CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF MASCULINITIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON EDUCATION: A CASE OF MARALAL MIXED-DAY SECONDARY SCHOOL, SAMBURU COUNTY; KENYA

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C50/CE/24882/2012

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER, 2019
DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other university. The thesis has been complemented by referenced works duly acknowledged. Where text, data, graphics pictures or tables have been borrowed from other works- including the internet, the sources are specifically accredited through referencing in accordance with anti-plagiarism regulations.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all those who toil in pursuit of knowledge.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would want to express gratitude to my university supervisors Dr. Leah Wanjama and Dr. Pacificah Okemwa for accepting to direct this work and more so, for their inspiring guidance and encouragement. Moreover, I feel deeply indebted to my field assistant, Ms. Selina for her efforts to collect data. Above all, I glorify our Heavenly Father for making things possible out of impossible situations.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASAL</td>
<td>Arid and Semi-Arid Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Certificate of Public Accountancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRE</td>
<td>Christian Religious Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education For All</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCSE</td>
<td>Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoEST</td>
<td>Ministry of Education, Science and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E</td>
<td>Physical Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSC</td>
<td>Teachers Service Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGEI</td>
<td>United Nations Girls Education Initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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## GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atapan ceremony</td>
<td>The Turkana initiation ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekicholong</td>
<td>Hand held Turkana seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekitore a ng’ikiliok</td>
<td>Turkana men’s tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emodai</td>
<td>(Maasai name for stupid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emong</td>
<td>Turkana name for bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamuratani</td>
<td>Samburu circumciser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebarta –</td>
<td>A Samburu circumcision song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likiashami/ Lkimamaki/Lkiroro/Lkishiili</td>
<td>Samburu age-set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menong</td>
<td>Samburu married women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muratare e Layiok</td>
<td>Samburu name for the circumcision ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’amuk</td>
<td>Turkana leather sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyilet</td>
<td>Dishonor/an initiate who flinches</td>
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Masculinity- Masculinity relates to the possession and expression of the socially constructed attributes traditionally linked to men such as masculinities in specific cultural contexts. These are culture/context specific. According to Connell (2005) these include attributes such as competitiveness, ruggedness, vigour amongst others.

Initiation process- A rite of passage where an individual is separated from one social or religious status and incorporated into another.

Cultural practices- Refers to the manifestation of a culture in relation to the traditions and customs of a particular ethnic group.

Adornment- a thing which adorns or decorates; an ornament.

Age sets- a formally organized group consisting of every male/females of comparable age.

Rite of passage- a ceremony or ritual of the passage which occurs when an individual leaves one group to enter another.

Circumcision ritual- the removal of the foreskin from the human penis

Oath- the form of words in which such a statement or promise is made.

Stratification- a system or formation of layers, classes, or categories.

Cultural expressions of masculinities- These are manifestations that result from the creations of individuals, groups and societies in different cultures such as brevity and aggressiveness.

Education processes- Refer to school practices that transpire in learning institutions with the help of educators such as participation in lesson activities through answering and asking questions.
ABSTRACT
This study examined the cultural expressions of masculinities and their effects on education processes in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School in Samburu County. The study was based on the premise that despite the legal provisions and efforts to address negative forms of culture that affect education processes, particularly for boys, negative effects of cultural expressions are still prevalent in schools today. Cognizant of these effects in the classroom setting, this study therefore, was based on the objectives to (1) describe the cultural practices associated with the making of men among the Samburu and Turkana communities (2) establish the effects of the positive and negative cultural expressions of Turkana and Samburu masculinities on educational processes in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School (3) identify the differences in participation in the educational processes among the Turkana and Samburu boys in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School (4) suggest strategies that address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes. Connell’s theory of masculinity guided the study. The study targeted teachers and students in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School. Education officials were also sampled. Non-probability sampling methods, that is, purposive sampling was employed to sample 30% of the school’s population. Students, teachers and educational officials served as key informants. Primary data were collected through semi-structured questionnaires, interview guides and observation checklists. Secondary data were obtained through library research. Analysis of quantitative data was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17.0 and the findings presented in tables, graphs and figures. Qualitative data was qualitatively analyzed using content analysis method. The findings were presented in form of verbatim and narratives. The research found that cultural expressions of masculinities affect educational processes both positively and negatively. 92.9% of the respondents reported that they had gone through various cultural practices that transformed them into men and agreed that these practices make them express different forms of masculinities which affect their educational processes. The results further revealed a significant disparity in the participation in educational processes between the Turkana and Samburu boys. These were influenced by several variables such as different cultural processes that initiate them to manhood. Moreover, the findings also demonstrated that cultural expressions of masculinities could either promote or subdue educational processes. To address these challenges, the study recommended attention to this issue in policy making, which is a critical strategic starting point if the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities on educational processes are to be addressed. Positive expressions of masculinities needed to be enhanced to improve the educational processes.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, research premises, justification for the study, significance and lastly, scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Over the years, many changes have been witnessed in the gender system. Subsequently, the roles of women have changed, their access to opportunities as well as their achievements in previously held male dominated fields such as Medicine, Law and Business (Charles & Bradley, 2009). There has been a noted reversal in the educational attainment gap whereby more women are progressing and completing higher levels of education than boys (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). Besides, the enrolment rates for the girls have increased especially in Maths and Science courses.

Though the gender norms and practices have broadened especially for the girls leading to many educational advantages, those affecting boys and men are arguably rigid. While the standards of femininity have moved beyond the traditional norms to behaviours associated with men such as competiveness, masculinity ideals have hardly expanded to incorporate the traits linked with girls. Coston and Kimmel (2012) and England (2010) opine that masculine norms still rely on repudiating the femininity. In this regard, it was significant to question the interplay of masculinity and education.
The school as an integral part of society can be said to be a place of the differentiation of masculinities between different men (Connell, 2010). Further, the effects of masculinities can be manifested, notably in relation to authority patterns, the academic curriculum, effects of failure and dimensions of knowledge such as dealing with persons of the opposite gender. Education has been greatly linked with gender issues, especially masculinities and its implications on the performance of boys. Heyder and Kessels (2013) argue that issues of masculinities among boys may either manifest themselves as positive attributes or a crisis that many boys struggle to live up to. In this regard, there have been many discussions on the causative agents of the crisis of masculinities among many boys in the education sector and the effects of the crisis in their education processes. As DiPrete and Buchmann (2013) note, there is a clear gender divide in education as far as boys’ needs in schools are concerned. Other scholars argue that masculinities have been manifested in the classroom setting in various ways, and that there is need to come up with various mechanisms that will accommodate the needs of the boys in the classroom setting. Going by the fact that boys are exposed to different societal players who affect their self-perception, it is argued that masculinities continually change and its impacts on different sectors such as education cannot be ignored (Coffey & James, 2016; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2013). Of essence, is to question if poor/good performance, violence, stoicism, aggressiveness among other attributes are linked to traditional masculine culture among boys in the school setting.

Globally, the connections between cultural expressions of masculinities and education remain visible with many scholars and writers shedding light on it. Drawing from the case of United Kingdom (UK), cultural expressions of
masculinities have had adverse effects on the educational processes of the boys. According to Abbott (2013), very many young boys in the UK visualize education as not being macho enough. Consequently, the boys detest education as a result of falling victims to popular constructed societal images of men and masculinities. The messages focus on their manhood and the expectations associated with it that are often presented in the schools. The author is, therefore, wary of the fact that the British rites of passages for the boys have slowly deviated from hard work, appreciation of the community to hyper-masculinity that emphasizes lack of respect for women’s autonomy, heartlessness and even crude individualism (Abbott, 2013; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Moreover, this socialization makes many young boys to drop out of school especially those exposed to hyper-masculinity through different ways such as music lyrics and videos. Abbott (2013) adds that majority of these boys have low self-esteem and lack role models that would help them attain success in education. He advocates for the need to define masculinities in Britain and challenge aspects of masculinities that devalue education.

On the other hand, it is worth questioning if cultural expressions of masculinities have had positive effects on the performance of boys in selected subjects globally. In a study in England, a cultural study by Mendick, Moreau and Hollingworth (2008) on images and identities in Mathematics reveals that Mathematicians are most linked to maleness. This finding brings out gendered representations of Mathematics that appeals to the boys as ones most suited to take Mathematics unlike girls. Due to the impact of masculinities on the boys, they are said to present expressions of competitiveness in the classroom that deem them fit to choose Mathematics and even succeed in the subject. Pomerantz and Raby (2011) add that taking up
Mathematical problems for the boys in England helps them prove a point about their superiority. This ability to thrive in such seemingly “tough” subjects gives the boys a sense of “specialness” and a continuous connection of success in Mathematics with masculinity. The same findings can be evidenced in the study by Hargreaves, Homer and Swinnerton (2008) who conducted a study in England on the performance of Mathematics among boys and girls. The findings indicate that attitudinal differences indicated a stereotypical view of Mathematics as a subject that is purely a boys’ subject. Boys expressed cultural expressions of their masculinities of confidence that made perform better in the subject than girls. Only a few “gifted girls” managed to attain the level of the boys as far as performance on the subject was concerned. It is these findings, therefore, that lead to the need to understand the link between cultural expressions of masculinities and participation of boys in classroom activities.

In reference to African-Caribbean boys, especially those from poor families, Richardson (2011), reports how black schoolboys perform poorly in schools as exemplary performance undermines their masculinities. School success in settings such as Jamaica has long been termed feminine or gay. The author, therefore, argues that this is a cultural attitude that has continually affected the African-Caribbean male students, especially in the UK. Statistics indicate that Jamaican boys perform 10% lower than girls in National Examinations; it is arguable that misplaced notions of masculinities need to be addressed in schools (Richardson, 2011). The author further argues that because boys in Jamaica do not want to be categorized as gay or feminine, they opt not to engage in “women’s activity”; thus, majority opt to hustle
in other manly activities that would give them an easier option of making a living as opposed to committing themselves to education (Richardson, 2011).

A study in India found that boys in the classroom behave differently based on what their culture has imparted on them. Christine and Becky (2003) explain the concept of “laddishness” in Indian classrooms. From the construction of masculinities in the Indian communities, boys learn to be competitive, macho and laddish as some of the expressions of their masculinity constructions. However, instead of using these manifestations positively in their participation in educational processes, Indian boys gradually alienate themselves from the school setting as they focus on positioning themselves as “hard” and “cool”. The boys also struggle to distance themselves from being termed as intelligent and geniuses, aspects that are constructed as weak and lack of vigour which is uncharacteristic of men (Epstein et al., 1998; Francis, 2000; Warrington & Younger, 2000). It is ironic that despite the boys striving to present themselves as competitive in the school interactions, the boys do not present exemplary results in the examinations but instead they demonstrate masculinities by being the “hardest”, “cheekiest to the teachers” or “anti-heroes in the classroom”. More specifically, these boys distance themselves from feminine subjects like Arts and barely seek to communicate or express weak emotions like the girls do (Christine & Becky, 2003). In this regard, therefore, it is important to question the impact that these cultural expressions of masculinities have on the boys as far as performance is concerned.

In South America, notably in countries such as Chile, boys are likely drop out of school four times more than the girls and join the workplaces (UNICEF, 2005a). To
these boys, being forced to conform to the masculine gender identity in the classroom clashes with the demands of the women-centred school systems. As a result, it has continually led to underachievement among the boys. At the education level, the gender disparities reflect interplay of factors such as initiation for the boys impacting the participation of the boys in educational processes as well as retention in the school (UNESCO, 2006a).

In Africa, it is worth questioning the cultural expressions of masculinities and why they are a major concern in the education sector. This issue is directly related to the way in which gender is socially constructed in the society. In the research conducted by Beynon (2002) and Stromquist (2007), the findings reveal that cultural perceptions of masculinities impart ideas in many boys that ultimately lead to their engagement in violent behaviours and different forms of crime in the school setting. In Botswana and Lesotho for example, Jha and Kelleher (2006) indicate that boys are socialized to conform to masculine gender identity that does not match with the demands of education. This leads to general underperformance of the boys. Since gender is a social construct that determines the way in which men and women behave and what roles they are assigned, men in Africa, Lesotho in particular, are viewed as warriors and protectors. Since many women in Africa have strived to acquire education as a way of improving their livelihoods, education has slowly been seen as feminine by many African men (Jha & Kelleher, 2006). In line with this argument, therefore, boys are forced to conform to masculine behaviour that is accepted by their peers and since education is not masculine as it would require allegiance to their teachers which would betray their manhood, it is not emphasized.
This socialization process pushes the boys from academics and in the long run leads to underachievement in education.

A regional consultation of North Africa sought to find out how boys in Ethiopia suffer from the constraints of meeting the demands of their culture while in the school setting. Poluha (2007) writes that the strong norms of masculinity discourse among the Ethiopian boys makes it difficult for them to perform in what is considered female work or activities; education being one of them. Hence, they prefer what is regarded masculine by their school mates such as bullying other students.

On the contrary, in Africa, positive expressions of masculinities have been credited to constructive participation in educational processes especially when the boys perform exceptionally in STEM subjects. In a recent study in Uganda by Ochwa-Echel (2011) it was found that Sciences, Electricity and other tough subjects like Computer studies were associated with men, as they require vigour and resilience to perform. Ochwa-Echel adds that in order to do something recognizable, Science was found the only subject that would make the boys known and appreciated. This explains the high enrolment of boys in Science and Computer Science disciplines unlike girls in Uganda. These findings link expressions of resilience and toughness to masculinity which leads to successful participation of boys in education processes like succeeding in “tough” subjects.

The Basic Education Act 2013 provides for free and compulsory basic education. Through the Act, there has been the establishment of a Policy Framework for
Nomadic Education in Kenya that has been charged with the role of ensuring that the nomadic pastoralists - Turkana and Samburu included - access education. The same is also stipulated in the Children Act, 2003 that entitles all children to access education under the responsibility of their parents and the government in accordance with article 28 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Despite these efforts, Kenya faces major challenges as far as access, quality and even relevance of education to the school going children is concerned especially in the ASAL regions. Both girls and boys face major barriers. Nonetheless, in the ASAL regions, the challenges can be said to be “multiple” due to the patriarchal and socio-cultural systems that socialize both the boys and girls to fit into their respective gender identity even in the classroom setting.

On a national perspective, the cultural expressions of masculinities are evident and more so their impact on educational processes. In the work of Cole and Manuh (2007) as well as Smiler and Epstein (2010), the expressions of masculinities have been associated with dominance, authority, constrained emotional expression, mental and physical strength, rationality and sexual prowess especially among the nomadic pastoralist communities such as the Maasai. This gave the men not only the natural authority but also an African look. Hence, for such nomadic pastoralist communities, it seemed an insult to abandon the aforementioned expressions of masculinities and embrace what was seen as less masculine such as schooling and Christianity that was brought by the White man. Nevertheless, such men that have abandoned culturally defined behaviours associated with masculinities and have
embraced modernity have constantly been termed as *emodai* (Maasai name for stupid).

For the Keiyo boys. Chang’ach (2013) notes that once these boys have undergone traditional circumcision, their behaviour is expected to conform to cultural expectations regarding masculinity. In mixed boarding schools where Keiyo initiated boys learn alongside the girls, cultural expectations define their relationships. Bearing in mind that their cultural induction puts the man above the woman, these boys cannot compete effectively with the girls since a good number of them feel superior to women and this poses a major challenge to their schooling process (Chang’ach, 2013). In the event that the boys feel that they cannot prove their superiority in class, they may give up their aspirations to attain higher education (Chang’ach, 2013). It can then be argued that culture imparts expressions of masculinities that impede some of the boys from attaining higher education (Bore, 2006). Sambu (2007) further gives details on how Keiyo circumcision ceremonies involve pain that strengthens the initiates who are later expected to express fearlessness and strength. Indeed, it is easy to assume that a boy who has undergone such a ritual will not find it easy to take defeat positively in academic performance by their female counterparts. Leaper, Farkas and Brown (2012) as well as Martino (2008) observe that boys’ gender typicality will not adversely impact male-typed subjects that could strengthen their gender identity, such as Maths or Science, but will negatively impact cross-sex typed subjects, such as English, that could weaken their masculine identity and/or status. Paradoxically, these trends may also cause difficulties for boys in schools since masculinity is linked with success and dominance.
The close nexus between education and culture is also witnessed among the Ogiek boys. Leacock and Lee (1982) describe the Ogiek men after initiation as easily losing their temper, getting physical, fighting amongst themselves and beating their wives which is not considered distasteful. They are also said to be people with no sense of honour as they do things for aggrandizement such as sorcery (Leacock & Lee, 1982). Based on their livelihoods in the difficult forest environment, the Ogiek children and youths learn skill that help them to survive in the harsh environment such as escaping upon attack from dangerous animals, venomous snakes or fighting for safety from ferocious bees (Nomi, 2004). As far as education is concerned, Arid Lands Institute (2007) writes that Ogiek are completely unaware of the MDGs, education being among them. This explains why a good number of the Ogiek people are not keen on matters education despite there being a lot of efforts by the Kenyan government to promote Education For All. The author further suggests that the number of children transiting into high school is very minimal (Arid Lands Institute, 2007). This can be attributed to the culture of the Ogiek that does not put emphasis on modern education but focuses more on their traditional expressions such as dances and songs as well as survival skills. It is then warranted to question the expressions that the Ogiek boys would present in class, bearing in mind that a good number of them still focus on their traditions that impart different cultural expressions of the masculinities constructed as aforementioned.

Locally, cultural expressions of masculinities have helped many boys succeed in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) subjects due to the brevity and toughness they present in class. Kitetu (2008) writes that since these
boys want to prove a point, they tend to struggle and successfully accomplish good grades in subjects such as Computer Studies. The author highlights that Computer Studies has been structurally masculine in the studied Kenyan classrooms; hence, competition among the boys to succeed in the subject (Kitetu, 2008). Being asked why they chose to sit in Computer Science classes, they said that it is linked with success. This presents a positive attribute of the cultural expressions of masculinities among the boys who strive to be “masculine” in the said “tough” subjects.

On the contrary, culturally instigated expressions of masculinities locally have been a major barrier to educational choices as these masculinities have acted as a means of creating and preserving power relationships of the men. The boys in Turkana and Samburu go through different processes of becoming men. Finke’s (2000-2003) work indicates that the Turkana do not practice circumcision; but simply go through the Atapan ceremony that transits them into adulthood by simply placing a blue ochre mud cup on their heads while the Samburu undergo the circumcision ritual, the Muratare e Layiok that transits them into adulthood and warrants them a direct entry into warrior hood. The two communities express masculinities as demanded by their culture since they would be criticized if they do not. However, the main question relates to whether the differing initiation ceremonies between the Turkana and Samburu communities determine the kind of cultural masculinities that are expressed by the boys. To a great extent, it is arguable that the masculine stereotypes may be born from facts. In this case, the stereotypes have a self-reinforcing effect. Yet, whether these stereotypes are true or not there was need to evaluate if they affect the educational processes of the Turkana and Samburu boys. Formal education is said to be the key to success, however, many factors impede attainment
of education among the Samburu and Turkana. This study, therefore sought to establish the cultural expressions of masculinities among the Turkana and Samburu and its effects on the educational processes.

1.2 Statement of Problem

In educational institutions, the young boys are put at crossroads as some cultural masculine attributes and expected behaviours are in conflict with educational processes. Compounding this are the pressures that come along with the boys failing to meet their masculine identities in the classroom which further interferes with their academic learning. Arguably, in the school setting today, many boys are struggling to meet the set of cultural expectations of their masculine identities. Is it this struggle that continues to affect boys’ achievement in school? It was therefore important to question if many of the unproductive and interfering behaviours that the underachieving boys are presenting in the classroom can be explained by considering the student’s character only, or other influences can be considered like culture. Cultural demands force the boys to undergo various rituals aimed at transforming them to men. Consequently, they may embrace attitudes, behaviours and attributes associated with men in those contexts. The social construction of masculinities can either lead to positive or negative expressions. Positive masculine behaviours include exhibiting leadership, rationality and competitiveness while negative masculine behaviours include violence, disconnectedness and devaluing the feminine. These expectations laid down by the boys’ cultural masculine identities predispose them to expressions of masculinities that affect their educational processes in various ways. In this regard, it was important to question how these expressions of masculinities affect school processes and performance. Are the
masculine expressions detrimental to boys’ academic performance? Most importantly, for which boys and in what contexts are cultural expressions of masculinities disparaging to academic performance? This study presented, therefore, focused on students from the Turkana and Samburu communities. Considering the differences in the rituals associated with making men out of boys in the two communities, one would expect different expressions of masculinities. It was, therefore, imperative to establish what these masculinities entailed and how these affected educational processes. This research sought to compare Turkana and Samburu cultural expressions of masculinities and its effects on education processes using the case of Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School in Samburu County, Kenya.

1.3 Objective of the study
The overall objective of the study was to compare the Turkana and Samburu cultural expressions of masculinities and its effects on education processes using the case of Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School, Samburu County; Kenya.

1.4 The Specific Objectives
The specific objectives of the study included: To

i). Establish the cultural practices associated with the making of men among the Samburu and Turkana communities.

ii). Establish the effects of the positive and negative cultural expressions of Turkana and Samburu masculinities on educational processes in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School.

iii). Identify the differences in participation in the educational processes among the Turkana and Samburu boys in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School.
iv). Suggest strategies that address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes.

1.5 Research Questions

The guiding research questions were:

i). In what ways are the cultural practices associated with the making of men among the Samburu and Turkana communities?

ii). What are the effects of the cultural expressions of Turkana and Samburu masculinities on educational processes in Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School?

iii). How does the participation in educational processes differ between the selected Turkana and Samburu boys in represented in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School?

iv). What strategies will address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes?

1.6 Justification for the Study

This study has contributed to the understanding that gender is socially constructed and that men go through initiation processes that make them men. The study considered that masculinities exist in specific circumstances through differing initiation processes among the Turkana and Samburu boys; hence, the rationale of comparing the two communities. It is these different processes determine the kind of cultural masculinities that are expressed by the boys from the two communities. Moreover, after the initiation processes, the initiates internalize the standards of
being men. They too strive to live up to the expectations set in the course of initiation such as enduring pain or even disassociating from women or feminine roles. Furthermore, the study contributes to the need of addressing issues of masculinity through an understanding of how young men develop both individually and collectively within define male circles. The study has enriched our understanding on gender inequalities by indicating that male superiority is changeable construction, and not divinely predestined.

The study results justified the need to define ways that focus on masculinities that are less violent and aggressive over others. The findings reveal that “real men” who do not control, dominate, discriminate or exploit others can be constructed through the processes of initiation. This then justifies the study’s major focus on boys and their masculinities unlike girls.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study may be significant to the boys in schools that are affected by social constructions of gender. It may also be significant to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology as it may provide an insight on the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities on education processes among the Turkana and Samburu communities. Secondly, the findings may be of invaluable use to NGOs, education policy makers, sponsors, the community and all concerned stakeholders in the education sector in the development of teaching and learning strategies that are informed and take into consideration cultural dynamics. Thirdly, the study may help other scholars who will be provided with background information on the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities on education among the Turkana and Samburu
communities hence design respective strategies that will eliminate the negative manifestations among learners.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was carried out at Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School which is in Samburu County, Samburu Central Constituency, Ikuruto Division, Kenya. The school had a population of 300 students and was well represented by learners from Turkana and Samburu communities.

It was anticipated that obtaining data on masculinity would be problematic to a woman since the Samburu and Turkana male youth would not be willing to reveal the actual process that transforms them into men. This problem was solved through rapport building with the respondents so that they felt comfortable sharing what they called their personal information as well as trained a male research assistant to help in collecting data.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviewed related literature. Focus was also shed on theoretical foundations, the cultural practices associated with the making of men, effects of the cultural expressions of masculinities on educational processes and strategies that may help address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes. This chapter also discusses the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that guided the study.

2.1 The Cultural Practices Associated with the Making of Men

Indigenous societies have rituals and ceremonies that mark a young males’ shift to adulthood. Keen (2010) writes that in the primordial societies, becoming an adult man was a conscious and communal occasion that aimed at fostering a new sense of self. The rite of passage entails a lot of physical trials projected to diminish the attachments to boyhood and foster a rebirth to a new identity.

A global perspective on the cultural processes of making of men explains that men go through differing cultural practices in their socialization. The study by Listverse Staff (2009) explains how the boys of the Algonquin Indian Tribe of Quebec were initiated into adulthood. First, they were secluded, caged and given an intoxicating medicine known as Wysoccan, that was meant to erase childhood memories from their boys’ minds. Upon reaching the village, the boys were not expected to show any signs of recalling their childhood. If so, they would be taken back and given a second dose of the intoxicating medicine. Some boys would even lose their
memories completely including that of their family members after being subjected to that dose. Through this process, the boys expressed courage and bravery; aspects which showed that they were now fit to join the adulthood stage. They began a new life on a new chapter devoid of memories of their boyhood. It was expected that they would start a new life as men and always present courage even in the toughest times of their lives as men.

A regional investigation done in North Africa, notably in Ethiopia’s Harmar tribe shows that boys go through various cultural processes to become men. Among the Harmar tribe, cow jumping is a rite of passage that boys go through before becoming men and being allowed to marry. The boys are expected to jump over cattle (bulls) four times while naked to symbolize their effort to leave their childhood lives. After successful completion of this rite, the young man would be allowed to join the ranks of the maza (men who passed the cow jumping rite) and spend time supervising the same events in their villages in the subsequent months (Brett & McKay, 2010).

The same case applies to the Spartan youth who have to go through a cruel rite of passage known as krypteia to become a man. The young men are expected to go to the countryside with a knife and his wits and kill as many state-owned slaves as possible and return home in one piece. One can clearly visualize the risks associated with this practice, for the young Spartan to become a man and delight in its privileges such as marriage (Brett & McKay, 2010).
Worse still is the rite of passage for the boys of the Satere-Mawe tribe that lives in the Brazilian Amazon. They have to stick their hands in glove woven with bullet ants and withstand the sting for about 10 minutes not considering that the pain from the sting lasts for 24 hours, and in this case, it is a couple of stings. After several repetitions of this ritual, the boy then becomes a man as they are now said to be stoic and can endure life’s pains (Brett & McKay, 2010). It was of great importance to assess the cultural processes of becoming a man among the Turkana and Samburu communities and the effects that these rites of passages have on them.

In Africa, boys are boys and men are men till various cultural processes are done to ensure proper boy transition to adulthood (Page, 2001). These ceremonies are initiation rituals that at times involve painful circumcision acts and at times body scarification. Wong (2016) explains that the initiation ceremonies are characterized by six elements;

i. Separation and seclusion

ii. Pain and suffering; whether physical or emotional

iii. Educational instruction

iv. Cutting of flesh in the form of circumcision or body scarification that may lead to spilling of blood

v. Spiritual/ ancestral elements

vi. Reincorporation to the village/ tribe

Using the case study of South Africa, boys become men through circumcision. Khumalo (2009) describes how the Xhosa boys graduate to men through circumcision. The ceremony takes place in “traditional initiation schools” such as
the bush. It is here that the cut is done, and makes the boys become men. In his narrative on the process of becoming men, the boys interviewed appreciated the art of circumcision as transforming them into men. After the initiation, the boys went into seclusion where they were taught on the society’s customs, and finally were reintegrated into the society. The same processes also take place in Rwanda and Zambia.

Nationally, cultural practices associated with the initiation of boys are evident among many communities in Kenya. A good example is that of the Meru of the Eastern Kenya. Their circumcision takes place among boys aged sixteen. Every village produces a group of boys, who take part in the rite, then they are educated on the rules of the rite and no one is expected to break them. Songs and dance are heard on the eve of the circumcision, a rite which hardens the boys in the wake of facing the knife. Using swords and clubs, jingles on their legs and blowing horns, the boys join in the dance. The boys get persons who will care for them after the initiation process that is, the seclusion period (Finke, 2000). This guardian is expected to guide the initiate on the journey to manhood till when the initiate is reincorporated back to the society.

The same can be inferred from the Gusii male initiation ceremony that takes place for the boys who are aged between 8-12 years. Many boys are eager to take part in this ceremony so that they transit to warriorhood stage, as well as participate in activities associated with it like engaging in sexual relations. Normally, the boys to be initiated chose a sponsor who would escort them to the initiation venue. The sponsor would also take care of the initiate during seclusion (Finke, 2000). The
morning of the ceremony, the Gusii boys were expected to take a bath in a chilly river before proceeding to the circumciser’s home where they would be led to a special tree where the cut would take place. The initiate was not expected to show any signs of weakness or fear and the older boys stood by with clubs and spears threatening to harm the initiate if he did the contrary. The boys were then put in seclusion and classified into groups where they would receive additional teachings on their new roles. Their mothers were expected to bring food to them. After seclusion, the boys would then go through cleansing, anointing and feasting ceremonies to mark the success of the process (Finke, 2000).

2.2 The Effects of the Cultural Expressions of Masculinities on Educational Processes

There are many unexamined beliefs such as those propagated by the Samburu and Turkana culture of initiation that leads to cultural expressions of masculinities by the boys and more so their effects on the educational processes. A lot of studies have been done on the techniques of knowledge transmission among the Turkana and Samburu but very little has been done to compare the effects of these cultural expressions of masculinities between the two communities and how the same affects the education processes.

Globally, masculinities have had both positive and negative impacts on the educational processes. Studies such as UNGEI (2006), highlights that socialization of the boys within different cultures create different perceptions of masculinities in the men in the Asia-Pacific Countries. The study confines its arguments on the gender enculturation in schools but does not focus on the effects of the expressions
of masculinities in the classroom processes. On another note, Stromquist (2007) explains that gender biased school environments and socialization encourages boys to be violent, tough or hyper-competitive in Australian schools. This study acknowledges the fact that the making of men creates different masculine expressions like control, toughness and competitiveness. Nonetheless, focus has only been shed on the school being a place where gender construction is manifested, as it provides a ground for a discussion and understanding of the different behaviours that are manifested but not in the classroom setting (Gill & Starr, 2000).

In addition, UNICEF (2005) writes that after having gone through initiation, a great number of boys visualize education as not being ‘masculine enough’; a good example is that of reading texts in class which they begin to consider as a girls’ activity. Further, UNICEF sees the school as gendered environment and calls for an inclusion of the boys in efforts to re-conceptualize the negative gender stereotypes and attributions. Though this report indicates that the initiated boys in the class fail to participate in the educational process, many aspects that shape the educational processes have been left out such as relations with the teachers and other students, participation in other learning activities like asking and answering questions amongst others. This study filled these gaps by focusing on the process of becoming men, the attributes that the boys acquire during and after initiation and how they behave when confined in the classroom setting.

Regionally, the crisis of masculinity is vivid in the education process (McDowell, 2000). According to Longlands (2008) many boys are disengaged with the entire schooling process and a good number of them do not want to engage in the formal
education programmes. The author gives an example of South Africa where many boys are involved in gang culture and do not want to be involved in schooling process. Their cultural attitudes are responsible for their limitation in the opportunities that they would accrue from educational processes. In the long run, dropout rates are recorded and many others just go to school for the sake of it. Though these studies bring out the crisis of masculinities in the school, they have not assessed how the boys behave after the cultural process that make them men and how they interact with various actors in class such as the teachers, other students and content.

Nationally, masculinities have been viewed to be among the major drivers of boy’s educational processes. Chege and Likoye (2015) add vital literature to this study by examining the perceptions that teachers and parents have on masculinity construction among schoolboys vis-à-vis schoolgirls in Kirinyaga and Nairobi counties. Particularly, they interrogate how school boys handle their being in school especially after having constructed masculinities during their transition to adulthood. We acknowledged the fact that the authors present the school setting as a gendered setting. However, the authors do not focus on the process of masculinity construction and the expressions that come with it. However, the study provides an understanding that masculinities create a cause for alarm as far as education is concerned. This study sought to fill this gap by using the case study of Turkana and Samburu expressions of masculinities and how these boys behave in class, and consequently, the effects on their educational processes.
On another reference, Chege, Likoye, Nyambura and Guantai (2013) study the declining participation and performance of boys in Kenya in schools. The work supposes that the formed masculinities could be one of the variables that affect the education of the boys. However, details of the constructed masculinities have not been clearly highlighted and this is the gap this study addressed. Chege et al.’s (2013) study applies the thoughts of Connell, a theory of masculinity which this research used as well. This is because the aim of this study was to examine the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities in the educational processes. This theory describes different expressions of masculinities that boys display which could be based on what their culture has imparted on them. With the school having its own systems that the boys are expected to adhere to; this theory guided the study in understanding how the boys struck the balance between the education system and what culture had taught them as well as what the school administration expected of them.

In yet another local study, Solvoll (n.d), focuses on issues concerning education and knowledge conceptions among the Turkana and Samburu youth, but does not consider that educational possibilities can also be achieved if underlying factors such as cultural expressions of masculinities are highlighted as a barrier to embracing education. The author questions how the Turkana and Samburu perceive education but he does not touch on the aspect of culture as a factor that affects the socialization process of the boys who in turn express masculinity either positively or negatively in the classroom setting (Solvoll, n.d).
Other studies have also been done but they are confined to enrolment, success and completion of education by those communities in the ASAL region. A good example is the work of Ogachi (2011) that focuses on culture and how it affects education. The author gives a brief description on how culture and education have a symbiotic relationship. He further highlights that various cultural factors affect some aspects of education like the curriculum, the discipline of the student, the teacher relations and the school in general. However, how cultural practices like initiation of boys creates expressions of masculinities that the boys display in the classroom setting are not interrogated as well as there being either positive or negative influences leaving a gap that this study investigated.

Other studies also attest to the fact that masculinity among the Turkana and the Samburu (Sortland (n.d) can be used as tools of transforming the youth. However, they leave out a comparison of the masculinities between the two communities and how the same affects their educational processes and in the long run contribute to total transformation of the youth. This study filled the gaps left by other researchers on Turkana and Samburu masculinities by comparing how the two communities expressed masculinities and how the same affected the education processes.

2.3 Differences in the participation in educational processes between the selected Turkana and Samburu boys in represented in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School

A lot has been written on about the challenge of pastoralists and success in education but not much has been written about the expressions of masculinities that the boys in these communities present and how it affects their participation in
educational processes. Even more less has been written on the differences in participation among the Turkana and Samburu boys considering that the two communities go through differing processes of becoming men. The works already done have been confined to overall performance of the boys in schools and factors that affect their education. Examples include the work of Bosch, Maxey & Mohammed (2006) that focuses on many secondary schools in the pastoral regions registering lower numbers of students joining secondary schools, and the schools registering high dropout rates, as well as low performance. The authors further credit the failure to inadequate resources, insecurity and cultural practices such as initiation of the boys into adulthood among other factors (Bosch, Maxey & Mohammed, 2006).

Schilling, Opiyo & Scheffran (2012), underline how pastoral conflicts have negatively impacted the livelihoods of the locals, what has constantly prompted the Kenyan government to focus on ensuring that education is promoted in the marginalized regions. As an intervention for improving secondary education in pastoral communities, Moru’s (2010) work focuses on privatization of land that will reduce the tension that exists among the pastoral communities; hence, improve their education. This study seeks to establish the differences in the participation in educational processes between the selected Turkana and Samburu boys in represented in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School.
2.4 Strategies that Address the Negative Expressions of Masculinities and Enhance the Positive Expressions of Masculinities to Improve the Educational Processes

Globally, various strategies that address the question of masculinities in education have been adopted. UNICEF (2005) writes that inclusion of the male in the gender mainstreaming process is vital since gender equality is not possible without active involvement of the men. This work is in line with this study as it highlights that boys in most instances are forced to live up to the societal expectations of the masculine grade and if this risk is not avoided, many boys will be forced to express cultural expressions of masculinities imparted by the society. Such boys may lose out on the success of life as they may not be comfortable with what they have been socialized into. UNICEF (2005) continues to note that men and boys are under considerable pressure to stick to their gender roles and norms of masculinity, which makes it difficult to be different. Threat of failure to live up to the masculine grade is enough to generate emotional tension and internal conflict expressed through fear, isolation, anger, self-punishment, self-hatred and aggression in many men, particularly young men. Young males’ self-doubts about their masculine credentials negatively impact their self-esteem (UNICEF, 2005). Consequent feelings of denial and disappointment can lead to poor self-esteem and result in anti-social behaviours.

The thoughts of Martino (2008) also express the feeling that having male teachers may not necessarily solve the problem of underachievement among the boys. Instead focus should be shifted to the concept of good pedagogical approaches and good relations with their peers and teachers as a way of solving the problem of underachievement among boys. Further, schools ought to adopt measures that
reduce the constructions of gender that in turn bring out different expressions of either gender. This means that the teachers need to embrace a critical literary approach that will change the notions of what it means to be a boy and even raise questions that help the boys question the effects of these stereotypes in them. This study focuses on understanding the social construction of gender and the achievement among boys, no attention is given on the various positive and negative expressions of masculinities and the behaviour of the boys in the classroom, which this study outlined.

On the region, Davis (2001) and Tatum (2005) studies relate to this study. They argue that boys’ performance or underperformance may not only be linked to their cognitive ability but also to gender socialization that leads to their expressions of masculinities that may be lack of engagement in school literacy programmes. The masculine expressions can then be said to be adaptive strategies that can either lead to positive or negative schooling outcomes. In the thoughts of Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) as well as Salisbury and Jackson (1996), the expressions of masculinities by boys cannot be ignored as key impediment to the boys’ performance. In this regard, the researchers indicate that strategies need to be adopted that encourage boys and the girls to work together to challenge the boys’ expressions of masculinities. It is through such processes that both the girls and the boys will broaden their learning opportunities and development. However, the authors are wary of the fact that this approach may reinforce the current forms of masculinities; hence, increase the chances that their educational developments will be limited.
Connolly (2004) opines that the negative expressions of masculinities may be addressed by evaluating the concept of feminization of the school. It is argued that schools today have become extremely feminized in that they are dominated by female teachers, making the boys lack male role models. It also makes the boys have limited exposure to the “masculine” dimension of some values that shape men. This emphasizes the need to increase the male figures in the schools in a bid to present role models to the boys. Connolly (2004) further avers that in the event that the boys’ profile in the school is increased as well as positive experiences of the school, there are high chances that the negative expressions of masculinities of the boys may be redressed. Boys’ success ought to be celebrated, they also need to be given more responsibilities within the school and even commending the boys work’ though it may not be as neat as that of the girls (Bleach, 1998). although these studies have focused on changing the curriculum and fashioning the school setting to meet the needs of the boys, our study has majored on problematizing the boys themselves and their dominant forms of masculinities as a cause of underperformance among them. The study’s argument is supported by that of Skelton (1996; 1997) that increasing the number of male teachers in schools may not be the ultimate solution to the problem of masculinities expressions and their impact on educational performance.

An understanding and negotiation of boys’ construction of masculinities has been highlighted as one of the ways that would be helpful in addressing the stereotypes that come along with masculinity (Alloway, Freebody, Gilbert & Muspratt, 2002). In this regard, the boys will be well placed to accept the expressions that come along with masculinity. It also means that the school should adopt strategies that will help the boys examine the effects of their traditional masculinities on their development
as individuals and even reconstruct the qualities that they do not appreciate (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). With the help of Connell’s (1996) work on *Teaching the Boys: New Research On Masculinity and Gender Strategies for Schools*, that accepts the fact that different cultures construct masculinities differently and that schools define and sustain masculinities, this study assessed the constructions and expressions of masculinities of the Samburu and Turkana communities and defined strategies that will reinforce the positive and redress negative expressions of masculinities.

Nationally, various discussions have been held on the need to address the question of masculinity in education, and not really on the crisis of masculinity in the actual education processes. Uchendu (2008) highlights the role of parenting and masculinities. Through addressing the issue to fathers of students, the author indicates that they may impact on the life choices and academic potential of their sons. This highlights the role of parenting in successful attainment and completion of social processes like education. The same case can be seen in the work of Chege and Likoye (2015) who indicate that inclusion of parents in a discussion of the issue of construction of identity is fundamental in addressing masculinity issues in the classroom setting. However, the value of such works cannot be ignored, but the gap addressing the masculinity crisis in the classroom setting ought to be filled, that is why this study covered it.

Though these studies argue that education plays a huge role in the transformation of masculinities and development of the boy-child, no specific information is provided on the how Turkana and Samburu communities can use education to address the negative expressions of masculinities and reinforce the positive expressions. This
study embarked on addressing the case study of Samburu and Turkana boys in the school setting.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study employed Connell’s theory of masculinity (2005). This theory proposes that masculinities are socially constructed, dynamic and constantly changing. Most importantly, masculinities are not only differentiated but also stand against one another in relations of power. The theory explains that there are different types of masculinities. First is hegemonic masculinity. This form of masculinity is considered the most exalted form of masculinity in any given context and is positioned in opposition to femininity. Connell (2005) continues to indicate that hegemonic masculinity is a relational paradigm that is shaped in contrast to femininity. It is positioned as oppositional and as superior to femininity and other lesser forms of masculinity—often those that incorporate femininities such as gay masculinities. This form of masculinity; hence, defines the standard by which males’ status and esteem are judged, even though few boys and men ever achieve this ideal. Next is subordinate masculinity that permits the subordination of one group to the rule of another. Connell (2005) writes that the most predominant form is the subordination of homosexual masculinity to heterosexual masculinity. Third is complicit masculinity. This form of masculinity is rarely achieved by many men. However, many men benefit from this form of masculinity as it involves subordination of women through the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 2005). Hegemony is then gained effortlessly through culture, institutions and persuasion that allow for domination over women. Last is marginalized masculinity that characterizes a situation where one masculinity is oppressed by another, most times
the hegemonic masculinity, or alternatively empowered by it (Connell, 2005). For instance, men of colour may be turned into models of hegemonic masculinity.

In the classroom setting, Connell’s theory of masculinity will contribute towards understanding of the dynamics of classroom life, notable patterns of resistance and even aggressive behaviour among boys that boys express after initiation processes into manhood. The theory helped the researcher to understand teaching strategies and teacher identities among such groups as physical education instructors. The theory served as a model relevant to the study since the Turkana and Samburu communities go through diverse cultural practices that socialize them to becoming men in the society. It is this socialization process grants them different attributes of being men such as aggressiveness, dominance among others. The initiation process occupies a key position in the cultural strata. The process of initiation serves to elevate the esteem of the man and his position in society is accepted as superior. Immersing the boys in an education system and forcing them to be part of the already existing systems that may to some extent challenge their superiority by having female teachers or even compete with the girls, who to them are inferior, may affect their participation in the educational processes, which was the major concern of the study.

Connell’s theory of masculinity further asserts that men will continually embrace the superior position in the society and may have a tendency to resist social change (Connell, 2005). Simply put, the theory hypothesizes that as a result of being interrelated and interdependent, social constructions create different expressions of masculinities that may ultimately affect the educational processes of the boys (Connell, 2005). Through the theory, it will be possible to understand that changes
introduced by the education system may pose a major threat to the position initially held by Turkana and Samburu initiated boys and yet the position of the men as prescribed by the rituals associated with initiation has not changed significantly. This study anticipated to identify if it is this conflict that could be a source of lack of enthusiasm in the educational processes among the Turkana and Samburu initiated boys. This was interpreted in the light of Connell’s theory of masculinity.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

![Conceptual Framework Diagram]

**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework on Cultural Expressions of Masculinities**

2.7. Summary of Literature Review

From the literature review, it was found out that boys go through differing processes to becoming men. It is these processes that define their lives as men as well as impart them with various expressions of masculinities such as brevity and aggressiveness amongst others. It was found out that the Turkana go through the
Atapan initiation ritual to become men while their Samburu counterparts go through the circumcision ritual. However, these processes have been said to have major effects on the boys while in the education setting. This study sought to fill in the gaps on the effects of these expressions of masculinities in the education setting through a study of initiated boys in class. Despite many studies focusing on the performance of such pastoralist communities in education, their participation in educational processes has not been addressed, what this study will fill. The literature review also focused on the strategies that help address negative expressions of masculinities and enhance positive ones that would boost educational performance.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology that was used in the study of cultural expressions of masculinities and its effects on the educational processes using the case study of Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. It describes the research design, site of the study, target population, sample size and sampling techniques, data collection instruments, data analysis and presentation as well as ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted a comparative case study design since the focus was to compare the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities among boys from two communities (Turkana and Samburu) represented in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. A comparative case study was useful in this study as it allowed for analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences and patterns across two cases that share a common goal (Goodrick, 2014). This study focused on the effects of the cultural expressions of masculinities on the education processes among the Samburu and Turkana communities in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School and their effects on the educational processes. The case study simplified complex concepts that touched on the cultural expressions of masculinities of the Turkana and Samburu communities, brought out the real life situations as well as provided solutions to the problems noted in the classroom setting.
3.2. Variables

The dependent variable involved participation in the educational processes whereas the independent variable was the cultural expressions of masculinities among the Turkana and Samburu boys. It was presumed that negative expressions of masculinities lead to low performance among the boys.

3.3. Site of the Study

The study was carried out in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School in Samburu Central constituency, Ikuruto Division. The school at the time of the study had six classes, twelve teachers employed by the TSC, and two by the school’s board of management. Ten of the teachers were male, four of them female. The boys in the school tended to perform slightly better than the girls, though at times the girls top such as in the KCSE national examination of 2015. The choice of Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School by the researcher was based on a large percentage of the learners in the school coming from the Turkana and Samburu communities. Located in a rural setting, social construction of masculinities in the school is emphasized greatly. Moreover, the school being a day school, the students have a daily contact with their cultural context as well as the school environment. The study selected boys that had enrolled in the school from 2012-2015 since the focus was the boys taking the four-year secondary cycle classes.

3.4 Study Population

The study population was boys from Turkana and Samburu communities in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. Boys were selected from Turkana and Samburu communities from form one class to form four classes. The teachers, female students and selected educational officials also participated in the study.
3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

From the analysis of the nature of the research problem, purposive sampling was appropriate for this research study. This is because the study aimed at presenting cultural effects of masculinities on the educational processes of the boys in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. This method provided numbers that ascertained the study would provide a good representation of the population (Tavakoli, 2013). The researcher conducted the purposive sampling through canvassing certain students in the school in order to seek their opinions on the processes they go through to become men and how the same has impacted their educational processes. Students who did not meet the et profile were rejected as respondents in the study.

More so, the study adhered to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) recommendation that a representative sample should be at least 30% of the population of interest. The study identified that the whole school had a population translating to 250 students. Out of the 250 students, the Samburu boys were 80, Turkana boys 40 and girls 120. The study then selected 30% of the classrooms where the respondents were drawn. This translated to 12 Turkana boys, 30 Samburu boys and 36 girls totalling to 78 respondents.

Convenience sampling was further used to select the Turkana, Samburu and teachers of other communities as well as education officials that offered more insights on Turkana and Samburu masculinities. This method was appropriate as the subjects were selected because they were easiest to recruit for the study and were available to participate. Out of the 10 education officials, 3 were selected. As for teachers, 8
teachers (both male and female and inclusive of the principal and deputy principal) out of the 11 teachers were recruited as respondents.

3.6 Data Collection and Instruments

In this study, primary data was collected through the use of observation checklists in the classroom setting, questionnaires and through interview guides. Secondary data was also collected from the schools and communities’ documents, records and other resource materials.

3.6.1 Interviews

Face to face in-depth individual interviews using open-ended interview guide were conducted by the researcher. The interviews were semi-structured and unstructured; thus, allowed for responses from participants to specific questions and also allowed the participants to express themselves without restrictions respectively. 11 teachers inclusive of the principal, deputy principal, the head of guidance and counselling, 3 education officials and the selected 36 female students were interviewed.

3.6.2 Observation

Observation has been recognized as a valuable data collection method. This method is also a major complement of interview method of data collection. The Turkana and Samburu boys (42 learners) were observed in the course of learning in class as well as in other activities such as outdoor games. This method also allowed the researcher to ascertain possible additional information on the Turkana and Samburu boys whilst collecting data. Data was collected through the use of observation checklists in the classroom setting.
3.6.3 Questionnaire

Questionnaires were used to gather data from the target population. The questionnaires were administered on the selected education officials and members of the teaching staff. The questionnaires allowed the individuals to respond in their own words and express their opinions freely. For the 42 male students, a mixed questionnaire that involved both close and open ended questions was used.

3.7 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

3.7.1 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity refers to the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Validity hence dealt with accuracy of the data obtained; that represented the variables of this study. Content validity ascertained that the instruments selected accurately measured the concepts intended.

3.7.2. Reliability of the Research Instruments

Reliability describes the consistency of the instrument while validity defines the strength of the final results and whether they can be regarded as accurately describing the real world (Wainer & Braun, 2013). The researcher used test-re-test method to determine the reliability of the research instruments. The developed questionnaires, observation checklists and interview guides were piloted in Lpartuk Mixed Day Secondary School before the main study was conducted. The collected data was processed, analysed and interpreted. This process allowed review and editing of the questions that seemed complicated and were later discarded.
3.8 Data Collection Procedures, Analysis and Presentation

Prior to data collection, the researcher first obtained introduction letters from the Department of Gender and Development Studies and Graduate School of Kenyatta University. Thereafter, the researcher sought permission to carry research from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and it was granted. The researcher then proceeded to the County administration, Samburu County, and informed them of the research. The researcher then personally administered the interview schedules to the sampled respondents.

Qualitative and quantitative data were generated. Quantitative data was coded and analysed using the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23. SPSS was used because of its ability to appropriately create graphical presentations of questionnaire data for reporting and presentation. Quantitative data analysis used statistical methods such as simple descriptive statistics, frequencies, percentages, bar graphs and pie charts.

Qualitative data on the other hand was presented through verbatim and narratives. Qualitative data was qualitatively analysed using content analysis methodology. The collected data was categorized based on its nature, such as verbal and behavioural data. The main rationale behind content analysis was to study current information; then determine the major factors that explained a specific phenomenon (Krippendorff, 2012). The researcher read all the responses and classified information based on its importance. The outcome was compared in an attempt to gain more insight on both the positive and negative effects of cultural expressions of masculinity on education processes.
Both the quantitative and qualitative data was then presented. The information collected was analysed and evaluated to determine its efficacy, reliability, consistency and satisfactoriness. This technique allowed for inference conclusion as it helped in identifying specific information objectively and relating the same information to occurrence trends.

3.9 Data Management and Ethical Consideration

This study focused on the learners and teachers in an education setting. Confidentiality was extremely high. The respondents were given a consent form that indicated their willingness to offer information. The study also involved the cultural information of the Turkana and Samburu boys. The researcher ensured that confidentiality was maintained throughout the research. Data collected was well preserved for confidentiality purposes. Research permits were obtained from The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), Kenyatta University and the administration of Samburu County government.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction
This chapter contains a detailed presentation, analysis and discussion of research findings of this study. The findings are presented using the following headings: demographic characteristics of respondents, the cultural practices associated with the making of men, effects of the cultural expressions of masculinities on educational processes, the differences in participation in the educational processes among the Turkana and Samburu communities and the appropriate strategies for redressing the negative expressions of masculinities and enhancing the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes.

4.2 Demographic Composition of the Respondents
The study looked at various demographic characteristics of the respondents. The variables investigated included: gender, age, level of education and community. The results are tabulated in Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4

4.2.1 Gender
The study sought to find out whether gender influences the education processes. To accomplish this, the respondents were asked to indicate their gender in the questionnaires provided.
The results are presented in Figure 4.1.

![Figure 4.1: Gender distribution of the respondents](image)

The figure shows that a majority of the participants in the study were 42 boys (54%) and the selected 36 girls were 46%. The stated findings result from the fact that the study embarked on studying the concept of masculinities that would be best found through a study of a population that had the majority boys in the selected school.

However, the girls were included in the study as it was important to highlight that school was a major part of the gender and socialization process and the disparities between the boys and girls could not be discussed without an inclusion of the girls. Nabiki (2014) writes that gender and education go hand in hand since they determine the performance differences between boys and girls. The researcher was also keen on gender equitable representation of all participants; hence, an inclusion of a considerable percentage of the girls.
4.2.2. Age

The study sought to find out the age profile of the respondents. The findings are presented in Figure 4.2.

![Age of the respondents (male)](image)

**Figure 4.2: Age of the respondents (Male)**

It was established that respondents aged 14-17 years were 27 (64%); 18-21 years were 10 (24%) and 22 years and above were 5 respondents 12%. The study found that the students were in sync with their level of education though some were outside the school bracket (22 years and above). The older students (22 years and above) can be attributed to the fact that the respondents were greatly influenced by their culture and this may have been a major barrier towards their early enrolment in school. In such cultural communities, education is not given priority; hence, low enrolment rates or late entrance to school.
This study agreed with the findings of Calcagno et al. (2007) who opine that in the course of schooling, age is considered an important factor since it has an effect on the enrolment and successful completion of secondary education. The authors further explain that age determines the enrolment rate of children in secondary schools as well as their progress in educational achievement. The age of entrance into education determines the completion probabilities of the learners. Older students tend to have difficulties completing their education due to the fact that they have many responsibilities on their shoulders among them caring for children and even work related responsibilities (Calcagno et al., 2007).

For the girls, the results are presented in Figure 4.3.

![Figure 4.3: Age of the respondents (Female)](image)

The girls aged 14-17 years were 24%, 18-21 years were 51% and aged 22 and above were (25%). In comparison to the boys, the older girls’ (22 and above) percentage was higher as compared to the aforementioned 12% of older boys enrolled in school.
This implies that the girls in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School are older than the boys.

These findings are in line with the findings of Yaqoob (2012) who explains that many girls lag behind in education due to various factors such as preference of male education over female education especially in culturally constrained societies. Furthermore, there is a negative perception about the investment in female education, especially in patriarchal societies. Such societies not only give women an inferior position in relation to men but also encourage early marriages among other cultural practices. This is attributed to lack of awareness of the importance of girl education.

4.2.3 Level of Education
The level of education of the sampled population is as presented in Figure 4.4 below.
Figure 4.4: Level of education of the respondents

The selected participants in this study were in form one to form four. 21.43% were in form 1, 28.57% in form 2, 23.81% in form 3 and 26.19% in form four.

From the findings, we can, therefore, deduce that the level of education suggests that the students were already familiarized with the school setting and the kind of masculinities they presented in the classroom setting were the ones that had developed over a long period of time. It is also assumed that in this age bracket, the boys selected had gone through the initiation rites; hence, are conversant with the cultural processes of making of men out of boys.

These arguments concur with Watts and Tarrant (2014) who indicate that the lives of older men are characterized with the social construction of maturity, meaning that such men display high levels of masculinities, as they have managed to produce and
fit in successful masculine positions. The selected boys were then best placed to explain the cultural processes of making of men and their implications on the educational processes.

4.2.4 Ethnic community
The study attempted to find out the ethnic community of the respondents. To accomplish this task, the respondents were asked to fill questionnaires and others gave their response through interviews.

![Figure 4.5: Ethnic community of the respondents](image_url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings, the Samburu comprised of 38% (30 Samburu boys) of the total population while the Turkana form 15% (12 Turkana boys), and others 0%. The ethnic community/ethnicity plays a major role in formal education acquisition especially in pastoralists communities. The two communities then formed a good case study for an understanding of masculinities and its effects on educational
processes. The community of the respondents was also important because of the socialization process in a cultural environment as asserted by one of the participant;

“…Culture forms a good percentage of my manhood. I am who I am because of what my culture demands of me. I just have to follow what my culture requires of me at all times…” (O.1: Ngikor*, 21/10/2016).

Eagly (2013) opines that gender roles and construction can be linked to the social and cultural contexts where one is born and brought up. Thus, the social and cultural contexts are regarded as the main gender socialization agents that help in the formation of gender and thereby enabling individuals to learn the roles ascribed to them by the community. According to Rose (2013) modern schooling is negatively affected in the pastoral communities. This is due to a number of factors like poverty that hinder educational achievement. Moreover, Narman (1990) opines that the boys in these communities are also socialized in differing ways that make their masculinities so rigid due to the strictness of their culture that demands much of them being men.

4.3. Cultural Practices Associated with the Making of Men among the Samburu and Turkana Communities

The first research objective sought to establish the cultural practices associated with the making of men among the Turkana and Samburu communities in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. The study intended to find out the various processes that the Turkana and Samburu boys undergo prior becoming men. The processes are discussed under the subsections; the initiation process, taking oaths in the process of initiation, teachings on the values, beliefs and cultural practices, change of attire, allocation of new responsibilities and joining age-sets and generational lines as
summarised in table 4.1. Questionnaires were used to interrogate the stated variables.

### Table 4.1 Samburu and Turkana Cultural Processes of Making of Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.3.1 Samburu Cultural Processes of Making of Men</th>
<th>4.3.2 Turkana Cultural Processes of Making of Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.1. Initiation Processes</td>
<td>4.3.2.1 Initiation Processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.2. Taking oaths in the process of initiation</td>
<td>4.3.2.2 Taking oaths in the process of initiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.3 Teachings on the values, beliefs and cultural practices</td>
<td>4.3.2.3 Teachings on the values, beliefs and cultural practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.4 Change of attire</td>
<td>4.3.2.4 Change of attire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.5 Allocation of new responsibilities</td>
<td>4.3.2.5 Allocation of new responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.6 Joining age-sets and generational lines</td>
<td>4.3.2.6 Joining age-sets and generational lines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.3.1 Samburu Cultural Processes of Making of Men

##### 4.3.1.1. Initiation Processes

The researcher sought information on the initiation processes that the Samburu boys went through to become men. In establishing this, the study attempted to evaluate the concept of initiation as a process that marks the passage from childhood to adulthood through the use of questionnaires and interview schedules.

The researcher inquired from students belonging to the Samburu community on the cultural processes they went through to become men. The findings are indicated in Figure 4.6.
The results in Figure 4.6 show that 98% of the selected Samburu boys in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School went through an initiation rite called circumcision; that is given the name *Muratare e Layiok*. On the other hand, 2% of the selected Samburu respondents said that they did go through circumcision.

The circumcision ritual was subjected to boys who fell under the bracket of 14-15 years. The process gave the boys full membership status in the Samburu community. Through circumcision, the respondents attested to attain the status of men and had the powers that the men in their community possessed. The boys that were circumcised also said that they were given responsibilities and privileges such as marriage. These were termed as important stages in the making of Samburu men as one of the male respondents narrated;
“Circumcision made me a man. I am now given roles that men do like engaging in sexual activities and getting married. I own cattle and can even go raiding. This was an important stage in my life.” (O.1: Leorso*, 21/10/2016).

This finding is in line with Ogungbile’s (2015) study that established the process of initiation being considered essential in the transition into adulthood in African communities. Various communities had their own ways of making men and women such as the circumcision process. Essentially, parents wished that they would subject their children to these ritual processes so as to conform to the demands of the society. In this regard, the initiation into adulthood period is instrumental in shaping a person’s character.

Sobania (2003) indicates that Kenyan communities embrace the culture of initiation such as circumcision of the boys as a ritual that marks the transition into adulthood. Through this process, the initiates are expected to conform to the behaviours they are taught, and even act as senior members of the society.

The circumcision ritual among the Samburu, however, has many phases which shape masculinities as discussed below. The first day of the circumcision, as the respondents narrated, began on the first night of the full moon where the initiate and other boys would trek overnight to fetch gum from a sacred tree in an enemies’ territory. This was meant to instil bravery in the novice that was expected of them after the circumcision rite as one of the male respondents acknowledged;

“Before we got circumcised, it was required of us to get gum from a sacred tree from our enemies' land” (O.1: Leorso*, 21/10/2016).
The second day was marked by the return of the initiate and induction of the community’s customs and values which is done in seclusion. The third day involved blessing the house of the initiate. The initiate’s bed was also made in preparation of their return. On the same day, making sacramental sandals that the initiates would later wear was scheduled. Milk and water would later be obtained for the initiate’s seclusion period.

Prior to the actual cutting ceremony on the fourth day, elderly men that are wrapped in blankets and carrying staffs stood some distance away from the initiate’s house. A group of young warriors that are adorned in traditional headdresses with their bodies adorned with war paints stood at the side of the house singing songs similar to those sung in funerals. Some carried spears, arrows and others clubs. This ritual was meant to make the initiate brave even in the wake of such mockery from the older men (Magor, 1994). A sacramental cow skin was spread on the ground before the initiate’s door. As the warriors continued with their songs and chants, the teenage boy was brought out. Some warriors then made themselves fall on the ground as they screamed and shouted in pain. This ritual was staged to scare the boy who was to undergo the cut, but the boy was not to succumb to the scares of the older men lest they were declared weak; hence, not fit to undergo the process.

The women slowly moved out, as they were not required in the ceremony any more, while the men gathered outside the initiate’s door. The cow skin was blessed with milk and was laid on the ground. This act is emphasized by one of the female respondents from the Samburu community who indicates that women are not customarily allowed to witness the entire circumcision as their culture does not
allow them. However, they are allowed to take part in some sections of it, like singing and dancing and preparing food for the ceremony.

“Women are not allowed to go witness the entire ceremony of circumcision of the boys. However, they take part in various ways like cooking for the initiates, singing and dancing to make the process lively” (O.1: Nashipai*, 21/10/2016).

This finding presents a clear understanding of the patriarchal structure of the Samburu community that places the women at a lower status than the men, by mostly according them roles that are mostly domestic and ones that do not elevate their statuses to that of the men.

As part of the process of preparing the initiate for the cut, he was treated roughly and was not supposed to show any signs of fear or restlessness. This was meant to instil bravery, aggressiveness and strength in the initiate (Fratkin, 2011). He was forced and mocked severally to sing the circumcision song (Lebarta) that was meant to remind him not to bring dishonour (nyilet) to their family for fretting the circumciser’s knife. The initiate would then be stripped off the sheepskin he wore before and was laid on the ground with elders holding him. Some of the elders poured milk and water over his body. The circumciser who is usually adorned in tattered and black coat, lamuratani, moves, squats between the boy’s legs and cuts the foreskin in four slices. Despite the pain, the boys were not expected to cry or show any signs of pain, for fear of being called cowards or even be compared to a woman. It is also important to note that in the Samburu community, showing signs of cowardice were considered feminine (Fratkin, 2011; Spencer, 2013). In less than a minute, the boy is circumcised.
After the operation, the novice was expected to drink blood from a white cow which was selected by the *Morans* who were standing outside the compound. This marked the last day of the operation that lasted four days. After the ceremony, the novice was blessed by elders and painted with ochre. His legs were tied with strips of lion skin. This was a way of teaching the novice to be courageous and brave just like the lion, as well as face challenges in their lives with a strong heart. One of the participant observed,

>“After circumcision, we drank blood as a sign of covenant with our community. Our elders blessed us and gave us the mandate to engage in activities of the men.” (O.1: Lechipan*, 21/10/2016).

The novice’s parents’ house would then be adorned with cedar and olive branches, which signified that the novice was brave and courageous during the ceremony. Later in the day, warriors and women in their traditional costumes joined in the celebration with singing and dancing. In the meantime, the initiate was taken into a hut that they had built before the circumcision. This hut would facilitate the seclusion period. Whilst in seclusion they were taught how to become *Morans* and were expected to take part in various ceremonies after the circumcision. Among the ceremonies include the *Ilmugut* of the arrows where the novices are expected to build a large settlement and slaughter an ox/goat and enter into a bond with the oral values of initiates like not eating meat seen by married women (*menong*) as observed by research of Spencer (2013).

From the Samburu community, it can be deduced that women are not valued as such since they do not command respect as their men counterparts. This is supported by the finding of Spencer (2013) who indicates that in the Samburu community, the
initiated men had to act like their father and avoid being around women that were seemingly not of their calibre, and also create a gap between them so as to command respect from them. This contrasts with the societal acceptance to respect elders; both male and female. However, such rituals transit boys to moranhood. Moreover, this ritual was meant to make the Moran act like an adult, be responsible and avoid associating themselves with children. It is also prohibited for this Moran to drink milk on his own but must be in the presence of their age mates. The novice makes this vow to his mother. After these vows the novice is allowed to wear red ochre on his head and his body is decorated. After the ceremony, the boys were expected to be independent and were taught to keep the initiation rituals a secret especially from the women.

From these study findings, circumcision is a key ritual that marks the transition of Samburu boys from childhood to adulthood. The finding agrees with Maitland (2011) who describes circumcision as the removal of the foreskin; and a painful process that involves bleeding as a sign of covenant between the initiates and their community. The respondents also observed that circumcision is an important part of a community’s culture since they were circumcised according to their culture’s demands. Favazza’s (1996) study is also in line with this study as it focuses on the process of circumcision among the Samburu community and how a lot importance is attached to the practice. Most importantly, besides the removal of the foreskin, the circumcision process created various forms of masculinity expressions on the initiates such as bravery, aggressiveness, responsibility and respect amongst others.
4.3.1.2. Oath Taking

The study sought to find out if oath taking during circumcision/ initiation was part of the respondents’ becoming men. The results indicated that 89% of the respondents in the Samburu community took oaths during the circumcision process. Another 11% indicated that they did not take any oaths during and after circumcision.

Based on the findings, this was an indication that the Samburu boys were aware of the importance of oath taking during the circumcision process. Three of the respondents noted that;

“Yes, I took an oath after I was circumcised... I was not to reveal my community’s secrets to our enemies.” (O.1: Letiwa*, 21/10/2016).

“Yes, I was forced to take an oath by my elders especially after I successfully went through the initiation process, those who feared the process did not take the oath.” (O.1: Pukose*, 21/10/2016).

“Yes, it was a colourful ceremony that was full of dancing and celebration after having acquired new statuses. I became a warrior, and was told that my role would be to defend my community at all times especially in times of crisis…” (O.1: Lesiamato*, 21/10/2016).

From these responses, it is clear that the oaths taken include not revealing the community’s secrets, vows to be loyal to their community and to protect the community whenever need arose. From a masculinity’ interpretation perspective, it was expected that the novices would display the attributes of aggressiveness that would allow them to protect their community after circumcision. This can be discussed using the dominance aspect of the Connell’s theory of masculinity. They were also expected to be loyal to their community as well as respect their elders.
These study findings relate with Ferraro and Andreatta’s (2017) research as they indicate that oath taking during the Samburu community circumcision process serve the purpose of joining the initiates with their community, through encouraging the initiates not to reveal the secrets of the community handed by the community elders.

4.3.1.3. Teachings during Circumcision

The study sought to establish the teachings that the Samburu respondents received in the course of circumcision. The Table 4.2 below shows the findings.

Table 4.2 Teachings during initiation process for Samburu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachings during circumcision/initiation process for Samburu</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachings on a man’s roles in the community</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachings on the values, belief’s and cultural practices of your community</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachings on the respect for authority especially respect for elders regardless of your gender</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching on responsibility and appreciating the elders in the society</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings imply that the Samburu boys went through various teachings and were equipped with knowledge on their responsibilities during and after circumcision. In relation to this, one of the respondents indicated that,

“...during circumcision, we are taught about our expected roles and responsibilities like defending the community from attacks, since we have become Morans.” (O.1: Lenolkula *, 21/10/2016).

Another one noted that,

“...I was taught about the values, beliefs and practices of the community...” (O.1: Lekidayo *, 21/10/2016).

Others from the community said;
“...I was taught how to respect authority especially elders, regardless of their gender...” (O.1: Kasaine *, 21/10/2016).

“I was educated on how to be responsible and helpful whenever, required of me...” (O.1: Leshore *, 21/10/2016).

“I was taught the art of selflessness, even when resources are limited, we were taught to share...” (O.1: Saimanga*, 21/10/2016).

These quotes explain that the Samburu were taught different values that were considered important in their community. These teachings were imparted verbally and through the use of songs. A good example is that of the Samburu initiates who sang the Lebarta song during the circumcision process. Through the song, they were taught different values such as bravery and perseverance which they expressed after the initiation process.

The respondents (Lesirma & Lelelit) respectively (not their real names) quoted the following excerpts of the Lebarta song that they recited during circumcision.

“...Surua lai impurronieki! Na mapik Nyileti” (I will not bring you dishonour) (O.1: Lesima*, 21/10/2016).

“...Eipurro maleng laingok pee limu laiyeni okwet...” (O.1: Lelelit*, 21/10/2016).

(The bulls rumbled loudly to disown the boy who shied away and I will not bring our cattle dishonour)

From the excerpts of the song, it is evident that the expressions of bravery, vigour and strength are recited by the Samburu boys and these are expected to be expressed in different contexts after the circumcision process such as the school. These
findings are in line with the work of Spencer (2013) who explains that, as the Samburu initiates are being circumcised, they are supposed to sing the *Lebarta* song and not show any sign of pain even when the circumcision process takes so long (Spencer, 2013).

### 4.3.1.4. Change of Attire

The study sought to find out if after initiation, the initiates adorned differently, and why they did so.

From the responses, the study established that the kind of attire changed after the initiates transited into adulthood. Major changes in dressing among the Samburu initiates includes the Samburu warriors adorning in traditional headdresses, painting their heads and bodies with red ochre and carrying of spears. One of the Samburu respondents informed;

“...circumcision makes a man, a man, and since I became a warrior, my dressing also changed. I painted my head, body with red ochre and carried a spear... (O.1: Lesima*, 21/10/2016).

As indicated earlier in the process of making men in the Samburu community, it was noted that the Samburu had their attire changed after the four days of the circumcision process. Through this system, the masculinities created and expressed by the Samburu boys can be drawn from the new dressings that the initiates acquire. By virtue of carrying a spear, the boys felt that they domineered over others, and took it as their responsibility to defend and protect their community at all times.
These findings can relate to Connell’s theory of masculinity that helps understand the hierarchies of masculinities. From the theory, it is arguable that the status of men change within different social and cultural setting. For the case of the Samburu men, circumcision elevates their status from boyhood to manhood. In addition, the circumcision does not only come with removal of foreskin, but also with adornment of new dressing. This then reinforces the masculine attributes of bravery and superiority after the circumcision ritual.

### 4.3.1.5. Allocation of New Responsibilities

The study assessed the allocation of new responsibilities after the circumcision/initiation process. The findings are presented in the Table 4.2.1 below.

**Table 4.2.1: Allocation of new responsibilities for the Samburu initiates after circumcision**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joining other men in high risk adventures like cattle rustling</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting cattle raiders</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owning assets</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the multiple responses in the Table 4.20 above, majority of the Samburu respondents scored very lowly in responsibilities like owning assets like livestock (10%). Another 50% and 40% indicated that they took up responsibilities such as marriage and fighting cattle raiders respectively. Additionally, 50% indicated that they joined other men in high risk adventures like cattle rustling.
This implies that circumcision prepares the Samburu initiates for different roles in the society as aforementioned. The study findings are in line with the thoughts of Jónsson (2007) who indicates that transition of boys into adulthood whether through initiation (such as circumcision) comes with many responsibilities. The discussion also shows the dependence of the men on what their society decides on their lives. The study observed that even when the new initiates would wish to alienate themselves from the cultural constraints, they are left with no option but to follow the society’s demands of culture through the new responsibilities assigned to them. This is indeed debauched, since it minimizes the chances of the boys to think independently. Nonetheless, the boys also benefit from the new responsibilities, as they are socialized to be responsible, an aspect that is fundamental in life. The study, therefore, underlies that the circumcision of the Samburu boys is a ritualized process that comes with new responsibilities due to the new statuses of the initiates. Connell (2005) indicates that masculinity is then a gendered phenomenon that defines how a man comes to be defined. With the new acquired responsibilities, Connell’s (2005) theory explains that the men then acquire a privileged category within the patriarchal system in the society. Since circumcision is a symbolic ritual that suggests that boys have successfully gone through cultural socialization into manhood, it is expected that they will begin new lives with new status and responsibilities.

It is, however, important to highlight that the gendered implication of circumcision initiation has also been challenged since the women are slowly entering into “spaces” that were previously dominated by men. This study explored the circumcised Samburu boys in a classroom setting to establish how the initiated boys behaved towards female teachers in the classroom. Culture is, however, not static...
but dynamic and changing especially with the contact and interactions with different cultures as well as technological trends (Connell, 2005).

4.3.1.6. Joining Age-groups and Generational Lines
The study looked at age-sets and generational lines as a key process of becoming a man in the Samburu communities. Asked about the existence of age groups in the Samburu community, the respondents indicated that they belonged to age groups that include; Likiashami, Lmooli, Lkiroro, Lkishii and Lkimamaki. The findings are further presented and discussed in the subsequent sections.

Table 4.3: Age-groups of the Samburu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE-GROUP</th>
<th>COMPOSITION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likiashami</td>
<td>Young childhood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lmooli</td>
<td>Warriors/new youth</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lkiroro</td>
<td>Former warriors</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lkishii</td>
<td>Young elders</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lkimamaki</td>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings in Table 4.3, 90% of the Samburu respondents reported to have social structures that were based on generational lines and age groups. They indicated that they have five age groups, which determine the status an individual is assigned in the community. They said (13.33%) that they belonged to Likiashami when they were young children, Lmooli (46.67%) when they were initiated and Lkiroro (30%) after they were initiated. They further explained that they hoped to join the Lkishii (40%) and Lkimamaki (30%) in future, age groups that included the junior and senior elders. These sentiments were affirmed by one of the respondents, who noted,
“...after circumcision we joined the warrior group as we had become Moran. (O.1: Lesima*, 21/10/2016).

These findings are in line with Wolcott (2003) who writes on the existence of the pre-mentioned age groups in African communities and even gives roles on the different levels of the individuals in each age set. This stratification into age groups was created in a bid to mobilize the men into identity groups and to govern their lives in all spheres. This form of stratification contributed to the construction and reinforcement of masculinities since it is in these age groups that the men in the different groups were socialized and learned how they were expected to behave. The men in the older groups were perceived to be superior and are the ones that took senior positions in the society as they had become full elders. The boys in the warrior group and the former then hoped to successfully meet the demands of their groups through displaying masculine attributes such as bravery, aggressiveness, loyalty and even hard work for them to transit to the next group. Membership in the Samburu community is, therefore, entrenched in these ages sets that enforce masculinities created after the initiation process. The men who have been initiated into adulthood would now foster leadership, exercise authority and others given the role of protecting the society. It is also important to highlight that the names of these age groups were selected by prophets in conjunction with the male elders (Spencer, 2013). The transition from one stage of the age group to another is imperative to the Samburu youth. From the childhood level to the subsequent stages, the rite of circumcision was the key determinant at the initial phase to the transition from one stage of power and authority.
4.3.2 Turkana Cultural Processes of Making of Men

4.3.2.1. Turkana Initiation

The study also sought to find out the initiation processes that the Turkana undergo as a passage from childhood to adulthood. The results are presented in the following Figure 4.7;

![Figure 4.7: Initiation process (Atapan ceremony) vs. circumcision among the Turkana](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiated via the Atapan ceremony</th>
<th>Circumcised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.7: Initiation process (Atapan ceremony) vs. circumcision among the Turkana**

From Figure 4.7, 83% of the selected respondents from the Turkana community said that they did not go through circumcision to become men while 17% indicated they had been circumcised. The boys instead noted that they went through an initiation
process that does not involve the removal of the foreskin like their Samburu counterparts. The initiation ceremony was given the name, the Atapan ceremony.

Among the Turkana respondents that attested not to have been circumcised, three respondents said,

“... I don’t know the cut that is carried out by others..., not us, Turkanas” (O.I: Ewoi*, 21/10/2016).

“...Circumcision is betraying my culture; the Samburu, Maasai, Somali and Pokot circumcise to look modern...” (O.I: Lomenenen*, 21/10/2016).

“...Circumcision is foreign; it was not here before. Besides I fear mockery if I get circumcised, especially when we visit common places like the rivers, while bathing...” (O.I: Akuja*, 21/10/2016).

From these respondents, circumcision was termed as a foreign practice and would lead to them betraying their culture and attract ridicule from community members.

The Turkana indicated that they went through a brief process of initiation known as Atapan ceremony. The initiates explained that the boys that were set to undergo the Atapan ceremony are special ones, to mean those whose fathers had paid their mothers’ full dowry. The father of the initiate is obliged to kill a bull (emong’) for his wife before the ceremony begins. When all these rituals are completed successfully, the initiate is permitted to go through the ceremony. Before the ceremony, the initiate is considered a small boy who cannot wear the blue mud cap that is worn by men. He can also not carry the famous ekicholong’ which is the Turkana hand- held seat and spear. Moreover, the initiate cannot take part in
activities that are done by men like raiding other communities, let alone getting married. One of the respondents said,

“...Before the Atapan ceremony, one cannot take part in activities done by men like raiding and getting married...” (O.I: Ng’asike*, 21/10/2016).

The rituals associated with Atapan ceremony are however instrumental in the making of men among the Turkana. Upon maturity, the boy’s father informs the elders that determine where the initiation will take place and at what time. From the elders comes the godfather who will take the role of the initiate’s father and guide him throughout the process. The father must provide an ox, gifts like beads, spear and a cow skin that acts as a blanket for the ceremony. The initiate is also given a chain of coloured stones to wear on his neck, a knife and leather sandals, ng’amuk. A Turkana respondent noted;

“...When we get to the age of initiation, our fathers inform the elders to start preparing for the whole session...” (O.I: Adinga*, 21/10/2016).

The women such as the initiate’s mother and the wife of the godfather are given the role of preparing the food for the ceremony. One of the female Turkana respondents said they normally prepare food for the initiates, dance and make the ceremony colourful. She said,

“...During the initiation ceremony, we sing, dance and prepare enough food for the initiates and all the men involved in the ceremony...” (O.I: Amanikor *, 21/10/2016).

The quote indicates that men and women play varying roles during the Atapan ceremony. These are aligned to the gender role plan of the community as Omolo
(2010) explains especially with regards to making crucial decisions in the society where the women are side-lined completely.

On the day of the ceremony, the elders gather round the men’s tree (ekitoe a ng’ikiliok) and the women are again not welcome in this session. The godfathers and the elders sit in a different place from the men’s tree but later move towards them singing and dancing war songs. This is meant to motivate the initiate to be brave and prepare him for his new life after initiation. Keen on their domestic roles, the mothers bring oil and milk, but keep their distance. The elders continue with their chat as they sniff tobacco while the younger men cut branches that would be used as a table for roasting meat as well as gather firewood for roasting the meat. The first born son of the eldest elder takes his spear, kills the bull and a young boy collects the blood in a container to be taken later. The initiate is smeared with meat and blood by the elders and the godfather; at the same time, the elders bless him and wish him a luck long life in his endeavours. The meat is then roasted, the eldest elder tastes it and gives some to the initiate who receives it, chews it and spits to their chest as way of receiving blessing and wishing themselves well. The remaining bones are then crashed by the initiate using stones like their mothers did, to mark the end of their childhood and the onset of a new life. From then on, they are considered adults. They are given the spears and they lift them up to show the onlookers, to signify that they have become warriors.

After the ceremony, they leave their father’s home and head to their godfather’s place. On their way, the initiate is ordered to break a green branch, a symbolic act that shows the beginning of a new life after the initiation ceremony. He stays with
the godfather and is expected to act like a child who knows not his surroundings. He should ask names for everything around him (Finke, 2000, 2003). This act signifies that he has now become a new person. The following morning, he is stripped naked, an act that is expected to make the initiate brave and bold. After the stripping, the person he was in the previous years is considered non-existent and should never be mentioned. In the meantime, there is a rush to get everything that the boy owned before initiation. Thereafter, he is given new items indicative of the new status. In view of this, one respondent noted;

“...After the initiation ceremony, we acquire new dressings; we wear blue mud caps, we get a new pair of sandals, a blanket, a spear, a staff and a stool ...”
(O.I: Josh*, 21/10/2016).

This new form of dressing and items makes the man demonstrate and show his new status. The mud cup signifies that the young man has become an elder, a blanket to shield him from cold, a spear to show his ability to defend the community, a staff and stool to symbolize that he has become a respected elder. Thereafter, he is expected to expresses masculine attributes such as responsibility and protectiveness.

At the end, the godfather takes the young man to his paternal home, bringing along goats which are the only property he owns. The boy’s mother who welcomes his “new” son home by sprinkling him with water mixed with milk; thus, making him ‘acceptable’ in his native home. He brings the newly acquired goats and mixes them with his father’s. A ceremony is performed in the mother’s hut and a he-goat is slaughtered in his honour. The godfather leaves after the ceremony and his departure marks the end of the initiate’s link with his paternal home. He can now start his own family own animals at will. A respondent noted that;
“...after the initiation ceremony, we become adults, we can leave our homes and start our own families and a new life altogether...” (O.I: Lukas*, 21/10/2016).

This initiation ceremony elevates the status of the “new” man, gives him power to dominate other boys who have not gone through the ritual, and even gives him a greater space in the society.

These narrations of the Atapan ceremony concur with the thoughts of Fitzpatrick, Bewer and Firestone (2009) who opine that boys in the Turkana community go through an initiation process that does not involve circumcision that is; removal of the foreskin from the boy’s penis. Finke (2000-2003) also writes that by virtue of the Turkana not practising circumcision, they consider themselves superior to their neighbours, among them Samburu. The author further notes that their neighbours continually despise the Turkana as they have continued to shun the practice of circumcision, which they term as inescapable.

Two of the selected Turkana boys indicated that they underwent circumcision. This however goes against the Turkana beliefs and practices of making of men and they elicit negative emotions from novices. In view of this, one of the respondents said;

“I was circumcised though I feel bad for betraying my culture and what my parents taught me... I wanted to be like those of other tribes and minimize mockery...” (O.I: Nakulei*, 21/10/2016).

Another respondent emphasized that;
There is no circumcision in Turkana community but note that some young boys have started embracing this culture due to modernization.” (O.I: Ewoi*, 21/10/2016).

This implies some Turkana boys undergo male circumcision. On inquiring further, it was noted that most of the boys that go through circumcision are the ones that have migrated from their ancestral homes and embraced modernization like schooling and even appreciate the role of health officers in safe circumcision. This however, may not be regarded as a rite of passage. In this regard, Springwood (2007) argues that factors like modernization have seen many people abandon their wayward forms of culture such as not circumcising the young male adults. With modernization, many people have been made conversant with the benefits and advantages of circumcision; hence, raising the number of circumcised boys in such communities. Other factors like health concerns come into play as far as Turkana circumcision is concerned. Many boys in the pastoral communities such as the Turkana are slowly getting educated with issues of HIV/AIDS caused by lack of circumcision; hence, have adopted the practice (World Health Organization, 2009). With time, it is expected that the numbers will rise exponentially, thanks to education and massive campaigns on the need for male circumcision to such communities.

From the foregoing, it is noted that the Turkana boys who undergo the Atapan rite of passage are expected to display masculine attributes. These include: arrogance, bravery and aggressiveness especially to other communities that view them as uncircumcised and forcefulness after they are given the mandate to carry spears.
4.3.2.2. Oath Taking in the Turkana Community

The researcher sought to find out if the Turkana respondents took an oath in the course of their initiation. The findings are presented in the form of a table and verbatim from some of the respondents.

Table 4.4 Oath taking in the Turkana community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachings during circumcision/initiation process</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you take an oath during/after the initiation process</td>
<td>2 (16.7%)</td>
<td>10 (83.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results revealed that two of the selected respondents (16.7%) indicated to have taken an oath during the initiation ceremony. These respondents indicated that despite having not gone through circumcision like their Samburu counterparts, they took an oath after the Atapan ceremony, as an indicator of their transition into adulthood. Nanok (not his real name) explained that,

“Yes. I took an oath to show that I had now become a man, and would be given privileges like marrying. I swore not to let out the secrets of my community to others and defend our people like real men did...” (O.I: Nanok*, 21/10/2016).

Another 83.3% said that they did not take an oath during/after the initiation process.

One of the respondents said;

“I did not take any oaths after the Atapan ceremony...” (O.I: Jonah*, 21/10/2016).

The narratives above indicate that while some of the Turkana youth who had undergone the Atapan took oaths, others did not. This implies that not much emphasis was put on taking oaths after the Atapan ceremony. Those who did so...
emphasize their new role as men after initiation. During oath taking, they swore not to tell the secrets of their community and to defend their community at all costs.

These findings are in line with the views of Likaka and Muia (2015) who expound on the role of culture among the pastoral communities. The authors note that oath taking is one of the rituals the new warriors/initiates have to go through before becoming men. The authors further explain that oaths are administered by elders after which the initiates are blessed. It is also important to note that the oaths taken enforce the masculinities constructed; hence, expressions of the same in different settings such as the school, church and in the society in general after the different initiation processes.

4.3.2.3. Teachings during Initiation to Adulthood
The study sought to establish the teachings that the Turkana respondents were taught in the course of initiation. The Table 4.5 below shows the findings.

Table 4.5 Teachings during initiation to adulthood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachings during circumcision/initiation process</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Teachings on your roles in the community</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Teachings on the values, belief’s and cultural practices of your community</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Teachings on the respect for authority especially respect for elders regardless of their gender</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Teaching on responsibility and appreciating the elders in the society</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents from the Turkana community attested to having gone through various teachings during initiation. 91.67% indicated that they were taught their
roles in the community. Some of these roles include defending their community, taking part in development, providing care and protection to their families amongst others. An addition, 91.67% were educated on the values, beliefs and cultural practices of their community. Another 41.67% attested to having been taught on the respect for authority especially respect for elders regardless of their gender. A 50% said they were taught how to be responsible and appreciate the elders in the society.

These responses underlie that during initiation, the initiates are given various teachings that are meant to assist them in adulthood as affirmed by Likaka and Muia (2015)’s work. The initiate is taught to stand with the community whenever there is a conflict, making the initiate not recognize the need for reconciliation especially in cases of conflicts. The ability of the teachings to inculcate values of the community, however, cannot be ignored.

4.3.2.4. Change of Attire

The study sought to find out if after initiation, the Turkana initiates adorned differently and the significance of the attires.

Asked on the change of attire after the Atapan initiation ceremony, the respondents indicated that after the process they adorned differently since they had become men. One of the respondents informed;

“...after the Atapan ceremony, we wear blue ochre mud hats placed on our heads. We also carry spears ...” (O.1: Ewesit*, 21/10/2016).

These sentiments can be backed up by the description of the cultural processes of the making of Turkana men noted in section 4.3.2. After the ceremony, the initiates
adorn the blue ochre mud hats. This is one of the major changes that the initiates acquire after the ceremony. They are also allowed to carry spears unlike wooden sticks they carried prior to the initiation ceremony.

These findings concur with the thoughts of Springwood (2007) who accounts for the transition of Turkana boys before and after the initiation process. The author argues that after initiation, the Turkana boys remove the red, yellow or purple mud caps and wear blue ochre mud ones that are officially worn by the men elders of the community. The blue mud caps signify that the novice has become an elder; hence, the ability to defend his community.

The sentiments expressed by the Turkana respondents expose the centrality of culture in the shaping of masculinities and manhood. Connell’s (2005) theory of masculinity helps understand how the initiation process makes the Turkana men present hegemonic masculinity. In addition, it is evident that the Kenyan constitution recognizes culture as the foundation and cumulative civilization of the Kenyan people and nation (Kenyan constitution, 2010). Unfortunately, such men live under the constraints of their culture and at times even fail to enjoy what the society provides especially if it does not fit the masculine attributes of their society (Likaka and Muia, 2015).

4.3.2.5. Allocation of New Responsibilities
The study sought to find out if after initiation, the Turkana were allocated new responsibilities. The findings are tabulated in Table 4.6.
Table 4.6 Allocation of new responsibilities after initiation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joining other men on high risk adventures like cattle rustling</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting cattle raiders</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owning assets</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicated that majority of the Turkana respondents scored very highly in responsibilities like having assets like livestock, joining other men on high risk adventures like cattle rustling and fighting cattle raiders at 91.67%, 83.3% and 91.67% respectively. Privileges such as marriage scored 50%.

These findings indicate that initiation of boys into adulthood leads to acquisition of high statuses as well as allocation of new responsibilities. The “new” men must live up to the societal expectations as they have to take up the new roles allocated to them as per their culture. In the society, therefore, it is expected that the men will automatically assume duties in the public sphere like owning property and leadership amongst others.

4.3.2.6. Joining Age-groups and Generational Lines
The study looked at age-sets and generational lines as socialization agents of becoming men in the Turkana community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachings during circumcision/initiation process</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you join age groups after the Atapan ceremony?</td>
<td>1(8.4%)</td>
<td>11 (91.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings indicated that majority (91.6%) of the Turkana community initiates do not have rigid age groups but focus on totemic alternations (moieties). In this regard, Wolcott (2003) explains that the Turkana are not focused on their age sets and age groups and confirms that they focus on ‘moieties’. These ‘moieties’ are said to be different from those of their fathers. Of essence, these moieties are non-unilineal and non-exogamous but are based on boys’ rivalry groups. The Turkana boys then seek to be in winning moieties; hence, expressions of superiority, dominance and rivalry among others. One of the boys stated;

“... After initiation, we seek to be in groups that win in community raids, so as we can be linked to prowess and success...” (O.1: Yepaini*, 21/10/2016).

From the foregoing finding of the Samburu and Turkana initiation ceremonies, it is clear that the two go through differing rite of passage to manhood processes. While the Samburu boys go through the actual process of circumcision, the Turkana boys go through the Atapan initiation ceremony. Despite the initiation ceremonies being different in their unique ways, the bottom line remains that each community initiates their boys into adulthood. Those who go through these rituals become men with specific attributes and characteristics.

For the case of the Turkana, being a man builds an attitude that makes one perceive himself as physically superior to other men and women. One of the Turkana boys indicated;
“...it is important for a Turkana man to be seen as strong and brave for them to be seen as superior to other men...” (O.1: Narumbe*, 21/10/2016).

In addition, the Turkana expressed attributes of aggressiveness and always thought of conflict and fighting as a way of showing their prowess. This is backed up by the high rating of Turkana boys in Table 4.5 that they had no problem with high risk adventures like raiding. Moreover, the Turkana presented the attributes of being hard, tough and manly and remain as the dominant power who can engage in conflict generally. As the aforementioned verbatim stated, being a man must involve power, strength and be ready for war. This emphasizes the domineering nature of the Turkana novices. The Turkana men also presented physical strength which they indicated differentiated them from the women. This physical strength makes them be able to go to war and fight battles.

On the other hand, their Samburu counterparts presented masculine attributes of strength where they were expected to take charge of situations in their community. For instance, they were expected to be warriors after initiation, a status that expects them to take charge of their community especially in the event of an attack. This meant that they ought to be willing to die for their community in the course of defence. The Samburu novices were also expected to present the masculine attribute of power through being the dominant figure. They ought to be the provider, a breadwinner who would provide and care for the women in the case of marriage and family. Samburu masculinity was also exemplified by being at peace with themselves and having the feeling that they were expected to protect people that were close to them. Feeling that they successfully protected such people made them feel at peace and heroes in their own ways. In addition, the Samburu expressed the
masculine characteristic of strength through being able to protect and care for a family or who they were given authority over, being a mere patriarchal figure. Some of the boys also presented attributed of mental dominance in relation to their female counterparts. This meant that they could do better in many activities that required intellect than their female counterparts.

For the Turkana boys, masculinity is based on a stereotypical, hegemonic view that visualizes man as (1) the provider, (2) aggressive, (3) domineering through physical strength and force. It is arguable that this understanding of masculinity is an outdated conceptualization of masculinity. However, the Turkana boys seem to embrace the same understanding that a typical man must be aggressive and dominate over others. Conflict, for them, is indeed an unavoidable part of the domination process. Based on Connell’s theory of masculinity, this can be defined as hegemonic masculinity that is formed through legitimacy of patriarchy. The Turkana boys are likely to claim their authoritative status through institutionalized power that exists in the society. For instance, the men have natural physical strength to act over a woman (Connell, 2005).

On the other hand, the Samburu visualize masculinity as having strength. This form of strength can be exemplified in taking part in physical acts not necessarily the ones that can lead to physical confrontations that assert their dominance, but ones that make them brave and willing to protect other members of the society. These boys present attributes of being the provider that ensures those closest to them never lack a thing. This can also be discussed under Connell’s hegemonic masculinity that defines a man’s status through their ability to successfully achieve the social demands.
From the aforementioned discussion, it is clear that men learn to be men from other men in their society. The lessons taught are acquired not from the school curriculum but from the “societal curriculum”. This makes the boys define masculinity in relation to other men in their realm like their fathers, elder brothers, uncles and elders. This then clearly depicts that the boys were conversant with masculine power being enforced on them through relations with other men. Moreover, the findings, therefore, validate Connell’s (2005) theory of masculinity which explains that men portray what their culture has imparted to them. Therefore, when the Turkana and Samburu boys go through the process of becoming men, they transform into new beings (men), hence their participation in the educational processes also change.

4.4. Effects of the Cultural Expressions of Turkana and Samburu Masculinities on Educational Processes

The study endeavoured to find out the effects of cultural expressions of masculinities among the Turkana and Samburu boys on educational processes. The respondents were interrogated through the use of questionnaires on (1) how education has affected them and (2) if culture affected the way they behave in class. How education has affected them will be discussed under the following sub-themes, (a) Education being the pathway to their success (b) Education being used as a tool to transform the youths in the society, (c) education would help them lead a better life than that of their parents and (d) whether education is a barrier that prevented them from practising what their culture expects of them. If culture affected the way they behaved in class will be discussed under (a) Culture affects the way students viewed themselves in the classroom setting (b) if the respondents have other
alternatives to education and (c) if culture affected the schooling process. Selected teachers, female students and education officials were interviewed.

4.4.1. Effect of Education

4.4.1.1. Is Education a Pathway to Success?
The respondents were asked whether education was a pathway to their success. The results are tabulated below.

Table 4.7: Education being the pathway to success for the Turkana respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education is a pathway to my future success</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8: Education being the pathway to success for the Samburu respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education is a pathway to my future success</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency Table 4.6 and 4.7 show the responses on education being the pathway to success for the Turkana respondents and Samburu respondents respectively. Asked whether education was a pathway to their future success, 50% of the Turkana respondents agreed to the statement to a great extent, 25% to some extent and 25%
to a small extent. Their Samburu counterparts recorded 60% to a great extent, 26.7% to some extent and 13.3% to a small extent.

On the same note, teachers and the education officials were interviewed on whether the students viewed education as a pathway to success. They indicated that for a long time they had been recording low performance from the boys, who otherwise have potential, but are constrained by their cultural demands on embracing education. However, there were positive responses from them as they indicated that the boys have been showing some forms of good progress in education but after constant counselling. The head of the guidance and counselling noted,

“I have been working tirelessly with the boys to make sure that they change their perception towards education. We are hopeful that we will get there...” (O.I: Ms. Akavanga*, 21/10/2016).

The findings implied that in this time and era, some students do not value education as much as it would be expected, but there is hope for a better performance if they change their attitude towards education.

4.4.1.2. Can Education be Used as a Tool to Transform the Youths in the Society?
Secondly, the study sought to find out if the respondents felt that education could be used as a tool to transform the youths on the society. The students’ responses were cumulated as the Table 4.9 and 4.10 below show;
Table 4.9: Education can be used as a tool to transform the youths in the society on the Turkana respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education, a tool that will transform the youth</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10: Education can be used as a tool to transform the youths in the society on the Samburu respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education, a tool that will transform the youth</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the Tables 4.9 and 4.10, 83.3% of the Turkana respondents indicated that education would transform their lives to a great extent, and 16.7% to some extent. On the other hand, 66.7% of the Samburu respondents indicated that education would transform their lives to a great extent, 23.3% to some extent and 10% to a small extent.

The findings revealed that the students seemed to be aware that education will transform their lives. More positively some students indicated that though they do not perform as per their expectation, school had transformed their lives in different ways. One of the female respondents interviewed said that;

“… I am hopeful of the future and that the education I have acquired has made me see life positively …”

(O.I: Kristine*, 21/10/2016).
The specific reasons given by the male students from Samburu community were;

“...Many people got skills of doing famous things which help the society for example one can become a teacher and assist others to follow his way...” (O.1: Lentano*, 21/10/2016).

“...When one is educated in the society and pursue his or her course and get employed these support the spirit of those who are in schools and strengthen their attitude so that they will become better than that person. “Nowadays education is the key to live...” (O.1: Kanite*, 21/10/2016).

“If you are not educated you cannot transform yourself. It is a tool of life because without education you cannot prosper in life without education” (O.1: Lenaiyiarra *, 21/10/2016).

“Some years ago in our village there lived a very poor man and he tried his best to get his son educated and when his son finished education he got a job and lifted other youths” (O.1: Rurumban*, 21/10/2016).

On the other hand, the views by male students from Turkana community were;

“I believe that education can improve my living standards. Education change people, because a person who has got education is not tribal” (O.1: Ekomwa*, 21/10/2016).

“In order for you to be accepted in life you must go through education. You cannot do without it, so it is a must. If you manage to pass your examination well, you will get a job” (O.1: Chegem*, 21/10/2016).

These verbatim indicate that the Turkana and Samburu respondents believe that acquiring education can improve their lives in terms of handling issues in life and that they will approach life with a positive mind-set. They also believed that they would lead a better life with education through acquiring jobs. The respondents also
felt that they would not transform their lives without education going with the idea that it unites them as a community regardless of their tribe.

These findings are line with the study conducted by Karanu, Murenga and Osamba (2015) who opine that with the sensitization on the importance of schooling there are high chances that there will be minimal cases of school dropouts and high enrolment rates especially in the ASAL regions. The work also recommends the sensitization on the value of education among the pastoral communities like Samburu and Turkana which will help in raising the education status for the learners (Karanu, Murenga & Osamba, 2015).

4.4.1.3. Can Education Help you Lead a Better Life than that of your Parents?
Thirdly, the study sought to find out if the respondents thought that education would help them lead a better life than that of their parents. The results are tabulated below.

Table 4.11 Education will help me lead a better life than that of my parents in the village (Turkana respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education will help me lead a better life than that of my parents in the village</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the findings, 83.3% of the Turkana respondents indicate that education will help them to a great extent lead a better life than that of their parents in the village, 8.3% to some extent and 8.3 to a small extent. On the part of the Samburu, 73.3% indicated that education will help them lead a better life to a great extent, 20% to some extent and 6.7% to a small extent.

The girls interviewed were hopeful despite their culture constraining them in advancing their education, the far they have gone is a step towards a better life than that of their parents. They said;

“Despite our culture preventing us from advancing our education, we have made major steps towards a better life than that of our parents” (O.1: Chegem & Ewaso*, 21/10/2016).

However, differing sentiments are presented by the education officials who indicated that some boys still focus on herding and other activities like selling items in the market to get money than sit in class.

“Regardless of our efforts, some boys prefer herding and other activities like selling items in the market than sitting in class...” (O.1: Lesorogol & Lesukat*, 21/10/2016).
These findings imply positive responses on the value of education. The Turkana and Samburu boys accepted that education would improve their lives. However, there was a percentage of boys who believed that education would not impact their lives positively as it actually sought to change their livelihoods like leaving school for herding.

4.4.1.4. Is Education a Barrier that Prevents you from Practising what your Culture Expects of you?

Fourth, the respondents were questioned on whether education was a barrier that prevents them from practising what their culture expected of them, as way of assessing how they perceive education. The responses can be seen from the tables below;

Table 4.13: Education, a barrier that prevents you from practising my cultural expectations like following directives from female teachers (Turkana respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.14: Education, a barrier that prevents you from practicing my cultural expectations like following directives from female teachers (Samburu respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education, a barrier that prevents you from practicing my cultural expectations like following directives from female teachers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Great extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some extent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small extent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the Turkana male respondents, 10 of them (83.3%) indicated that education was a barrier preventing them from acting as per their culture, especially taking directives from women, and even being defeated by girls in tests, yet they believe to be superior. However, 1 respondent (8.3%) gave no response while the other (8.3%) gave to some extent. On the same note 14 Samburu respondents (46.7%) said that education does not make them inferior even to female teachers, and that they are positive to the instructions they give. However, 16.7% (5 respondents) said that education just intimidates them especially considering they were of higher age sets that command respect and not them being commanded by “inferior beings” like the female teachers. One of the respondents noted,

“School intimidates us, especially we must follow the school rules and even take instructions from female teachers who are inferior to us. The school then prevents me from practising what my culture expects of me …” (O.1: Lesor*, 21/10/2016).

These respondents may imply that Samburu boys recorded such percentages in Table 4.12 since in the course of their socialization, they were forbidden to act like women, be around women or even associate themselves with female like activities,
but were very aware and accepted the essence of respecting women. For the Turkana, as shown in Table 4.11, education has continued to undermine their status especially in the classroom setting where they have to conform to the set rules, even the ones that have been set by their teachers, especially the deputy principal who was a woman at the time of the study.

4.4.2. Culture Affects Schooling?

4.4.2.1. Culture affects the way students perceive themselves in the classroom setting
The study sought to find out if culture affected the way students viewed themselves in the classroom setting. The section highlights the aspect of culture- community values associated with masculinity such as authority from male figures, adornment in traditional attire and involvement in male-related activities like raiding after the initiation process.

According to the information collected from the male students 69.01% agreed with the statement that culture affects the way they view themselves in school, while 30.95% said that culture does not affect the way they view themselves for being in school. Hence, based on the selected male students culture affects their perception in school and at times, culture plays no role in the way they perceive themselves being in school. One of the reasons given by the male students from Samburu community was as follows;

“My culture has taught me to be aggressive and brave especially after circumcision. I struggle to get the best”. (O.1: Litiiyo*, 21/10/2016).

The student went on to explain that their culture expects them to be brave and aggressive after the initiation process. With the classroom, being a gendered
institution, the Samburu had to show their prowess and strength through striving to achieve in Mathematics and Physics that were constantly regarded as tough subjects and were poorly performed in the school. He also said that he was proud of himself for improving in the subjects from the previous exams.

Yet another respondent said that despite their cultural constraints, he will strive hard to achieve and pursue Engineering. He said that;

“... my culture affects the way I am in school by struggling to find out means that can assist me to succeed in education like working hard and being tough like my elders taught me. I am not defeated by others even in many tough subjects like Math and I vow to study Engineering in future”. (O.1: Lekaikum*, 21/10/2016).

However, he was keen to note that he will not forget his culture despite any eventuality.

“...many times, my old parents provide me with a lot of support so that I can raise them from where they are. They say education will make me better, but not to forget my culture...”
O.1: Lekaikum*, 21/10/2016).

On the other hand, the male students from Turkana community said culture affects their being in school because the school has all forms of authority including the women teachers and their culture forbids them from being degraded by women, such as through being canned and punished by them. A respondent quoted;

“...they say that a man is not supposed to be in school and/or beaten by a female teacher. My villagers think that school makes a person backward and even leave his cultural values. (O.1: Moroto*, 21/10/2016).
The respondent complained that his village mates did not want to associate with him for having enrolled in school and even adorning school uniform besides the traditional Samburu adornment. He complained;

“...people of my age do not associate with me because they think I’m still under others’ command, like female teachers who tell me to wear school uniform and remove my bangles, which is a cherished attire in my community, and put them on when I am out of school. Sometimes I even feel embarrassed going to school, because I know I will behave like a school boy not a man (O.1: Moroto*, 21/10/2016).

However, other Turkana respondents did not view their culture as affecting their being in school and were positive that their efforts in school will bear fruit. Rotino (not his real name) stated that;

“...I will tolerate being in school because one day I will be a better person even if people in my culture think I am getting lost. (O.1: Rotino*, 21/10/2016).

Nonetheless, he said that their being in school is short-lived as they break for midterm and schools close. During these breaks culture comes into play as he said when they get home, culture takes root again.

“...After closing school we interact with our culture and forget books. I forget the advice of the teachers so our culture affects my education while at home.” (O.1: Rotino*, 21/10/2016).

The girls interviewed said that they were performing reasonably well because they had the permission and good will from their parents. They strived to work extremely hard to perform and even beat the boys in exams. However, they also said their schooling faced with many challenges, the greatest was being undermined by their
male counterparts who still view them as women in the village and not like fellow students in class.

One female respondent (Akai, not her real name) said that their male Mathematics teacher is not confident that they can succeed in Mathematics. He continually mocked them to go and “read stories” in the History and CRE lessons that matched their ability and intelligence since girls were preconceived to be good in feminine related subjects like the Arts.

“…Our Math teacher thinks that we can only do well in History and subjects like CRE and mocks us to go hear the narratives in those lessons, and leave Mathematics for the boys.” (O.1: Akai*, 21/10/2016).

The response from the female respondent is in line with Ngugi (2016) who explains how girl education is endangered in the pastoralist communities like the Turkana where the girls are sometimes forced to come to school with their siblings. At times, the elders in the community choose to have the girls married off so that they could get wealth from their bride price as opposed to taking them to school. At times they are perceived not to have the ability to fit in a school system as education is too tough for them. Such factors then put the girl education at stake, especially in the male dominated pastoral communities, where the men have naturally been given the right over women in masculinized and patriarchal societies.

On the other hand, Keti (2016) writes that girls are doing well in school and out of the best five candidates in Samburu who scored A-, three of them were girls in the 2016 KCSE national examinations. The author says that this performance is in line with the fact that these girls have been given permission by their parents to study,
despite a good number of them still not enrolling in school. From a feminist point of view, it is possible to understand why many girls still do not go to school, as they face barriers emanating from the patriarchal structures in the society that seek to ensure the men dominate the women who are confined in the private sphere of the home (Tong, 2011). The low enrolment of the girls in the secondary schools can also be understood based on the Connell’s theory of masculinity, specifically the complicit masculinities as this form of masculinity involves subordination of women through the patriarchal divide (Connell, 2005). Hegemony is then gained effortlessly through culture, institutions and persuasion that allow for domination of women.

The verbatim from the male respondents are also in line with the views of Egel (2009) that the classroom cannot be alienated from a discussion of culture. The author further explains that a good number of teachers are not culturally responsive; hence, hinder interconnectedness between them and their students.

Undoubtedly, these findings show new trends taking place in the education sector among the marginalized communities. A number of the respondents indicated that their culture affected them both in a positive and negative way as far as education was concerned. Some believed that circumcision/ initiation led to them acquiring attributes such as bravery, aggressiveness and diligence to deal with many issues they face in the classroom setting like dealing with “tough” subjects like Mathematics and Sciences. On the other hand, others more so, from the Turkana community felt that their culture was being undermined when they went to school, and are even forced to be in school uniform. Worse still, they felt undermined being punished by female teachers and even being subjected to school rules. The different
responses from the two communities give a clear indication of the concept of culture and its effects on education.

4.4.2.2. Do you have other Alternatives to Education?
The study sought to find out if the respondents had other alternatives to education considering that they were so immersed in their culture. The researcher used questionnaires to collect the required information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you have other alternatives to education?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicated that 50% of the male students agreed that they had other alternatives to education that they would prefer as opposed to being in school for years with an equal proportion disagreeing with the statement. Some of the alternatives given by the male students from Samburu community were herding their livestock, cultivating crops and doing business in the market. In majority of the responses, “cultivating crops, herding and doing business”, “…raiding cattle and herding in the bushes” were some of the alternatives to education as illustrates in the verbatim below;

“...We have the alternative of cultivating crops, trading, doing business, and herding our cattle” (O.I: Lengees & Lekaikum*, 21/10/2016).

However, others despite having the alternatives said that education matters a great deal to their lives. They stated that,
“...After our high school level we would like to pursue other courses such Certified Public Accounts (CPA) so that we get jobs and help our families and ourselves” (O.I: Lesurmat & Lkicheunye*, 21/10/2016).

Another said,

“...Actually they say that education has no end so I am focusing ahead to achieve my life targets...” (O.I: Ltalipen*, 21/10/2016).

On the part of the Samburu respondents, their responses could be explained using Letiwa’s (2011) arguments that relate to the great strides that have been experienced in education among the Samburu. This is from the creation of more schools that has led to the Samburu embracing education especially by the locals who even help in the building of schools. These boy respondents who said that they have other alternatives to school are clearly affected by cultural constraints, like their parents preferring them to be herders and involvement in cattle rustling than going to school. For these parents, education is a less important option in their children’s future (Letiwa, 2011).

For the Turkana, a good number 9 out of 12 respondents (75%) argued that they had many alternatives to education highlighting herding as a key example of the alternatives. The male students from Turkana community gave the following alternatives;

“...My parent does not support my education so I will finish and go to Baragoi to herd”. “...I will go to the village and herd my grandfather’s cattle and be rich from my cattle”

(O.I: Lterewa & Nabaru*, 21/10/2016).
The responses from the Turkana students relate to those of Galván (2014) who explains that cultural traditions are still alive in such pastoral communities. For the Turkana who are likened to the Karamojong of Uganda, education is considered a route to less insecure livelihoods such as losing their cattle (Kratli, 2006; Ruto et al., 2009). Education to them, therefore, seems unresponsive to pastoralist demands. UNESCO (2010) writes that pastoralist livelihoods are mobile and are geared towards seasonal calendars that involve grazing and availability of water. This makes the respondents then visualize the school curricular as having very little relevance to their lives as pastoralists. However, there is hope for a brighter day if the traditional practices like cattle rustling are discouraged among pastoral communities.

4.4.2.3. Does Culture Affect your Schooling?

As a way of assessing the effects of cultural processes on participation in educational processes, the study sought to assess if culture affected schooling.

The findings can be seen in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Does culture affect your schooling?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study found out that the respondents had the hope of ascending to higher levels of education after high school. Upon interviewing the girls, the findings revealed that they hoped to ascend to the university level (78%) though some (12%) had no idea on the effort required to excel to such heights. The study also found out that 78.5% percent of the male students agreed that they intended to ascend to higher educational opportunities after high school to mean that education is seemingly important to them to a great extent, despite the low performance recorded in their examination results.

The qualitative responses from the male students from Samburu respondents in regards to their perception on education were;

“Education is as an important thing in my life as it can change me. Education is the key of life” (O.1: Lemoosa*, 21/10/2016).

“Culture affects education in our community for instance, after one has been circumcised a big percentage of boys drop out of school because school restricts people from doing other things like grazing because I have to be in school every day” (O.1: Letuk *, 21/10/2016).

The male students from Turkana community had similar responses as follows;

“Education is a basic need for all people and is the key of life” (O.1: Pkos*, 21/10/2016).

“Education now is the key to success because nowadays there is no other way to become better but only through education” (O.1: Lotiolo, *, 21/10/2016).
“Education has become one of the most important thing and for you to succeed in life you must be literate” (O.1: Rotino *, 21/10/2016).

“Education is an important thing that would smoothen my life in future” (O.1: Lomunokol *, 21/10/2016).

Similar sentiments were echoed by one of the teachers who said,

“...It is somehow tricky to have the full attention of the boys in class. Some are very bossy and others are completely disinterested. It is devastating how, even the form fours, do not value education as much...” (O.1: Mr. Tuk*, 21/10/2016).

The male principal of the school also observed,

“...though a good number are conversant with the benefits of education, a lot needs to be done to eliminate the aspect of culture from their school life. Had it been a boarding school, it would have been better since they would be detached from their villages and focus on school work...” (O.1: Mr. Bok*, 21/10/2016).

The deputy principal who is a female stated,

“The boys are trying, but the value of education has not hit a good number of them. They could have other alternatives like herding that limits their perception on the value of education”. (O.1: Mrs. Lesa*, 21/10/2016).

Similarly, one of the teachers confessed,

“The boys behave well in class despite the challenges they face from home, being a day school. Though many have confessed having issues with staying in school due to wrong perceptions from various quarters, they are at pains on what to decide for their future. A good number are still lost in their cultural ideals”. (O.1: Mrs. Telai*, 21/10/2016).
An education official noted;

“*In their struggle to conform to school rules and regulations the boys are more likely to go for suspensions or expulsions from school, therefore, the dropout rates are higher for them than for girls*”.

(O.1: Mrs. Lelei*, 21/10/2016).

The key informants were, therefore, of the view that though their performance was quite low, there is hope for better days as the boys are struggling to conform with the school rules as opposed to the past when the older boys were rebellious to teachers especially the female teachers. Indeed, the teachers added that the boys struggle and show willingness to learn but at times, they respond aggressively to the school processes and some seem to struggle to conform to rules set in class. The male students accepted that being in school is profitable. However, it was noted that more needs to be done on the general performance of the students, as some students still hold the view that they have the alternative of herding amongst other activities; hence, place less emphasis on the value of education. In conclusion, the sub-objective notes that the cultural expressions of masculinities among the Turkana and Samburu boys either have positive or negative effects on the education of the boys.

4.5 Differences in Participation in the Educational Processes between the Turkana and Samburu Boys

4.5.1. Class Interaction (Students, Instructors and Content)

As a way of understanding the differences in participation in educational processes, the study compared how the Turkana and Samburu interacted in class as far as content; interaction with the teachers and other students was concerned.
4.5.1.1. Students vs Instructors

The interaction between students and instructors is indicated in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>2 (16.67%)</td>
<td>10 (83.3%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>27 (90%)</td>
<td>3 (10%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicated that the Samburu respondents recorded 90% as far as respect for both male and female teachers unlike their Turkana counterparts who recorded 16.67% on respect for female teachers.

In an observation of the lessons, the boys behaved differently towards teachers of different genders. In a form four English lesson for instance, one Samburu boy accepted to clean the writing board after the teacher’s plea for the board to be cleaned. During the lesson, another Turkana boy was keen to check the time after the lesson bell was rang and seemed to be at pains with the lady teacher extending the lesson to the lunch break. However, the boy did not walk out of the lesson probably due to the presence of the researcher in class.

These findings may be attributed to the students’ socialization of women being naturally under the control of the men. Having the women teachers giving them instructions is then contrary to their expectations. In addition, respecting them in class would then mean that they are not acting as per their cultural demands. However, for the case of the Turkana, the previous sections on the teachings of the
initiates, no much emphasis was seen on the respect for women unlike the Samburu who were taught the need to respect their elders, both men and women. Connell’s (2005) theory of masculinity helps to shed light in this perception of the selected boys as they come from a patriarchal society that places the man above the woman in all contexts. This theory also explains why men dominate over women as they want to fit in the constructed masculine ideals.

4.5.1.2. Students vs Students
The researcher sought to find out the attitudes of the male students towards other students from a different community and a different gender, Turkana/Samburu. Table 4.15 shows the findings.

Table 4.15: Samburu attitudes towards other students from a different community and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your attitude towards students of another tribe?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your attitude towards students of another gender?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings on Table 4.15 indicated that 20 male students (66.67%) of the Samburu respondents noted that their attitude towards other students from a different community was good while 10 representing 33.3% said there was a bad attitude towards students from other communities. On attitude towards students of another
gender. 93.3% indicated that they had no issues with students of another gender, while 6.7% indicated that they had issues sitting in class with the girls.

The male students from Samburu community had the following to say on their attitude towards other students from a different community:

“They don’t want other boys from other communities to prosper, but in this country we are brothers and sisters we depend on each other for help and even guidance” (O.I: Lekodet*, 21/10/2016).

“In school we are all brothers and sisters in God and we are all friends but at home there are conflicts between the Samburu and Turkana on pasturing grounds and our herds” (O.I: Emett*, 21/10/2016).

“I want all my classmates to stay in peace and stop conflicts among them but think about the future because we believe in one God and were created by God and so we are supposed to live as brothers” (O.I: Lekormedet*, 21/10/2016).

Regarding attitude towards other students from a different gender, majority of the Samburu respondents indicated that they had no problems sitting with their female counterparts in class. One of them indicated;

“We are all equal in class. I have no issue competing with the girls in the class (O.I: Leorso*, 21/10/2016).

The following are the findings from the Turkana respondents.
Table 4.16: Turkana attitudes towards other students from a different community and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your attitude towards students of another tribe?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good Valid</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your attitude towards students of another gender?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good Valid</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nine boys (75%) of the selected Turkana respondents said that they had a good relation with other students from another tribe while only 3 boys (25%) had a bad attitude towards boys from another tribe. 66.7% indicated that their attitude with students of another gender was good while 33.3% had a bad attitude towards the girls.

From the interviewed teachers on the relationship among the students based on their tribe and gender, one of them said that,

“The teachers strive to create a non-threatening environment that makes learning a joint effort where all students develop a classroom culture together, hence, create feelings of safety for all boys despite their cultural affiliations. We also make sure that the girls fit in the classroom setting...” (O.I: Ntet*, 21/10/2016).

Similar sentiments were given by the male students from Turkana community that;
“The teachers make us equal in the classroom regardless of our background...” (O.I: Samana*, 21/10/2016).
“School is a place for learning and not coming to judge anyone. We are all students and also we are all Kenyans. Through education we participate together in learning like brothers and sisters. The teachers congratulate me and thus encouraging me in my academics...” (O.I: Lekialara*, 21/10/2016).

The researcher aimed at exploring the relationship between the learners regarding their tribe and gender. The researcher then observed the learners in a Form two P.E. lesson. In the course of the lesson, the students did not show any disparities on tribe, but instead, played together in harmony. However, many of the girls seemed to play on their own. This observation showed that tribal differences were not evident in the class. The boys appeared to enjoy the football match and each of the team played to their best to win the game. Expressions of masculinities such as aggressiveness and team work was seen clearly through the boys struggling to score as many goals as possible in the opponent’s team.

The above responses could be due to the efforts of teachers who celebrate the differences of the learners. As seen in the verbatim above, one teacher said he endeavoured to establish a positive environment in his class by celebrating the uniqueness of his students’ cultures. He said that he gives all students equal chances to give their responses in classes. This has helped establish a good learning environment, educate them on tolerance; hence, sets a tolerant tone for the class. This is line with Pleasants’ (2007) study which suggests that educators are likely to build a non-threatening learning environment as soon as the learners get to class, every day, throughout the year.
4.5.1.3. Students vs Educational Content

The researcher sought to find out the relationship between the students and the content presented in class by teachers.

The Table 4.17 shows the findings.

**Table 4.17: How often do you ask female teachers questions in class?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>10 (83.3%)</td>
<td>2 (16.67%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>3 (23.3%)</td>
<td>23 (77.5%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicate that the Samburu had no problem asking both male and female teachers questions frequently on content they did not comprehend in class (77.5%) while the Turkana respondents preferred asking questions to the male teachers (41.67%), and they said they asked questions sometimes, especially when urged to do so.

From an observation of a History lesson in Form three, to assess the interaction between the students and the content taught, the teacher kept urging the students to ask questions after only one girl asked a question. The teacher later confirmed that the class usually behaved that way, explaining that the researcher did not make the students behave otherwise especially from a good number of Turkana and Samburu boys who were bossy and cheeky in class.

The responses explain the disparities that took place in class as far interaction with the instructors for the Turkana and Samburu respondents was concerned. This may
be attributed to their cultural beliefs on education and women being their instructors. This response relates to the work of Otieno (2016) who writes that there is a great disparity between the performance of boys from the Turkana and Samburu. In addition, the partly positive response from the Samburu community can be linked to the research by Wasamba (2009) who indicates that the institution of Moran is an enduring institution among the Samburu. The author writes that the word Moran is a metaphor for heroism due to the military and aesthetic exploits Morans are famed for. Through Moranism, the Samburu boys seek to promote comradeship, self-esteem, courage, strength, perseverance, self-sacrifice and adventurism (Wasamba, 2009). The same can be seen for the classroom setting that formed the setting of this study. Moreover, this presents an element of accomplishment and triumph in the boy’s adoption of hyper-masculine styles presented in Connell’s theory of masculinity (Connell, 2005).

### 4.5.2. Sharing Resources in Class

The study sought to find out how the respondents behave in class as far as sharing the existing minimal resources was concerned.

Table 4.18 shows the findings.

**Table 4.18: Do you share resources in class?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you share resources in class?</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana</td>
<td>10(83.33%)</td>
<td>2 (16.67%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu</td>
<td>2 (6.67%)</td>
<td>1 (3.3%)</td>
<td>27 (90%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the respondents, the Samburu recorded 90% as far as sharing resources such as books, desks and other materials was concerned. They said that they shared at all times, though 1 said he shares sometimes (3.3%), and 2 said (6.67%) indicated they never shared. On the part of the Turkana, they responded by saying they sometimes 16.67% and 83.3% never shared resources and none indicated that they often shared.

In a Form one classroom observation, boys sat with their legs wide apart; hence, distracting their desk mates. The Kiswahili teacher was keen to move round the classroom to check if all students could access the course book. The explanation given later was that some boys could barely share the few books that were made available to them.

The response by the Turkana relates to the study conducted on the Kenya News 2012 blogspot on the *Effect of belief and culture in Education in Turkana* that indicate that after the Atapan ceremony, Turkana boys refuse to share resources in school for instance desks and books. They even go to an extent of demanding extra resources from the school administration if forced to share the resources. The work continues to indicate that after the ceremony, the boys become warrior-like and feel that it is their right to own and be provided with learning materials in school. This can also be understood through the strength and violence elements of Connell’s theory of masculinity that helps naturalise the element of competition and hierarchy that is considered inherently male (Connell, 2005).

4.5.3. Parental Involvement in Education

The study sought to find out if the parents of the selected respondents involved themselves in their children’s schoolwork. Table 4.19 shows the findings.
Table 4.19: Does your parent follow your progress in school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Does your parent follow your progress in school?</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Checked school work</td>
<td>10(83.3%</td>
<td>2(16.67%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu Checked school work</td>
<td>28(93.33%</td>
<td>2(6.67%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Attended school meetings</td>
<td>5(41.67%)</td>
<td>7(58.33%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu Attended school meetings</td>
<td>20(66.67%)</td>
<td>10(33.3%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicated that 83.3% and 93.3% of Turkana and Samburu respondents respectively said that their parents never check their schoolwork unless there was a meeting in school whereby the parents had a meeting with the teachers and their students. The respondents were also asked to comment on the frequency of their parents’ attending school meetings. The findings showed that 58.33% of Turkana parents and 33.33% of Samburu sometimes come to school, 41.64% and 66.67% of Turkana and Samburu parents respectively said never, while 0% said their parents often attended school meetings.

The school principal informed the researcher that the parents’ meetings are often marked by a low turnout of parents. Worse still, he said:

“A good number of these parents barely understand English or Kiswahili that is used to communicate in the meetings ...” (O.I: Mr. Bok*, 21/10/2016).
This means that the parents do not follow completely the contents discussed in the meeting; hence, fewer chances of guiding and counselling their sons and daughters.

These findings concur with the study conducted by Troksa (2016) who writes that there is a great generational gap between the present day parents and their children in school. This is to mean that many parents may be struggling to adjust to the fact that education is compulsory and important especially in the pastoral communities. The parents, in this case, are more likely not have undergone education and may not find it important to attend school meetings. However, a change is likely to be seen in the near future, when the pastoral communities will have embraced education and even seen the benefits that come along with it.

4.6. Strategies to Address the Negative Expressions of Masculinities and Enhance the Positive Expressions of Masculinities to Improve the Educational Processes

The fourth research objective sought the respondents’ suggestions on strategies that could be used to address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities. Questionnaires containing a Likert scale were used to find out the possible interventions from the respondents. Interview schedules were also used to collect information from the teachers and educational officials on the strategies that could be useful in addressing the negative expressions of masculinities. The discussion was based on policy, social and educational interventions. The findings are presented in Table 4.20 below:
Table 4.20: Strategies to address the negative expressions of masculinities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. POLICY INTERVENTIONS</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men and boys need to be included in discussions on gender and more so on masculinities.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The constructs of what it means to be ‘masculine’ need to be changed.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocation of adequate resources for programmes relating to elimination of gender stereotypes, notably advocacy and awareness-raising campaigns, and educational curriculum development</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and boys need to be made aware of the positive effects gender equality can have for them.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving towards challenging gender inequality, and the larger patriarchal system e.g. men’s responsibility to be accountable for their actions and ability to reject the dominant perspective of masculinity.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing and involving men to reshape the sexual organization of society, particularly institutions and relations through which children are raised</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage men to act as positive role models for their communities despite their cultural beliefs</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create forums that speak about positive sexuality, victimization of the boys and student leadership</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching young men to value the models of maleness that successful men in their society display</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of shared domestic roles between women and men such as parenting and care giving.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: f-frequency SD- strongly disagree D- Disagree N-Neutral A-Agree SA-Strongly

Agree
The analysis in Table 4.20 was utilized by focusing on the statements, whereby the summation of agree and strongly agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree were used.

**Policy Interventions**

The findings in Table 4.14 showed that 42.9% agreed that men and boys need to be included in discussions on gender and more so on masculinities, while 28.6% strongly agreed. Secondly, 47.6% agreed and 21.4% strongly agreed that the constructs of what it means to be masculine need to be changed, while 45.2% and 23.8% agreed and strongly disagreed respectively that they need to be made aware of the positive effects of gender equality. They therefore, felt if policies were put to restructure the constructs of what it meant to be masculine, many men would visualize masculinity from a positive viewpoint.

In the same regard, the teachers were of the opinion that policies that would lead to inclusion of learners especially in the ASAL regions need to be defined. One of the teachers said that;

“...the government needs to move away from lots of talk on gender issues and act in a gender sensitive way at all levels from the policy makers all the way to the teacher in the classroom. For instance, they need to act in a way that will ensure that culture does not negatively affect the boys…” (O.1: Leshornai*, 21/10/2016).

Teachers also need to be trained on the issue of masculinity as a way of helping them educate the learners on the need for gender equality. One of the interviewed teachers said that;

*The training aspect should not be ignored as to address the issue of masculinity, we need to have the
opportunity to access gender sensitive training so as to effectively deliver the engendered curriculum…” (O.I: Lenambere*, 21/10/2016).

This is an indication of the cause of the negative expressions of masculinities by the boys in many schools especially in the ASAL regions. Lack of skills and knowhow on how to deal with boys in schools and the masculinities they express such as aggressiveness may make the boys more rebellious and uncontrollable. As observed by Ruto et al. (2009), many boys in the ASAL regions have failed to complete their schooling process as they do not have the required support as far as change of attitude towards the schooling process is concerned. This then causes regression in such societies as a good number of boys do not value education as much. Further, the teachers noted that they need enlightening on how to include all learners in the classroom setting despite their cultural backgrounds.

Social Interventions

From the responses on strategies on addressing the negative expressions of masculinities, 38.1% and 47.6% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that they needed to challenge gender inequality, and the larger patriarchal system through being accountable for their actions. 69% strongly agreed that they needed to be involved in reshaping the sexual organization of the society especially from childhood while 9.5% and 2.4% strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. 2.4%, another 2.4%, 2.4% and 76.2% strongly disagreed, disagreed, agreed and strongly disagreed respectively with the thought that if they were taught on the ways of acting as positive role models for their society despite their culture, their masculinities would be reinforced for the better. 69% and 73.8% accepted to
creation of forums that speak on positive masculinities and teaching young men to value successful male models as strategies that would help reinforce masculinities respectively. Lastly, 42.9% and 35.7% strongly agreed that promotion of domestic roles between men and women and allocation of adequate resources for programmes relating to elimination of gender stereotypes, notably advocacy and awareness-raising campaigns, and educational curriculum development as good strategies that would help address the negative expressions of masculinities respectively.

From the responses above, there is a dire need to define social interventions that will ensure that the sexual organization of the society is reshaped. This will help reinforce positive masculinities among boys and in turn positive contribution in the classroom. Though the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) on universal education has been well implemented in some regions in Kenya, some areas such as the ASAL regions are yet to realize this achievement. Due to factors such as negative expressions of masculinities that negatively affect the participation of boys in class, many boys in the ASAL regions do not benefit as much from education. This study emphasizes the need to embrace education as a key in achieving individual wholeness because it changes the mind-set of individuals and how they approach life.

**Educational Interventions**

The participants felt that the education interventions would be one of the ways in which the negative expressions of masculinities would be addressed both in school and in the society. The respondents felt that the Education Department needs to
define strategies that create gender balance in schools. In an interview with one of the teachers, the teacher observed that;

“...the Education Department needed to seriously come up with practical strategies for Secondary education in a bid to respond to gender imbalance and inequality as far as pastoralist communities like the Turkana and Samburu are concerned…” (O.1: Lekuton*, 21/10/2016).

It was also deemed important that teachers go through training that would equip them with skills to deal with learners of diverse backgrounds and ones with different viewpoints of their gender. In the interview one of the teachers added that;

“...the teachers should continually get training on ways of translating the written curriculum to make the classroom gender sensitive. This calls for gender sensitive training on the job ...” (O.1: Leneepe*, 21/10/2016).

In addition, the school environment must be designed in a way that is attractive and accommodative to all learners despite their gender. This is to mean that there needs more investment in education for both boys and girls which will allow for development. The curriculum-related policies should be directed at making progress for learners especially in nomad communities. In this regard, one of the teachers said,

“...the school needs to be set into being gender sensitive. This could be in terms of provision of basic infrastructure, teaching materials, school rules as well as teaching methods. The schools could be set in a way that they will provide a safe environment for the boys, and also the girls ...” (O.1: Lentilau*, 21/10/2016).
Yet another teacher clarified,

“...the need to design education policies, specifically, curriculum related policies that have provisions that allow for pastoralist boy participation in education such as continuous revision of the curricula to make it more gender sensitive to the boys in ASAL regions...” (O.1: Lenairosh*, 21/10/2016).

Moreover, the issue of curriculum was highlighted as one of the ways that would help handle issues in education if some changes are put. One of the education officials interviewed called for redesigning the curriculum in a way that will include the learners in the ASAL regions. He stated that;

“...there is need to restructure the curriculum in a way that will allow the boys in the nomad communities respond favourably to lessons that involve, teamwork and competition...” (O.1: James*, 21/10/2016).

Among the ways that would lead to inclusion of these learners as pointed out by one of the education officials include adopting innovative and creative approaches that will help in utilizing the locally available resources to fit the needs of the learners, in this case, the resources available in the Turkana and Samburu communities for the teaching of the boys.

Yet another education official clearly called for more funding in education for the ASAL regions that would help in boosting education in the region. The education official quoted;

“...there is need for increased funding in education in this region ...” (O.1: Delai*, 21/10/2016).

The increased funding would allow for recruiting of more teachers’ especially male teachers that would in turn act as role models for their male pupils. In the same
regard, another educational intervention that would help address the negative expressions of masculinities in the ASAL region include enlightening the teachers on the need to act as positive role models as a way of motivating the boys to lead a productive life. One of the teachers said that;

“...I interact with the students by acting as a positive role model via fighting against the negative role models on boys’ behaviour and emotions such as those involved in unlawful activities in the school environment like fighting, disrespect to teachers amongst others...” (O.1: Tobias*, 21/10/2016).

This approach will make the school environment not only friendly but also productive to all learners.

Conclusively, the study found out that the positive expressions of masculinities can be reinforced and negative expressions of masculinities minimised by many strategies including educational, policy and social interventions. These strategies can be financed and implemented by many stakeholders such as the Ministry of Education, County and the National governments, teachers and the society at large. For instance, the government could boost teacher training on gender sensitive approaches in teaching and learning such as addressing the issue of masculinity. Investment in education for both boys and girls will allow for development and addressing the issues that may come up in gendered classrooms. Designing education policies that allow for pastoralist boy participation in education will help retain the boys in class. Resources also must be made available to the communities in the ASAL regions for the teaching of the boys. The education officials and teachers also emphasized the need for increased funding in education that would help promote boy education in the ASAL region. More male teachers need to be
recruited so as to act as role models for their male pupils. On parent-son involvement, there was need to design a programme that will allow involvement in their son’s education.

These findings are in tandem with Abbott’s (2013) argument that many boys lack role models that help them attain success in education. The lack of positive role models in schools and communities can lead to the boys’ association with crime and violence. This then brings out the need to improve boys’ involvement in education through social mobilization campaigns that would help change attitudes and behaviours affecting boys’ education at the grass-root level in nomad communities. In the event that classroom experiences are fashioned in a way that they respond to the interests, needs and learning styles of all students despite their cultural background, the objectives of education are likely to be met. This initiative would allow for enforcement of positive hegemonic masculinities among the boys as would be highlighted in Connell’s theory of masculinity, as the boys would be motivated towards excelling in their studies.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed at investigating the cultural expressions of masculinities and their effects on the educational processes in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School, Samburu County, Kenya. This chapter presents the summary of the research findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestion for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Research Findings

The first research objective focused on the cultural practices associated with the making of men among the Samburu and Turkana boys. In this regard, the study revealed two diverse practices associated with the making of men among the Turkana and Samburu. The Samburu boys underwent circumcision while their Turkana counterparts underwent Atapan ritual to become men. In the course of the respective processes, it was found out that the boys were subjected to other rituals that reinforce their masculinities. These processes included: taking oaths, receiving teachings from their elders, getting new forms of dressing and other gifts to mark their new status. They also joined new age sets and got new responsibilities. These processes create attributes like aggressiveness, bravery, diligence, fearlessness, strength, roughness among other expressions of their constructed masculinities.

The second research objective assessed the effects of the cultural expressions of Turkana and Samburu masculinities on the educational processes. The study found out that culture affects the male students’ view of themselves in school thereby influencing educational processes both positively and negatively. Positively, culture
instilled attributes like fearlessness, strength, bravery amongst other attributes that allowed them handle tough subjects like Mathematics and Sciences and even handle issues that arose in the school setting. Further, the initiates displayed aggressiveness and strength that emanated from the teachings they received after the circumcision/initiation processes and the societal expectations on them. Some of the male students identified alternatives to education that they would prefer as opposed to being in school for four years. Positively, the male students were of the opinion that education can be used as a tool of transforming them as students and as youth in their society as they hoped for a better life than their parents. They also intended to ascend to higher educational opportunities after high school.

The third research objective examined the differences in participation in the educational processes among the Turkana and Samburu boys. The attitudes of the male students towards other students from a different community for the Turkana/Samburu was good since the teachers strived to create a non-threatening environment that makes learning a joint effort where all students develop a classroom culture together despite their cultural affiliations. As far as content was concerned, the Turkana seemed to have a problem for asking clarification from female teachers as their teachings were not keen on emphasizing respect on both men and women, but assumed authority after initiation into manhood, while their Samburu counterparts were comfortable with both male and female teachers. On sharing of resources, it was noted the Samburu shared resources in the classroom, while the Turkana rarely share especially after having gone through the Atapan ceremony since they became bossy and endeavoured to dominate the class. Both the Turkana and Samburu parents showed minimal interest in their children’s education.
The fourth research objective sought to find out the strategies that would help address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive ones to improve the educational processes. Social, educational and policy interventions were highlighted as key strategies that would help reinforce positive expressions of masculinities and address the negative expressions. Among those suggested included: men and boys needed to be included in discussions on gender and more so on masculinities. In addition, men and boys needed to be made aware of the positive effects gender equality on them. There was also need to encourage men to act as positive role models for their communities despite their cultural beliefs. The teachers observed said that the Education Department needed to seriously come up with practical strategies for secondary education in a bid to respond to gender imbalance and inequality as far as pastoralist communities like the Turkana and Samburu were concerned. However, the training aspect need not be ignored as other teachers noted that to address the issue of masculinities and the expressions that come along with it, there is need for training on a gender sensitive curriculum. The school was to be set in a way that would be gender sensitive in terms of provision of basic infrastructure, teaching materials, school rules as well as teaching methods. Curriculum-related policies should also be directed at making progress for learners especially in nomad communities. Increased funding would help promote boys’ education in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. There was also need to create a programme that would allow parent-son involvement in son’s school so as the parents work with administrators and teachers to ensure boys’ success in education. Social mobilization campaigns would help change attitudes and behaviours on negative expressions of masculinities noted earlier as these expressions affected boys’ education at grass-root level in nomad communities. Classroom experiences that
responded to the interests, needs, and learning styles of all students despite their cultural background also needed to be embraced in the classroom setting.

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is quite evident that cultural expressions of masculinities are rampant in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary school. These have an adverse effect on the educational processes on some of the boys. Many boys continue to suffer in silence as their culture expects them to act as men despite being in the school which compromises the way they act as men. However, for some of the boys the expressions of masculinities had a positive impact as they made them fit in the classroom and even strive to succeed. Consequently, despite the ratification of the Education For All (EFA) and reiteration of this in the new constitution, many boys still do not have positive attitudes towards education; hence, do not enjoy its benefits.

5.4 Recommendations with Regard to the Effects of the Cultural Expressions of Masculinities in the Educational Processes

1. Boys need to be made aware on the negative outcomes of the initiation rituals by teachers and how they should not be left to interfere with their education.

2. The Guidance and Counselling Department should develop a program to sensitize boys on negative cultural practices and how dented cultural masculinities may negatively affect their education.
3. The government should deliberately endeavor to put a program to sensitize on positive and negative outcomes of the initiation processes that will help abandon that which can be analysed as “regressive” cultural practices.

5.5. Suggestions for Further Research
1. The study was limited to Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School. Further research needs to be replicated to the entire county and/or even the country to get other communities’ perceptions and effects of cultural expressions of masculinities on education processes.
2. Further studies need to be done on cultural expressions of femininities and their effects on education processes.
REFERENCES


Chemweno, B. (2015). *Exploits of first Samburu girl to go to University.* Retrieved from


http://www.bluegecko.org/kenya/tribes/turkana/society.htm


APPENDIX I: TRANSMITTAL LETTER

Dear respondent,

My name is Rachel Wairimu Njuguna. I am a Master of Arts student, (Department of Sociology, Gender and Development Studies) of Kenyatta University, carrying out a research on Cultural Expressions of Masculinities and its Effects on Education Processes: A Comparative Case of Maralal Mixed-Day Secondary School, Samburu County; Kenya. I hereby invite you to participate in this research by filling in the attached questionnaire. Your views shall remain CONFIDENTIAL and will be used solely for this research.

Thank you in advance.

Yours Sincerely,

RACHEL WAIRIMU NJUGUNA

Email- raychellew2011@gmail.com

Telephone: 0720008370

Address: P.O. Box 9384-00200

Nairobi

Master of Arts-Gender and Development Studies
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

BOYS

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please indicate

1. Age bracket
   Under 14 [ ] 14 - 17 [ ] 18 - 21 [ ] 22 and above [ ]

2. Level of Education
   Form 1 [ ] Form 2 [ ] Form 3 [ ] Form 4 [ ]

3. Which is your community
   Samburu [ ] Turkana [ ] Others [ ]

PART B: CULTURAL PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH THE MAKING OF MEN AMONG THE SAMBURU AND TURKANA COMMUNITIES

1. Boys go through different forms of initiation like circumcision to become men. Do you agree with this statement?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]

   If “No”, what process did you go through? Please describe

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

   If “yes”, please describe the process of circumcision

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

2. If you went through circumcision, did you take oaths to mark your new status after circumcision? Yes [ ] No [ ]

   Please describe if yes

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

   If not, did you take oaths too? Yes [ ] No [ ]

   Please describe if yes

   __________________________________________________________
3. What teachings did you receive during your circumcision/initiation process?

i. Teachings on your roles in the community Yes [] No []

Please describe some of the roles

ii. Teachings on the values, beliefs and cultural practices of your community Yes [] No []

Please describe some of the values, beliefs and cultural practices

iii. Teachings on the respect for authority especially elders regardless of the gender Yes [] No []

4. Please describe the kind of attire that you wore after circumcision/initiation and their meanings

5. What new responsibilities were you given after initiation? Tick where applicable

   i. Joining other men on high risk adventures like cattle rustling

   ii. Fighting cattle rustlers

   iii. Marrying

   iv. Others (please describe)

6. Are you in any age set?

Please indicate the name, composition, roles and teachings taught in the age set.
7. Using a four Likert scale of 1 (very low), 2 (low), 3 (high) and 4 (very high), identify how the following are linked with the way you view yourself as a man

   i. Financial responsibilities
   ii. Social responsibilities
   iii. Having many assets e.g. cattle, sheep, goats

PART C: THE EFFECTS OF THE CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF MASCULINITIES ON EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

1. To what extent are the following statements true?

   a. Education is a pathway to my future success
      Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
   b. Education is the tool that will transform my life
      Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
   c. Education will help me lead a better life than that of my parents in the village
      Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
   d. Education is a substitute to my daily life that involves herding, cattle raiding etc.
      Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
   e. Education is a barrier that prevents me from practising what my culture expects me to do e.g. following directives from women who are considered inferior to me
      Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
2. How does culture affect the way you behave in school? Please explain your choice

__________________________________________________________________________

PART D: DIFFERENCES IN THE PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES BETWEEN THE TURKANA AND SAMBURU BOYS

❖ Class interactivity (students, instructors, content etc.)

1. What is your relationship with other students?

   a. Another tribe           Good [ ] Bad [ ]
   
   b. Another gender         Good [ ] Bad [ ]

2. Do you respect your teachers and if so to what extent

   a. Male teachers          Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]
   
   b. Female teachers        Great extent [ ] Some extent [ ] Small extent [ ]

3. Do you ask questions in class especially on content that you did not understand when teachers are in class?

   a. Male teachers          Yes [ ] No [ ]
   
   b. Female teachers        Yes [ ] No [ ]

❖ Sharing Resources in Class

1. Do you share the existing resources in school e.g. desks, textbooks? Please explain your choice   Sometimes [ ] Never [ ] All times [ ]

❖ Parental Involvement in Schoolwork

1. How often does your parent check your schoolwork? Sometimes [] Never [] All times []

2. How often does your parent attend school educational meetings? Please explain your choice   Sometimes [] Never [] All times []
PART E: STRATEGIES THAT ADDRESS THE NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF MASCULINITIES AND ENHANCE THE POSITIVE EXPRESSIONS OF MASCULINITIES TO IMPROVE THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

1. How do you agree with the following strategies to address the negative expressions of masculinities and enhance the positive expressions of masculinities to improve the educational processes? (5-Strongly Agree, 4-Somehow Agree, 3-Neutral, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly Disagree)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Men and boys need to be included in discussions on gender and more so on masculinities</td>
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<td>b. The constructs of what it means to be ‘masculine’ need to be changed</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Men and boys need to be made aware of the positive effects gender equality can have for them</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Moving towards challenging gender inequality, and the larger patriarchal system e.g. men’s responsibility to be accountable for their actions and ability to reject the dominant perspective of masculinity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Organizing and involving men to reshape the sexual organization of society, particularly institutions and relations through which children are raised</td>
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<td>f. Encourage men to act as positive role models for their communities despite their cultural beliefs</td>
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<td>g. Create forums that speak about positive sexuality, victimization of the boys and student leadership</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. Teaching young men to value the models of maleness that successful men in their society display</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Promotion of shared domestic roles between women and men such as parenting and care giving</td>
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<tr>
<td>j. Allocation of adequate resources for programmes relating to elimination of gender stereotypes, notably advocacy and awareness-raising campaigns and educational curriculum development</td>
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2. What other strategies can be used to address the situation?
APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

1. What processes of initiation to the boys in this school go through?

2. What attributes do they present to class as a result of their initiation processes?

3. In connection to what culture imparts the boys in your school, what is your opinion towards their involvement in educational processes?

4. What effect has the culture of the boys had on their performance? Can low/high performance be linked to the culture of the boys?

5. Does culture come into play in the boys’ participation in the educational processes?

6. Do parental involvement programmes help in creation of strategies that will support the boys’ education?

7. What are you doing to promote boys’ involvement in education?

8. Has the education department set aside funds for promoting boy education in your school?

9. Is the education department doing enough to support boy education in your county?

10. In your opinion, how are the current government policies, regulations and frameworks supportive of boy education in your county?

11. What strategies do you think can be put in place to improve boy education?

12. What extra legislative and advocacy measures would you propose to help improve boy participation in education in this county?
APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EDUCATION OFFICIALS

1. What is your opinion towards boys’ involvement in educational processes?

2. What are you doing to promote boys’ involvement in education?

3. Have you set aside funds for promoting boy education in your county more so in Maralal Mixed Day Secondary School?

4. In your opinion, how are the current government policies, regulations, and frameworks supportive of boy education in your county?

5. What strategies do you think can be put in place to improve boy education?

6. What extra legislative and advocacy measures would you propose to help improve boy participation in education in this county?

7. The Education for All (EFA) international initiative advocates for education being a global commitment to offer quality basic education for all children, youth and adults in Kenya. In your opinion, do you think this is met in this county, especially relating to boy education? If not, what can be done to improve the situation?
APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE STUDENTS

1. Of what importance is education to you?

2. Do you think;
   I. Education is a pathway to your future success?
   II. Education is the tool that will transform your life?
   III. Education will help you lead a better life than that of your parents in the village?
   IV. Education is a barrier that prevents you from practising what my culture expects you to do e.g. marriage?

3. How does culture affect the way you behave in school?

4. How does culture affect the way the boys behave in school?

5. How has education changed your life?

6. How is your performance compared with that of the boys?

7. What challenges are you facing in the course of your schooling?
APPENDIX VI: OBSERVATION GUIDELINES

Targeted areas involved classrooms and the field. The researcher looked out for; how the boys interacted with each other and the teachers in class, their general behaviour, and their general reaction to various circumstances. Observations too were made of the common attributes of masculinities displayed at these joints such as;

- Aggressiveness
- Forcefulness
- Domination
- Independence
- Ruggedness
- Competition
- Gestures
- Facial expressions
- Any other .................................................................

NB: □ No intrusions were made with the boys in their interactions.

□ Habitual expressions of masculine behaviour were noted after observations were done for not less than 40 minutes of every lesson.

□ The observers were within a hearing distance from the men being observed, (a few feet away).

□ The real names of the boys in the observation being observed were concealed during the reporting stage for the purpose of confidentiality.
APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH PERMIT BY NACOSTI

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MISS. RACHEL WAIRIMU NJUGUNA
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 9384-200
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in Samburu County
on the topic: CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS
OF Masculinities and their Effects
ON EDUCATION PROCESSES: A CASE OF
Maraal Mixed-Day Secondary
School, Samburu County; Kenya
for the period ending:
5th May, 2018

Applicant’s Signature

Director-General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation
APPENDIX VIII: RESEARCH PERMIT BY KENYATTA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke
P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: C50/CE/24882/2012
DATE: 19th January, 2017

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR RACHEL WAIRIMU NJUGINA – REG. NO. C50/CE/24882/2012

I write to introduce Ms. Rachel Wairimu Njuguna who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. She is registered for M.A. degree programme in the Department of Gender and Development Studies.


Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL