same time. It is noteworthy that when the Mungiki issued an ultimatum to all females aged 13 to 65 to undergo FGM in Kiambu in 2002, the Sect threatened to start carrying out the operation in the PCEA-dominated areas of Mai-a-ihii, Gikambura, Kanyethi and Kangemi. These are the areas in which Christian missionaries from Scotland settled when they came to Kenya in the mid 1850s (Std 23/4/02). Such a threat would naturally create a sense of insecurity which would not augur well for a learning atmosphere.

Achola and Pillai (2000:83) have identified insecurity as a major cause of wastage. The Mungiki sect has been involved in horrific acts that send a clear signal that non-compliance to their agenda will result in fatalities (DN 11/3/2009:6). Such is the fear the sect has instilled in the society that when the researcher sought information from officers of the Provincial Administration, none would allow his/her name or title to be
mentioned in any report. One senior official even expressed fear that the researcher
could as well be a sect member out to get those who divulge information about the
sect.

According to FACTBOX (2009), the sect is involved in swearing oaths of secrecy (in
which betrayal is punishable by death). According to the same source, the sect
beheaded up to eight people in June 2007, placed their heads on poles and scattered
the body parts in the bush around Central Province. This was a Mau Mau tactic to
instill fear. The source adds that those beheaded included those who had refused to
join the sect. The victims of the gang include very young children. The following two
cases bear testimony. On 12th July 2007, the Mungiki decapitated and mutilated the
body of a two year old boy, possibly as part of a ritual (Brisbane Times 12/7/2007).
Earlier, a thirteen year old standard five school girl was slashed to death by the sect
members who were in a revenge mission in Nairobi. According to the Daily Nation
(16/6/04), Mungiki men cut her neck and thwarted any efforts to save the girl’s life by
telling those who wanted to take her to hospital to “leave her to die.” In the same
article, the paper reports that the severed head of a sect defector, Simon Kamore, was
found dumped at a Nairobi bus stop. The body was never found.

According to Abraham Maslow (1970), needs such as security must be addressed
before other needs higher up the scale such as education can be aspired for (Kombo
& Tromp 2006:57). This means that learning cannot be effective unless the learner
feels safe and secure. The dilemma the youth may find themselves in is two-fold. For
one, refusal to be recruited to the sect could result into death. Second, no member can
defect because conversion to Mungiki is irreversible (Wamue, 2001:465). It is
therefore plain that the danger posed to the youth is obvious. The only way the youth
could be freed from this dilemma is either by the government outlawing the sect or
perhaps the youth escaping and avoiding any contact with sect members. However, to
outlaw Mungiki is difficult because the sect considers itself a religious Sect and the
Kenyan Constitution guarantees freedom of worship (Wamue, 2001:405; Kagwanja,
The economic activities of the communities which sustain learning also get disrupted by Mungiki activities. Following the Mathira East (Karatina) massacre by the Mungiki, the Sunday Nation (3/5/09:4-5) reported that economic activity had slowed to a near halt. In some homesteads, up to 3 able-bodied men were killed leaving young children under the care of ailing grandparents. Businesses collapsed and some residents were reduced to paupers. A farmer escaped with his family when Mungiki members demanded a daily share of the milk he produced. A cereals trader lost Ksh 125,000 to the gang while three primary school pupils were orphaned when their father was killed. Education or schooling involves direct and indirect costs that the family must meet in order to access and benefit from. Therefore, any group that disrupts economic activities in an area reduces the chances of children acquiring education.

In a Sunday Nation article (31/5/09:2-4), Mungiki was reported to have disrupted transport across the country to press for the immediate implementation of the UN special Rapporteur Philip Alston’s report which appeared to favour the sect. The sect has on several other occasions disrupted transport in its quest to control routes (Kagwanja, 2003:38; Katumanga, 2005:514 and police sources). This disruption inconveniences many students and teachers among others, who need to use public transport daily in order to get to their schools and to attend to other engagements.

The extent to which Mungiki has instilled fear across the spectrum is evident from the press. A Thika magistrate said she had received threats from suspected Mungiki Sect members (DN7/4/09:7). Police Chief Inspector Henry Lumumba and his son were killed and mutilated by suspected Mungiki members (Saturday Nation 4/4/09:7). Veronica Muthoni tells how his brother, a secondary school teacher at Muragara Secondary School in Muranga District was killed by the sect (DN 23/4/09:3). These incidences coupled with the case of the 13 year-old school girl and the two year-old boy (cited elsewhere in this literature) show that none is beyond the reach of the sect members. Indeed, a government minister, Mutula Kilonzo, said of Mungiki, “They have committed atrocities that are unspeakable” (DN 11/3/09:6).
A sitting MP claimed that his colleagues had been forced to take the Mungiki oath of allegiance (Daily Nation, 9/5/09:6). This claim appears to give credence to the sect leaders claim of inclusion of the high and mighty in the sect membership. The Daily Nation (25/4/09:16) also carried the story of Mrs. Jane Nyaruai Maina, a primary school headmistress who was killed as the fighting raged between vigilantes and Mungiki members. The headmistress was killed by the vigilantes who accused her of being a Mungiki sympathiser. The Daily Nation (13/5/09) reports that a Kenya Secondary Schools Heads Association Central Province official, Mr. Nguyo, said that the education sector should confront the challenge of Mungiki and deal with it firmly and conclusively.

Later, the Daily Nation (6/9/09:9) carried a report whose heading was, “schools on high alert as students join Mungiki.” The report attributed to Murang’a East District Education Officer (DEO), Micheni Kaugi, urged school principals to look out for strange behaviour among students. This was after several cases were reported of secondary school students getting recruited into the Mungiki sect. The DEO put boarding schools on high alert noting that recruiting agents bribed their way to get entry into schools at night in search of new recruits from among the students. In an interview with a DEO in one of the districts constituting the Nyeri County, a number of cases were mentioned that had a direct impact on education. The first was a case of a standard one boy who was expelled from school for sporting dreadlocks. The boy’s father sought assistance from the DEO as shaving “infringed on the boy’s constitutional rights.” When the DEO declined to order the headteacher to re-admit the boy, citing school rules, the father proceeded to an advocate and came back with a letter giving notice of prosecution for infringing on the boy’s rights. Another case was that of a form 3 prefect who prescribed a punishment to a fellow student. The student refused to carry out the punishment and went home. Moments later, a gang came to school and sought from the principal to be allowed to deal with “that prefect who dared degrade one of us.” The principal was able to identify himself as “one of them” and promised to deal with the prefect himself. The gang was suspected to belong to the Mungiki Sect.
Yet, another incident involving students came after the Mathira Massacre. When the vigilantes started hunting down Mungiki members among the villagers, 5 secondary school students who had disappeared in the night of the massacre were positively identified as belonging to the sect (they belonged to 3 different secondary schools in the area). One was later apprehended and killed by the vigilantes while the 4 others escaped to date.

When the researcher interviewed police officers in various stations about the Mungiki recruits, the officers confirmed that the pupils in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions had been arrested during oathing ceremonies. The oathing was believed to have been conducted by Mungiki Sect. Aside from the fear generated by the violence and intimidation associated with the Mungiki, the sect’s insistence on FGM being carried out will have a negative impact on the girl-child’s ability to access quality education. It should be noted that most of the literature in this section emanates from the press. The press may not necessarily be objective in their reporting. However, due to lack of published literature the study has to rely, in some cases, on the available grey literature.

2.5 FGM and Formal Education
Mungiki, an offshoot of the ‘Tent of the Living God’ sect, whose leader was Ngonya wa Gakonya, favours a return to the indigenous African Heritage and strongly advocates female circumcision (FACTBOX (2009). Standard 23rd April 2002; Brisbane Times, 12th July 2007). In one of its strongest stances on female circumcision, Mungiki was reported to have given a 3 month ultimatum to all women aged between 13 and 65 in Kiambu District to either undergo the operation voluntarily or be forced to undertake it (The Standard, 23rd April 2002; Kagwanja 2003: 43). The same sources reported that when the federation of women lawyers-Kenya (FIDA) condemned the threat, FIDA Chairperson received a call threatening her to either shut up or become the first victim of the threat.

The reality is that fifty per cent of Kenyan women have undergone circumcision. In some areas, this percentage is as high as 95 per cent. As many as 50% of the women
were operated on when they were aged between 10 and 15 years old (Reed, 1972). In some communities it is drummed into the girls' heads right from a tender age that no man will marry an uncircumcised girl (Reed, 1972). This makes the girls to become willing accomplices in this rite of passage.

Out of the still insufficient number of children enrolled in Sub-Saharan African primary schools, significantly, less girls than boys finish the primary level. An important factor for early girls dropping out is seen in FGM. Numerous girls suffer health problems, pain and trauma as a result. This leads to frequent absenteeism, poor attentiveness, low performance and loss of interest. In certain parts of Africa, FGM is connected to month-long anticipation and preparation of the ceremonies and rites, which makes it difficult for the girls to follow the lessons and keep pace.

FGM increases the risk of HIV-infection through unhygienic "operations." This is because sharing of circumcision tools is often the norm. Due to the gendered power relations of which FGM is an expression, FGM leaves girls vulnerable to the consequences of unsafe sexual relations. In settings where girls are circumcised in school age, like Kenya for example, once circumcised, girls are often seen as grown-ups who are ready for marriage. They have to adapt to new roles and accept changing identities. Their unclear self-perception can lead to various negative effects in school and regarding their education. There are reports of girls behaving in a superior and disrespectful manner to uncircumcised female teachers and classmates, others become subservient to male teachers and peers, exposing them even more to abuse (Shihadeh, 2004). As noted elsewhere in this document, Mungiki favours a return to indigenous African culture and stresses the importance of female circumcision.

In her paper, Wamue (2001) correctly avers that Mungiki’s call for a return to indigenous shrines and issues like FGM are outdated. Wamue reports that Mungiki followers insist that their sect does not advocate the physical act of circumcision *per se*, but the moral grounding that is associated with the traditional rite. However, in the footnote, Wamue notes that on several occasions, certain Mungiki adherents have been accused of forcing clitoridectomy on unsuspecting Kenyans.
Mugambi and Kirima (1976: 41) say that the instructions imparted while the initiates were recovering gave initiation its proper spiritual significance. This means, either physically or emotionally, the consequences are almost similar. Cultural practices, such as FGM, are identified by Achola and Pillai (2000:83) as a cause of wastage in education.

According to a study carried out by a German organization (the GTZ), FGM was found to have impacted very negatively on the girl education as most girls are married off soon after, forcing them to terminate their education (DN, 5/12/02:7). The above study agrees with another one carried out by the Kenya National Council on Traditional Practices (Kentrap) in the North Rift Region (The Standard, 22/9/03:6). The following six citations back the outcomes of the studies mentioned above. In a report carried in the Kenya Times (31/5/04:6), Minister Jebii Kilimo cited FGM as one of the major factors frustrating the promotion of the girl-child education in Marakwet District. In highlighting its dangers, the Kirinyaga Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD) disclosed that 5 school girls, one in standard 6, were hospitalized at Kerugoya District Hospital after undergoing FGM (The Standard, 27/12/05:8). School Heads have also lamented that despite the rising cases of girls dropping out of school due to FGM, the government is yet to fully address the issue (The Standard, 25/6/05: 4). On his part, Nakuru District OCPD disclosed that a form one hopeful died in Nakuru District after undergoing FGM (The Standard, 15/12/06:17).

The Education Minister, Prof. George Saitoti directed all district security and education boards to step up their crackdown on FGM to counter increasing girl-child dropout. He blamed poor performance by girls in both primary and secondary schools on such practices (The Standard, 6/4/04; 14). The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 2 million girls are at risk of being subjected to this rite in Kenya (The Standard, 23/9/02: 10). The above notwithstanding, Section 14 of the Children’s Act 2001 protects children against harmful cultural rites such as FGM. The Penal Code sections 250 and 251 on offenses of assault and grievous bodily harm also makes FGM practice unlawful.
In communities where FGM is practised, it becomes so much ingrained in the brains of some females such that a 21 year-old mother of one in Meru District circumcised herself to appease her in-laws and reconcile with her husband (Std 30/8/03). In another incident, a group of teenage girls marched to the Trans Mara District commissioner demanding permits for circumcision (The Standard, 30/11/04:14).

Mugambi and Kirima (1976:40) attribute three important aspects to initiation into adulthood. These are spiritual aspects—where secrets were told to initiates; the second one being a symbol of death of childhood and rebirth in adulthood—where the “childish habits” were to be replaced by those of “adulthood” and finally, the sexual element — where the initiated was admitted into the child-bearing club of the community. The second and third aspects are the ones noted by ministers Kilimo and Saitoti as frustrating the efforts to educate the girl-child. Presence of female specific risks such as pregnancy was cited by Achola and Pillai (2000:80) as a cause of wastage. Many other girls lose interest in school since they and their families do not see how school could prepare them for their new roles as young female adults and future wives and mothers. At this stage, girls may drop out of school.

2.6 School Dropout
In the last few decades, both the personal and social costs of dropping out of school have increased. Concurrently, significant education resources have been applied towards student retention efforts. These resources are intended to ensure that Kenya remains committed to the pledge made during the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtein, Thailand in 1990. During the conference, Kenya pledged to ensure completion rates of at least 80% in primary schools by the year 2000 (Achola and Pillai, 2000:15). This pledge calls for not only channeling a lot of national resources towards basic education, but also at raising efforts to ensure that any barriers that could result in wastage are identified and removed in time. According to Achola and Pillai, some of these barriers are cultural values, such as FGM and early marriages which tend to undervalue women as social category.
According to Achola and Pillai (2000:15), despite the efforts being made by the government, an upward surge in educational wastage has been experienced since 1987. Some of the reasons why wastage is rising may be due to the activities of the fundamentalist sects such as the Mungiki sect. Disruptions on social activities such as transport, economic activities, fear, direct or indirect interference in school disciplinary procedures, deaths of learners, teachers and parents may be attributed to vicious attacks by the sect members. The above activities or consequences may lead to disruption of learning which may ultimately lead to lack of interest in schooling.

With respect to lifetime wages, the gap between dropouts and the more educated is steadily widening as opportunities expand for higher skilled workers and disappear for the less skilled. For example, it was estimated in the US that, overall, the 2003 dropout pool would earn $212,000 less than high school graduates, and $812,000 less than college graduates. Further, in the last 20 years, the earnings level for dropouts have doubled while it nearly tripled for college graduates, a trend that is likely to intensify in the future (McMillen et al., 2004). The scenario cannot be much different in Kenya.

In the US, dropouts comprise nearly half of the heads of households on welfare, and a similar percentage of the prison population. Using data from surveys covering four years in the lives of students who began high school in 1988 (the National Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS:88, Second Follow-Up), ETS identified five characteristics common to many dropouts.

### 2.6.1 Marital Status and Parenthood

In 2002, about one-fifth of the dropouts (approximate age 18) were married, living as married, or divorced, with females more likely than males to be married. Nearly 40 per cent had a child or were expecting one. Nearly one-third of the females who dropped out cited pregnancy as the reason. Interestingly, some youth said they dropped out because they wanted to have a family: 12 per cent of the females and six percent of the males.
2.6.2 School and Home Stability
More than half the dropouts moved during the four-year study period, compared with 15 per cent of the graduates. Nearly a quarter of the dropouts changed schools two or more times. Twice as many dropouts as graduates ran away from home.

2.6.3 Reasons for Dropping Out of School
As reported, usually a variety of school problems and personal factors combined to cause a student to drop out. Dropouts cited most frequently the following school-related and personal-related factors:

School-Related Factors
Six factors were identified as being the main causes of school dropout. The first reason was that the students did not like their school or the school to which they had been transferred. The second major reason was failing which resulted in poor grades or inability to cope with the schoolwork. A group of students claimed that they dropped because the relationship between them and their teachers or fellow students was not cordial while some said they dropped due to high standards of discipline in their schools. Some claimed they simply did not fit in the school setup. The sixth factor was that some opted to drop out because they did not feel safe while at school.

Personal-Related Factors
The personal-related factors identified in the ETS study were varied. Five main factors were identified as being the major ones. Some learners claimed that they had dropped out because they had landed a job, had a family to support or had trouble managing both school routine and the jobrigours. A number of learners dropped out because they wanted to start families or because they got pregnant. Interestingly, but of great significance, is the fact that some dropped out because their friends had quit schooling. This point is significant in showing peer influence on decisions of the youth. While a number cited the need to travel as a cause, others dropped out due to drug or alcohol-related problems.
2.6.4 Substance Abuse
Experimentation with drugs during adolescence is common. Some teenagers will experiment and stop, or continue to use occasionally, without significant problems. Others will develop a dependency or addiction, often moving on to more dangerous drugs and causing significant harm to themselves and possibly others. Using alcohol and tobacco at a young age increases the risk of using other drugs later. The Mungiki use snuff which they argue is African and that it makes the brain function better.

Unfortunately, teenagers often don’t see the link between their actions today and the consequences tomorrow. They also have a tendency to feel indestructible and immune to the problems that others experience. On an average day in 2006, about 1.2 million adolescents, aged 12 to 17, smoked cigarettes, 631,000 drank alcohol, and 586,000 used marijuana. In addition, about 49,000 adolescents used inhalants, 27,000 used hallucinogens, 13,000 used cocaine, and 3,800 used heroin. On an average day in 2006, nearly 8,000 adolescents drank alcohol for the first time; 4,300 used an illicit drug for the first time; 4,000 smoked their first cigarette; 3,600 smoked marijuana for the first time; and 2,500 used pain relievers for non-medical reasons for the first time in US (McMillen et al., 2004).

Adolescence is a time for trying new things. Teenagers use drugs for many reasons, including curiosity, because it feels good, to reduce stress, to feel grown up, or to fit in. It is difficult to know which teens will experiment and stop and which will develop serious problems. The Mungiki youth who sniff tobacco, may later switch on to more dangerous drugs.

2.7 Gender and education: A historical perspective and trends
Wamahiu and Chege (1996) identify three different pedagogical characteristics that have characterized education in Africa. These three types of education impacted on different gender in peculiar ways. The first is the “pedagogy of difference” that characterized education in pre-colonial Africa. This education was based on the biocultural roles of men and women. There was need to socialize each gender to play the role designed for it and not to go overboard and interfere with the other gender’s field.
Each gender accepted these roles without necessarily feeling that there was oppression by the opposite gender. During the colonial /missionary period, the pedagogy of difference was replaced by the “pedagogy of oppression”. Education exploited a ready-made gendered platform and offered women the lowest quality and quantity of formal education (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). Women were educated to become suitable wives for the educated African men.

In the contemporary period, the struggle is to bring on board education characterized by “pedagogy of empowerment”. This is an education that aims at liberating humankind and empowering both genders. It emphasizes on complementary roles and interdependence of gender. A lot of resources and efforts have been directed towards gender equity and equality but lots of hiccups tend to derail or negate gains made towards pedagogy of empowerment.

In 1960s, UNICEF and UNESCO research identified African tradition as topping the list of practices that hindered girls’ full participation in education (Kitetu, nd:3). African cultural beliefs such as circumcision are also identified as playing a significant role in hindering access to quality and quantity education by Achola and Pillai (2000:20), Sifuna et al., (2006:270) and Njau and Wamahi (1994:66). The feeling is that schools are meant for “children” and “mature” persons have no business being there. This is more so in primary schools. Most communities undertake circumcision during adolescence (10-14 years). This is the period when the child is in mid or upper primary. This then means that education is terminated at a time when the right quality or quantity of education has not been acquired. Other reasons identified as interfering with the girl-child education are poverty and insecurity (Achola & Pillai, 2000 and Njau & Wamahi, 1994).

Because of the African traditions of valuing boys more than girls, poor families will tend to send a boy rather than a girl to school when meagre resources are available. Girls are also affected more by insecurity than boys. This is because in insecurity prone areas, boys are trained from an early age to counter attacks.
During the Pan African conference held in Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso in 1993, it was observed that girls’ access to and enrolment in education was very poor. It was felt that policies and practices that hindered girls’ full participation in education needed to be identified and eliminated (Kitetu, n.d: 2). Primary school enrolment for girls had risen from 22% in 1961 to 50% in 1990. However, it was felt that problems such as the high dropout rate, poor performance, low enrolment in science-based courses and classroom participation in girls needed to be addressed. The above mentioned issues have also been identified as being problematic by Achola & Pillai, Sifuna et al. Though the 50% enrolment rate at primary school may sound impressive, the enrolment at secondary school level rose from 4% in 1970 to 15% in 1990. It was noted during the conference that in some Southern African countries such as Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia, girl enrolment exceeded that of boys at both primary and secondary levels (FAWE 1996 in Kitetu). The implication here is that though a lot has been accomplished in the fight towards gender equity and equality, there is a lot that needs to be done. Enrolment is at the very bottom and as one ascends the ladder in education, other issues such as retention and tracking become significant.

In terms of performance, girls compete favourably with boys only in English, while boys outshine girls in all other subjects both at primary and secondary levels (KNEC). In science and technology-based courses, males dominate (Kitetu; Henslin, 2004:265; Sifuna et al., 2006:268; Lindsey and Beach, 2001:333; Wamahiu and Chege, 1996:9). This is attributed to the fact that girls are socialized to take particular “feminine” courses that lead to the “proper” jobs for females. Boys are also socialized to “act tough” and therefore, take on the “tough masculine courses” that lead to “masculine” jobs. There is need to impress upon and empower the female students to abandon their “softness” and since capabilities are equal, go for the “tough” science-oriented courses. This is only possible where equity exists in educational opportunities. Any group that advocates for a return to the cultural norms of demeaning the female and subjecting them to the confines of “pedagogy of oppression” is subtracting the gains made in “pedagogy of empowerment.” This study aim at finding out if Mungiki-related activities are reversing the gains made in ensuring pedagogy of empowerment to both gender.
The literature cited refers to the existence and activities of subcultures and the Mungiki Sect. No known study has so far been carried out to determine the impact the sect may have had on access to formal education, either in terms of quantity or quality or both. This study hoped to open the gates towards research on interference with the ability to access formal schooling by sects and gangs within a society.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction
This chapter describes the methodology that was adopted by the researcher in order to reach the sample population, collect and analyze data so as to answer the research questions. It consists of the research design, target population, sample and sampling procedures that were used, data collection instruments and their administration on the respondents alongside the data analysis procedures that were used.

3.1 Design
The study used a combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches where both descriptive survey and case study were used. Survey design was used in quantitative approach to carry out this study because of its appropriateness in establishing relationships between variables and facilitating the collection of information for determining the population parameter (Jaeger, 1988). This was complemented by a case study design from which document analysis was used to collect first-hand in-depth data to supplement information gathered using the survey design.

The case study design, records and studies behaviour as it normally occurs without control or manipulation of subjects or the environment. Case study approach tends to be based on programme activity rather than programme outcome (Ogula, 2008). The researcher used questionnaires, interviews and document analysis which are intended to bring out the real picture as regards the impact of Mungiki sect on access to formal education. Survey design was used because it allows for sampling and one can use the findings from the sample to generalize about the target population. Since there are many people in Nyeri County, a representative sample was used and then the results generalised to cover the entire population.
3.2 Location of the Study
The study was carried out in the Nyeri County which is in the Central Region of Kenya. Both random and purposive sampling were used to select Nyeri County. Nyeri County has been and still is among the counties predominantly inhabited by the Kikuyu ethnic group. This fact makes it very attractive for a fundamentalist sect which may wish to advocate for a return to traditional Kikuyu cultural values. Nyeri County has also been at the centre stage for Mungiki activities such as frequent disruptions of transport. Of more significance is the killing of over 30 residents on 21st April 2009 in Mathira East District, one of the eight districts that make up Nyeri County. These cited examples point out to the presence of active Mungiki Sect’s adherents in the county. Nyeri County has an estimated population of 693,558 people and covers an area of 3,337.2 square kilometers (GoK, 2010). Nyeri is predominantly an agricultural-based economy.

3.3 Target Population
The study targeted the residents of the Nyeri County most of who depend mainly on agriculture as the only source of livelihood. Both genders were interviewed in order to have a balanced representation of the facts on the ground.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedures
3.4.1 Sample
A sample is a group of subjects from which data are collected. Random sampling is the probability type procedure whereby every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected for participation in the study. Cluster random sampling was used to arrive at 2 secondary schools and 2 primary schools in each of the eight districts comprising the Nyeri County. Cluster random sampling allows for the division of the study population into clusters and then random sampling of the subjects in those clusters (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:80). To ensure gender parity in sampling, if a single sex school was chosen, then a single sex school of the opposite gender was picked. This gave a total of 16 Secondary schools and 16 primary schools. In each school, at least 10 learners of both gender were targeted. At
least three teachers were targeted in each school, more so the head teacher, teacher in charge of discipline, guidance and counseling teacher and a class teacher. This sampling procedure enabled the researcher to provide equal participation of female and male students and teachers. The study also used purposeful sampling to select children welfare officers, the DEOs, Provincial Administration Officers, church leaders and NGO officers for oral interviews. These procedures are explained below.

**Cluster Sampling**

This is a procedure that is used to classify the population being studied into distinct classifications. In this study, this procedure was used to stratify the subjects into male and female in order to ensure equal representation of the views from both sexes.

**Purposive Sampling**

Purposive sampling is a procedure through which a subject is deliberately selected for being perceived to hold the crucial information being sought by the researcher (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:82; Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999:50). This procedure was used to select the respondents in the area of study. These included the Children’s officers, the Education Officers, Provincial Administration officers, church leaders, NGO officers, scholars and other persons perceived as holding crucial information. The snowball technique was used in identifying some of the respondents. In snowball sampling, initial respondents with the desired information or characteristics are identified using purposeful sampling. Those initially identified name others they know who have the required information or characteristic (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999:51).

**3.5 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures**

The research was conducted using questionnaires, interview guides and document analysis guides.

**3.5.1 Questionnaires**

A questionnaire is a set of questions or statements that assesses attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and biographical information (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). The questionnaires are both economical and time efficient. Moreover, they ensure
anonymity, permit use of standardized questions and ensure uniform procedures. They provide time for subjects to think about their responses and are easy to score. The questionnaire consisted of the various themes in the research questions which were divided into sections. Illiterate or semi-illiterate especially some religious leader respondents were assisted by enumerators who had been trained on the ground. Questionnaires were administered to learners, teachers and Administrative Officers.

3.5.2 Interview Guide
An interview is an oral administration of a questionnaire which entails face to face encounter with the respondent (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999:83). The interview guide included sections that sought demographic information, decision making role and other questions derived from the research questions. An interview was preferred since it allowed for face to face interaction with some respondents where issues were well clarified thus gaining of in-depth information. The interviewed subjects included; children welfare officers, education officials, some members of the Provincial Administration, religious leaders and NGO officials. The interview has room for modifying questions depending on the different personalities and circumstances.

3.5.3 Document Analysis Guide
Documents are records of past events that are written or printed. The research used documents to collect data since they provided background information on the topic under focus. The documents assisted the researcher to evaluate the impact of Mungiki Sect on gender access to education by looking at the available official documents.

3.5.4 Logistical and Ethical Considerations
Before commencement of the study, the necessary research permit was obtained from the National Council for Science and Technology. The study operated within the logistics of the study such as availability of funds, being within the time frame and the location of the study. Before an individual became a subject of the study, the purpose, methods, anticipated benefits and potential hazards were explained. The respondents
were also made aware of their right to respond or abstain in any question(s) in the questionnaire or interview. No pressure or inducement of any kind was applied to encourage an individual to become a subject. Anonymity of the respondents was assured as was the confidentiality of the information given. At the end of the study, any information that could reveal the identity of the respondents was destroyed. No information revealing the identity of any respondent was included in the final report unless the individual consented in writing.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

3.6.1 Validity

Validity of an instrument is the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure and consequently permits appropriate interpretation of scores (Nachmias & Nachmias, 2006). Before the research instruments were administered to the sample population, they were validated. To ensure validity of the instrument, the researcher reviewed the instrument with peers and other specialists especially the supervisors. This assisted in examination of the content and the degree to which the instruments would gather the information intended.

3.6.2 Reliability

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Berthound (2000) states that a reliability index of at least 0.6 at an alpha correlation coefficient is satisfactory for any research instrument. According to Bramble and Mason (2007) instruments with a coefficient reliability index of 0.5 can be used to collect data.

A pilot study to test the reliability of the questionnaires was carried out on 52 subjects. Twenty subjects were learners from 2 primary schools and 20 were learners from 2 secondary schools in Nyeri County. Twelve teachers were also subjected to the questionnaires. Six were from primary schools and 6 from secondary schools. The
schools in which the pilot study was carried out did not participate in the final study. The responses were subsequently analyzed to find out whether they measured what they were intended to measure. The aim of pre-testing was to ensure that items are stated clearly and that they had the same meaning to all respondents.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures
After getting clearance and a research permit from the National Council for Science and Technology, the researcher sought further clearance from Provincial Administration in Nyeri County and from other relevant authorities on the ground. Data collection was done by the researcher and assistants using the data collection instruments and procedures stated.

3.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation
After the collection of raw data, the data was pre-processed in order to identify any problems or anomalies in the raw data. A coding scheme was formulated for purposes of measuring the responses by use of Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS). Quantitative data was analyzed by use of descriptive statistics, namely frequency and percentage, while descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution and percentages was calculated and data presented in form of tables, graphs and charts. The analysed data was summarised and findings reported as a description of the total population of study. The responses were organized in line with the research objectives and the researcher captured the major themes in line with the independent and dependent variables.
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter deals with data analysis, presentation and the interpretation of findings. The data presented include background information of the respondents, status in terms of statistics with regard to school attendance in the district, Mungiki Sect related factors that affect the education subsector in this era of FPE and subsidized secondary education, The evaluation of gender disparities vis-a-vis societal expectations in educational achievements and evaluation of Mungiki teachings and their implications on the acquisition of education in the mirror of ascribed gender roles. The data analyzed and presented are based on responses to the items in questionnaires and interviews. Descriptive statistics were used in analyzing the findings of the study. Descriptive statistics include frequency tabulations for each item and the calculations for each item and percentages for selected respondents.

4.1 Response Rate
A total of 384 questionnaires were given out to the teachers, learners and administrative officers who were units of analysis. A total of 364 questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 95%. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) a 50% response rate is adequate, 60% good and above 70% rated very good. This implies that basing on this assertion; the response rate in this case of 95% is very good.

4.2 Demographic Data of Respondents
In order to achieve the main purpose of this study, the study analyzed the demographic information of the respondents. The analysis included: gender, age and class. The tabulation shows that majority of the learners, 185 (62%) were male as tabulated in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Demographic Information of the learners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 – 13 yrs</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 – 15 yrs</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 17 yrs</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 18 yrs</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further, the demographic analysis indicates that 102 (34%) of the learners are aged between 14 –15 years. Regarding the class in which the learners are, the analysis shows that 85 (28%) of the learners were in class seven at the time of study. Fifty-two (17%) were in Form 1. These are fragile respondents since they have not matured enough to be able to make very informed and mature decisions and are therefore easy targets by the sect for indoctrination. The analysis indicates that quite a significant number, 185 (62%), of the respondent learners were male. This implies that there is a problem with the girl-child education since they are fewer than boys in the schools.

The background information of the study subjects is vital for planning for and anticipation of correct information. As such, the study found it vital to find out the demographic information of the administrative officers in order to form the basis under which responses would be rated in order to ascertain that education is being
faced by the Mungiki challenge. The results from the study findings are as shown in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Demographic Information of administrative officers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 30 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 – 40 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 44 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 44 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position in the society</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Officer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area chief</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of service</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 5 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 10 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 15 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis indicates that 18 (56%) of the administrative officers were male. It is important to note that half of the administrative officers (50%) were between the ages of 31 – 40 years. These officers are of the right age to understand and to exercise their duties satisfactorily. They can deal with the problem caused by Mungiki if provided with all the required resources. Twelve of the administrative officers respondents (56%) were chiefs. These are the right targets since they are on the ground and therefore are able to understand the problem caused by Mungiki in their areas well. Majority of the administrative officers (37%) had worked for between 1 and 5 years. These are newly recruited and were enthusiastic in responding to the questions in the
questionnaires. Many were also willing to grant oral interviews. They have lived in the area long enough, as ordinary citizens, to understand the way Mungiki operates and what measures should be taken to combat them. It is noteworthy that just a few years back, before being recruited as chiefs, they used to interact with the locals freely. These locals include suspected members of the Mungiki Sect. This category of administrators encouraged the study to continue and make the necessary recommendations to the government.

The study found it necessary to find out the demographic information of the respondent teachers in order to ascertain their experience and competence in commenting on matters affecting education. It should also be noted that a majority of the targeted teachers declined to participate in the study due to fear of the Mungiki even when confidentiality was assured. The results from the analysis are as shown in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Demographic Information on teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 30 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 – 40 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 44 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 44 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of service</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 5 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 10 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 15 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The analysis indicates that 21 (66%) of the teachers were male. It is also important to note that 13 (41%) of the teachers were aged between 31 and 40 years. This means that the teachers are experienced and competent enough to understand the Mungiki menace in relation to access of education in the county. Twelve of the teachers (37%) had worked for a period of between 1 and 5 years. Nine (28%) had an experience of 6 to 10 years. This cadre is an experienced population that has been in the field long enough to understand the problems caused by Mungiki in the access to education in their schools.

4.3 Current status in Terms of School Attendance in Relation to Mungiki

Prevalence

The study wanted to ascertain whether cases of reduced enrolment in schools can be attributed to Mungiki activities. The study sought to know how the Mungiki has contributed to reduced students’ enrollment in the schools. The findings are reported in Figure 4.1.

![Figure 4.1: Number of students attributing reduced enrollment in schools to Mungiki activity](image)

Source: Researcher
The students’ school enrolment has dropped. This is shown in the figure above which indicates that a majority of the respondents (60%) agreed that the number of students enrollment has reduced due to Mungiki. This might have resulted from insecurity posed by the Mungiki or the forced initiation to Mungiki. Some students are forced to move to other counties for enrollment in order to comfortably continue with their education.

The study sought to know how schools operations and students’ school work are affected by the Mungiki Sect. The findings are summarized in Figure 4.2.

![Response on whether school operations have been made more difficult by Mungiki](image)

**Figure 4.2: Response on whether school operations have been made more difficult by Mungiki**

**Source:** Researcher

It was found that 61% of the respondents agreed that schools operations are more difficult due to the Mungiki Sect in the county. This might be caused by the forced recruitment that is always on-going. The taking of drugs by the members also instills fear to the residents and therefore affects the smooth running of schools. Fear generated by threats of carrying out of FGM also contributes to interference with school routines.
The study also sought to know if involvement in Mungiki Sect activities affects performance of the girls in the schools. The findings are summarized in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Response on whether involvement in Mungiki activities affects performance of the girls in schools

Source: Researcher

The findings show that a majority of the respondents, 66%, said it always affected girls while 21% said it rarely affects their performance. Only 13% said it seldom affects the girls performance. The researcher concludes that involvement in Mungiki activities affects girls’ performance in education. The effect could be brought about by the ascribed status of females in cultural beliefs. It could also be attributed to the long-held belief that education is best for males since they are the traditional breadwinners. Thus, girls need not go for formal education.

4.4 Mungiki-Related Factors that Affect the Education Sector

The study then focused on four Mungiki-related factors that affect the education sector. The insecurity caused by Mungiki and its effects on education, the Mungiki beliefs that may cause poor performance in schools, Mungiki dismissal of western education, reduced enrollment due to students joining the sect and their implication on education were looked at. The study started by looking at how insecurity caused by Mungiki in the county affects education. Figures that follow present the findings.
The findings show that insecurity caused by the Mungiki affects education. A majority of the respondents (54%) agreed to the statement. The insecurity is caused by the Mungiki through the forceful initiation into the sect. This causes fear among the youth who are in schools and they therefore find it hard to concentrate in their education. Those who join the sect also find their education affected negatively because of the general fear and suspicion between members and non members of the sect.

The study then sought to know if the Mungiki beliefs cause poor performance in schools. The findings are presented in Figure 4.5.

**Figure 4.4: Response on whether insecurity caused by Mungiki affects education**

**Source:** Researcher
Figure 4.5: Response on whether Mungiki beliefs cause poor performance in schools?

Source: Researcher

A majority (61%) said it is likely that the sect’s beliefs affect the performance of the students in the school. This can be attributed to the fact that the sect shuns the western education as yoke of colonialism. This makes the students to selectively ignore what they are being taught in class due to their desire to follow the sect’s teaching. This definitely causes poor performance by the students in schools.

The study went further to find out whether Mungiki dismissal of western education affects the general student’s enrollment. The findings are shown in figure 4.6 below.
Figure 4.6: Response on whether Mungiki shunning of western education affects general enrollment in schools

Source: Researcher

Majority of the respondents said that Mungiki dismissal of western education negatively affects enrollment in schools. The respondents feel that Mungiki has contributed to reduced enrollment of students in schools in the county.

The study then sought to find out if students who join Mungiki Sect have their education affected. The findings are presented in the figure 4.7 below.
Figure 4.7: Do students who join Mungiki Sect have their education affected?

Source: Researcher

From the findings, 74% of the respondents agreed that students who join the Mungiki Sect have their academics affected negatively. This could be caused by the beliefs in the sect such as the important role of traditional oral literature and the different binding rituals that the recruited youth go through. This affects the recruits’ concentration in education.

4.5 Gender Disparities Vis-A-Vis Societal Expectations

The study then sought to know how gender disparity in formal education vis-a-vis societal expectation may be caused by the Mungiki Sect's teachings. The study focused on the forced recruitment practiced by the Sect, the Sect’s advocacy of FGM and its effect on girls and the community’s attitude towards girls’ education.

The study started by investigating the forced recruitment and the fear it causes among the female students. The findings are presented in the figure 4.8 below.
The study found that a majority of the respondents (60%) agreed that forced recruitment causes fear among female students. The girls who have witnessed their brothers being initiated forcefully into the sect have their concentration in education affected. This affects the overall performance of the girls academically.

The effect of insecurity caused by the Mungiki Sect on girls was studied and the findings are presented in figure 4.9.
The study sought to know if the girls’ education is affected by the insecurity caused by the Mungiki Sect. The study findings show that a majority (54%) agreed that the girls’ education is definitely affected by the insecurity caused by the sect. The source of insecurity is the weird practices performed by the sect members that include oathing, drug taking, forced initiation into the sect membership and the threat of FGM. The study sought to know the effect of threat of forced FGM and the effect of FGM on girls’ education. The findings are presented in figure 4.10.

**Figure 4.9:** Response on whether female students are affected more by insecurity caused by Mungiki

Source: Researcher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The effect of forced circumcision of females as advocated by the Mungiki was put into perspective. A majority of the respondents agreed that FGM affects the education of the girl child. This is because the practice exposes the girl to infections that affect her well-being negatively. This affects the girls’ concentration and consequently performance and interest in education. Mungiki, an offshoot of the ‘Tent of the Living God’ sect, whose leader was Ngonya wa Gakonya, favours a return to the Indigenous African Heritage and strongly advocates female circumcision (FACTBOX (2009);.Std 23rd April 2002; Brisbane Times, 12th July 2007).

The study then investigated the community’s attitude towards the girl’s education. The findings are presented in the figure 4.11 below.

**Figure 4.10: Response on whether forced FGM or the threat of it affects girls’ education negatively**

**Source:** Researcher
The community attitude towards girls education was studied. Sixty-seven per cent of the respondents said it was poor while 13% of them found it very good. Twelve percent said it is good while 8% found it very poor. Perhaps, this attitude is caused by the fact that the “fruits” of education are not being realized as expected. The expressed expectation is that education ought to automatically lead to a white collar job.

4.6 Mungiki Teachings and Their Implications on Education
The study then sought to establish if the Mungiki Sect teachings have any negative implications on education. The effect of taking drugs, especially snuff was investigated. The study focused on the sect’s onslaught on western education and its implication on education. The findings are summarized in the figure 4.12 below.
The majority of the respondents (47%) said that the shunning of western education by the Sect very often affects enrollment of students in schools. A further 36% of respondents said that the campaign often affects enrollment. From the findings, it is clear that Mungiki’s shunning of western education negatively affects the enrollment of students in schools in Nyeri County.

The study then sought to find out if the taking of drugs which include snuff by the sect’s Student- members affects education in the County negatively. The findings are presented in figure 4.13 below.

Figure 4.13: Response on whether taking of drugs by the sect’s student-members has a negative effect on education.

Source: Researcher
The findings showed that majority of the respondents (60%) find it likely that education is negatively affected by the taking of drugs by the sect’s members. This includes the students who are Mungiki members and are involved in drug taking. This will most likely affect even other students too since they may be influenced by the Sect members who are their peers. The practice makes the students lack concentration in their education and therefore perform poorly. This eventually makes the students lose interest in education. The study then sought to find out if the sects insistence on the observation of traditional beliefs negatively affects girl education in the county. The findings are presented in Figure 4.14 below.

![Figure 4.14: Observation of traditional beliefs negatively affects girls education](figure)

**Figure 4.14: Observation of traditional beliefs negatively affects girls education**

**Source:** Researcher

The findings show that observation of the traditional teachings by the Mungiki in the area affects the girls’ education negatively. A majority of the respondents (72%) said it is true that girls’ education is affected by traditional beliefs and practices.
These include FGM, snuffing and taking of alcohol as well as other cultural rituals such as traditional oathing methods.

In a research conducted by UNICEF and UNESCO, cited elsewhere in this document, African traditions were identified as topping the list of practices that hindered girls’ full participation in education. African cultural beliefs such as circumcision have been identified as playing a significant role in hindering access to formal education especially for the girl-child. The feeling is that schools are meant for “children” and “mature” persons have no business being there. This is more so in primary schools. Most communities undertake circumcision during adolescence (10-14 years). This is the period when the child is in mid or upper primary. This then means that education is terminated at a time when the right quantity or quality of education has not been acquired. Other reasons identified as interfering with the girl-child education are poverty and insecurity. The study then focused on the bio-cultural roles of men and women. The findings are presented in figure 4.15 below.

![Figure 4.15: Response on whether culturally ascribed roles of men and women affect girls’ school enrollment negatively](source)

**Source:** Researcher
The findings show that a majority of the respondents (61%) agreed that culturally ascribed roles of men and women negatively affect girl enrolment in schools. Twenty-seven per cent felt that the culturally ascribed roles have no effect on girls’ enrollment at all. This shows that the preference of the parents especially the Sect members who assign gendered roles to their children play a significant role in assaulting girls aspirations in education. This is supported by Wamahi and Chege (1996) who identify three different pedagogical characteristics that have characterized education in Africa. These three types of education impacted on different gender in peculiar ways. The first is the “pedagogy of difference” that characterized education in pre-colonial Africa. This education was based on the culturally ascribed roles of men and women. There was need to socialize each gender to play the role designed for it and not to go overboard and interfere with the other gender’s field. Each gender accepted these roles without necessarily feeling that there was oppression by the opposite gender. During the colonial /missionary period, the pedagogy of difference was replaced by the “pedagogy of oppression.” Education exploited a ready-made gendered platform and offered women the lowest quantity and quality of formal education (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). Women were educated to become suitable wives for the educated African men. Advocacy to return to the two pedagogical dispositions will effectively negate the gains made towards the “pedagogy of empowerment.”

In an interview with a middle aged male pastor of one of the dominant ‘Pentecostal ‘ churches in Nyeri, the pastor described the Mungiki phenomenon in the following way, “….this (the Mungiki) is the angel of darkness and death who has been let lose to destroy what Christ has for many years been trying to build. The youth whom we had led towards the path of light and modernity have been snatched from Christ and driven towards destruction and death. This gang is driving the youth not only out of the church of Christ but also from schools which the sect despises.” When asked how many learners he could confirm to have dropped from school due to being conscripted into the gang, the pastor simply answered, “not ten or twenty” (indicating they were many).
An administrator who refused to “commit himself in writing” saying he was not sure of the confidentiality of written records had this to say, “…………this (area) is the worst place. I have on many occasions been called by parents to go and arrest or force their children (both gender) to abandon Mungiki. The determination they (the youth) have to remain loyal to this bad gang is unshakable.” On being asked how many school-going youth could have been recruited into the gang, his answer was, “almost all in (especially) day secondary schools.” On being asked which gender was more targeted for recruitment, he simply said, “……they (the sect) do not choose. They pick all.” In answer to the question why so many are still going to school, his response was, “it is their (sect’s) way of confusing people …. but I tell you, even those going to school are just passing time in schools. Mungiki does not like modern education. They refer to it as “ukoloni mamboleo.”(neo-colonialism)

A middle-aged female religious evangelist in a mainstream church in Tetu District refused to go into any detailed interview saying, “…Mungiki is the angel of death, they are everywhere. Please leave me alone and never tell anyone you had come to me.”

When a senior female children’s welfare officer was asked what their office was doing to protect the youth from being recruited into the sect, she answered, “who will protect them? The security officers are scared of them; the administration officers are even more scared because they (officers) live among them, who can possibly confront this gang unless you are tired of living? Not me!” Asked whether she had data to show how many youth have been recruited into the sect, she said, “How can one possibly collect data from murderers? Most of these young people you see are members. They will slaughter you - even you (researcher) if they get wind that you are spying on them.” Asked if she knew whether school-going youth have been recruited into the sect, she replied, “None has been spared. Including those in primary schools, secondary schools, teachers, security officers, touts and many others that you cannot even suspect.”
Very many other possible subjects who had been identified through snowballing simply excused themselves claiming they had urgent engagements when the topic under study was introduced.

A principal in a mixed day and boarding secondary school, after a meeting with his disciplinary committee, refused to allow his school to become subjects of the study explaining thus, “The study will just make them feel great since almost all belong to Mungiki.” When asked how the study would make them feel great, his response was, “Please be satisfied that your request was rejected.”

The picture being painted was a plain fact that Mungiki has infiltrated schools and had recruited many students into the sect. A considerable number – though not enumerated – was confirmed to have left school because, “schools are simply neo-colonial avenues of confusing the African mind which the African God had created “pure.”
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the study and makes conclusion based on the results. The implications from the findings and areas for further research are also presented.

5.1 Summary
The study aimed at exploring the impact the Mungiki Sect may have on access to education in Nyeri County. The objectives of the study were to assess the current status in terms of statistics with regard to school attendance in the county, identify Mungiki Sect-related factors that affect the education subsector in the era of FPE and subsidized secondary education, to evaluate gender disparities vis-a-vis societal expectations in educational achievements and to evaluate Mungiki teachings and their implications on the acquisition of education due to stereo-typed roles assigned to each specific gender in cultural settings.

5.1.1 Assessment of the Current Status in Terms of Statistics with Regard to School Attendance in the County
The study found that the students’ school enrolment has reduced. This is shown by the findings that indicate that majority of the respondents (60%) said that the number of students’ enrolled has reduced in Nyeri County due to Mungiki activities. This could have been as a result of insecurity or the forced initiation of youth to Mungiki. Some students are forced to move to other counties for enrolment. The study also found that majority of the respondents agreed that school operations are more difficult due to the Mungiki Sect in the county. The study found that a majority of the respondents said that the sect activities negatively affected student performance, in particular that of girls.

5.1.2 Mungiki Sect-Related Factors that Affect the Education Subsector in the Era of FPE and Subsidized Secondary Education
The study also found that the insecurity caused by the Mungiki affects education. This conclusion was reached because majority of the respondents (54%) said that this was
the case. This could have been as a result of the insecurity caused by the Mungiki through the forced initiation to the Sect. This causes fear among the youth who are in schools and therefore, may find it difficult to concentrate in their education. Those who joined the sect also confessed that their own education was affected negatively. When the study sought to know if the sect’s beliefs or rules cause poor performance in schools, majority (61%) said it was likely. This can be as a result of the Sect shunning the western education in favour of Kikuyu traditional education. This is likely to make the students ignore most of what they are being taught in class and follow the sect’s teaching. This definitely leads to poor performance by the students in schools. Majority of the respondents said that Mungiki’s shunning of Western education affects enrolment in schools. The conclusion is that joining the sect negatively affects the quality of education of learners because some students who join the sect drop out in order to try to “return the river to the course.”

Insecurity attributed to the operations of the sect also adversely affects the sphere of education.

5.1.3 Gender Disparities Vis-A-Vis Societal Expectations in Educational Achievements

The study found that 89% of the students are found in the schools in the rural area while 11% learn in urban areas. This is because Nyeri is a rural county. The study sought to know if the location of the school had any effect on the learning ability. Fifty per cent of the students felt that the location of the school has an effect while 30% said that the locality of the school did not matter much. Twenty per cent said that the effect is not very much. The majority of the respondents favoured schools in urban areas. It can be deduced that learners in the urban areas perform better than those in the rural schools. The forced circumcision of females or threat of it as advocated by the Mungiki was put into perspective. A majority of the respondents agreed that FGM affects the education of the girl-child. This is because the practice may expose the girl to infections which may affect her life negatively. This affects her concentration in education.
Mungiki Sect strongly favours a return to the Indigenous African Heritage and strongly advocates female circumcision. The community’s attitude towards girl education was studied. Sixty-seven per cent of the respondents said it was poor while 13% of them found it very good. Twelve per cent said it is good while 8% found it very poor. The conclusion, therefore, is that the community’s attitude towards the girl education ought to change in order to realize improvement in their performance.

5.1.4 Mungiki Teachings and Their Implications on the Acquisition of Education in the Face of Stereo-Typed Gender-Specific Roles Ascribed by the African Culture

The majority of the respondents (47%) said that the shunning of Western education very often affects enrolment of students in schools. From the findings, it’s clear that Mungiki’s shunning of modern education affects girl enrolment in schools. The study sought to know if taking of drugs especially snuff by the Mungiki Sect student-members affects education in the county. The findings showed that majority of the respondents (60%) find it likely that education is affected by drug abuse amongst sect members. The practice makes the students lack concentration in their education leading to poor performance. Poor performance ultimately leads to dropping out of school.

The findings further show that the emphasis on the traditional teachings by the Mungiki in the area affects the girl education. A majority of the respondents (72%) said it is true that girl education is affected by the traditional practices. Circumcision, a core cultural practice, plays a significant role in hindering access to quality education because of the newly acquired status of adulthood. Adulthood comes with new roles that are culturally ascribed. The findings show that a majority of the respondents (61%) felt that culturally ascribed roles of men and women negatively affect girl enrolment in schools. This shows that more parents, especially the sect members, would prefer to take the male rather than the female child to school if resources were not enough to take both. This affects the girl enrolment in schools. This is supported by the fact that the pedagogy of oppression was the favoured education in the formative years of modern education. The pedagogy of difference,
which was the pre-colonial African education stressed the gender-specific roles of each sex. This education was based on expected roles of men and women in the African cultural setting. There was need to socialize each gender to play the role designed for it and not to go overboard and meddle in the other gender’s field. Each gender accepted these roles without necessarily feeling that there was oppression by the opposite gender. Women were educated to become good wives and mothers while men were taught how to provide for and defend women and the community in general.

5.2 Conclusions
The study concludes that the students’ school enrolment in the area under study has reduced due to Mungiki Sect activities. This is shown by the findings that indicate that Mungiki has caused fear in the County and the students feel insecure both at home and even in schools. The forced initiation into Mungiki by the sect members causes the youth to fear for their lives.

Mungiki Sect-related factors that affect the education subsector are documented in the research findings. These include general insecurity, the practice or threat of FGM and the use of drugs. All these factors negatively affect the school-going children and the youth in general who are mainly targeted for recruitment. Schools have been declared drug free zones by the ministry of education and therefore schools have rules that prohibit use of any drugs in their compounds. This means that the snuff-taking sect members will either take it secretly at school or sneak out of school to avoid detection by school authorities. Sneaking out of school, which is equally prohibited, may create more problems for the students who may finally find themselves either dropping out or being ejected out of their schools.

The study also concludes that the girl-child education in the area studied does not receive the same emphasis as that of boys. Parental preference for educating the male rather than the female child affects the educational opportunities for the girls. The practice or threat of FGM also affects the girls’ concentration in education because of the ensuing threats if at all they decline to undertake the cut.
Mungiki teachings and activities have many negative implications on the acquisition of formal education especially due to their emphasis on gender roles and a return to African cultural values. The findings depict that when the girls are forced to undertake FGM, they are expected to take up their cultural roles as potential wives and mothers. This affects their chances of excelling in formal education due to these distractions among other factors.

5.3 Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

The study recommends that the TSC should post properly trained guidance and counselling teachers to schools to offer guidance to the youth on dangers of joining fundamentalist sects or other militia groups. It is further recommended that schools should use peer counsellors to counsel fellow students as peers are more trusted by their fellow peers. The peer could easily turn wayward fellow peers into the right direction. The study also recommends that parents should take up their parenting roles and responsibilities more seriously in order to monitor and offer guidance to their children. The guidance should include spiritual and moral issues. The study further recommends that the government should use its intelligence machinery and apparatus to identify and decisively deal with fundamentalist sects before they entrench themselves and completely disrupt the lives of citizens, especially the vulnerable youth.

The government, it is further recommended, through its law enforcement machinery should make every effort to offer security to all Kenyans especially the youth. This will make the youth have the confidence of rejecting overtures to join militias and sects without feeling that such refusal compromises their well-being and security.

Another recommendation is that all stakeholders should lay down intervention measures aimed at curbing the spread of fundamentalist sects. Finally the study recommends equitable effort in ensuring that the girl-child as well as the boy-child access education. This is because ignoring the boy-child makes him frustrated and feels neglected and therefore, becomes vulnerable to exploitation by emerging militias and sects.
Further studies should be carried out in non-native Kikuyu areas to find out if Mungiki or any other fundamentalist groups have infiltrated the field of education. Higher institutions of learning such as colleges and universities should also be targeted for further studies to assess the extent to which organised groups, sects or militias may have on the students’ ability to continue accessing formal education and training. A study may also be undertaken to find out why the government, though willing, is unable to decisively deal with the Mungiki or the phenomenon of organised gangs menace.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
School of Education
Department of Educational Foundations

Dear Respondent,

I am a postgraduate student at Kenyatta University conducting a study titled, The Effect of Mungiki Sect on Access to Education in Nyeri County. You have been selected to participate in this study. Kindly respond to all items in the attached questionnaire. Your name need not appear anywhere in the questionnaire. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated.
Yours sincerely,

MAINGI SAMMY
APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

My name is SAMMY MAINGI, a student from Kenyatta University carrying out a study on the effect of Mungiki Sect on access to education in Nyeri County. You have been chosen together with others to participate in this study. Please feel free to respond to the following items. Your identity will be kept confidential.

INSTRUCTIONS
Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.
Put a tick or write your response in the spaces provided.

Section A: Demographic Information
1. The sex of the respondent
   Male ( )
   Female ( )
2. The age of the respondent
   20-25 ( ) 26-30 ( ) 31-35 ( ) 36 – 40 ( ) 41 – 44 ( ) 45- 50 ( ) 51- 54 ( ) 55-60 ( ).
3. What is your position in the society?
   DC ( )
   DO ( )
   Area chief ( )
   Any other specify ( )
4. For how long have you been in this area?
   1 – 5 yrs ( ) 6-10yrs ( ) 11- 15yrs ( ) over 15yrs ( ).
5. In which administrative division does your area of operation fall?

6. What is the trend of Mungiki in this area between 2007 and 2009?
   Increasing ( ) Decreasing ( ) Stable ( ) Not known ( )
7. What’s the cause of the trend described in 6 above
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

8. Do you have a specific role in dealing with Mungiki?
Yes ( )
No ( )

9. If no. 8 is yes, please indicate some of your roles
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

10. What activities does Mungiki followers involve themselves in, in this area?
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

Section B: Education Status

11. Do you think the children of both sexes have equal access to education?
Yes ( )
No ( )

12. Do you consider the level of education as an important tool for survival today?
Yes ( )
No ( )

13. Kindly give reasons for your answer to no.12
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

SECTION C:

14. Do you think that Mungiki activities contribute negatively to education standards in the area?
Yes ( ) No ( )
15. Give reasons to your answer above

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

16. Which specific activities carried out by Mungiki harm education?

_____________________________________________________________________

17. In your opinion, how would Mungiki-related activities interfere with the ability of each gender from accessing education?
   Boys _____________________________________________________________
   Girls ___________________________________________________________

18. Which gender is more affected by Mungiki activities in this area?
   Boys (   )  Girls (   )

19. How many learners per gender whom you know have dropped out of school due to Mungiki-related activities?
   Boys __________
   Girls __________

20. Have teachers/schools complained to you about:-
   (a). Interference by Mungiki in schools?
      Yes (   )  No (   )
   (b). If yes, what were the nature of interference?
      __________________________________________________________________
      __________________________________________________________________
      __________________________________________________________________
   (c). What action did you take?
      __________________________________________________________________
      __________________________________________________________________
      __________________________________________________________________
21. Which is the youngest age of a suspected Mungiki members in your area? _____ gender? _____

22. In line with the above, what in your opinion should be done to ensure equal accessibility to education by both gender? ____________________________

_____________________________________________________________________


THANK YOU
APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

My name is SAMMY MAINGI, a student from Kenyatta University carrying out a study on the effect of Mungiki Sect on access to education in Nyeri County. You have been chosen together with others to participate in this study. Please feel free to respond to the following items. Your identity will be kept confidential.

INSTRUCTIONS
Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.
Put a tick or write your response in the spaces provided.

Section A: Demographic Information

1. The sex of the respondent
   Male (  )
   Female (  )

2. The age of the respondent
   20-25 ( ) 26-30 ( ) 31-35 ( ) 36 – 40 ( ) 41 – 44 ( ) 45- 50 ( ) 51- 54 ( ) 55-60( )

3. How long have you been in this school?
   1 – 5 yrs ( ) 6-10yrs ( ) 11- 15yrs ( ) over 15yrs ( )

4. Your school is in which division?
   ________________________________________________________________

5. What is your responsibility in the school?
   Head teacher
   Deputy headteacher
   HOD
   Assistant teacher

6. What is the enrollment trend of children in this school between 2007 and 2009?
   Increasing ( ) Decreasing ( ) Stable ( ) Not known ( )
7. Kindly explain your answer to number 6
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

8. What is the dropout trend of the children?
   Increasing ( ) Decreasing ( ) Stable ( ) Not known ( )

9. Kindly explain your answer to number 8
___________________________________________________________________

10. What’s the cause of the dropout?
___________________________________________________________________

11. Where do the children go to when they drop out of school?
___________________________________________________________________

SECTION D

12. Do you think that Mungiki has played any role to the education standard in the area?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

13. Give reasons to your answer in no. 12.
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

14. What do you think should be done to improve the standard of education in the area?
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
15 Kindly rate the level of interference Mungiki has towards education in your school?
Very Low (   ) Low (   ) Average (   ) High (   ) Very High (   )
16. Please give reasons for your answer above
i) ____________________________________________
ii) __________________________________________
17 Do you know of your students who have dropped out of school?
Yes (   )
No (   )
18 If yes, how many are they by gender?
Boys_________
Girls_________
19 Do you think Mungiki has in any way contributed to any of such dropouts?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
20 Are there any of your current students you know to be members of Mungiki?
Yes (   )
No (   )
21 If yes, how did you know?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
22 Do you think their activities have in any way affected their performance in school?
Yes (   )
No (   )
23 If yes, how?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
SECTION E Challenges facing the schools

24 Do you as teachers face any challenges with students who have joined Mungiki?

Yes (   )
No (   )

25. If yes, state some of the challenges that you face.

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

Thank you
APPENDIX IV

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEARNERS

My name is SAMMY MAINGI, a student from Kenyatta University carrying out a study on the effect of Mungiki Sect on access to education in Nyeri County. You have been chosen together with others to participate in this study. Please feel free to respond to the following items. Your identity will be kept confidential.

INSTRUCTIONS
Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.
Put a tick or write your response in the spaces provided.

Section A: Demographic Information
1. The sex of the respondent
   Male ( )
   Female ( )
2. What is your age?
   12 – 13 yrs ( ) 14 – 15 yrs ( ) 16 -17yrs ( ) over 18 yrs ( )
3 Please indicate your class
   Seven ( )
   Eight ( )
   Form 1 ( )
   Form 2 ( )
   Form 3 ( )
   Form 4 ( )
4 When did you join school? ________________________________

Section B
5 (a)Do you know of your classmates you started with who have dropped out of school?
   Yes ( )
   No ( )
(b) If yes, how many are boys_________Girls_________

6  If yes, what made them drop out?________________________

7  Do you think mungiki has in any way contributed to any of such dropouts?
________________________
________________________
________________________

8  Are there any of your current classmates you know to be members of Mungiki?
  Yes  (  )
  No   (  )

9  (a) If yes, how many? Boys -------------------------Girls -------------------------
  (b) If yes, how did you know?
________________________
________________________
________________________

10 (a) Do you think their activities have in any way affected their performance in school?
  Yes  (  )
  No   (  )
  (b) If yes, how?
________________________
________________________

11 (a) Have you ever been approached to join the Mungiki sect?
  Yes  (  )
  No   (  )
  (b) If yes, what did you do?
    Joined (  )
    Declined (  )
(c) If yes, who approached you?
   Classmate ( ) School mate ( ) Friend ( ) Stranger ( )
   Any other (specify)__________________________________________
   ________________________________

(d) If declined, why?
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________

12 What in your opinion should be done to stop Mungiki interfering with the ability of either gender accessing quality education?______________________________

Thank You