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THE DYNAMICS OF FEMALE ACCESS TO FORMAL SCHOOLING AMONG
PASTORALIST COMMUNITIES IN KENYA: A CASE OF TURKANA
DISTRICT IN NORTHWESTERN KENYA

BY

MARY ELIZA JOHANNES

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Antonia Darder, Chair
Professor James Anderson
Assistant Professor Christopher Span
Assistant Professor Maurice Amutabi, Central Washington University

Abstract

In the Kenyan government's Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1965, entitled *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*, it was clearly stated that "Education must serve the needs of national development and prepare Kenya's youth with the knowledge, skills, and the expertise required to enable the young population to collectively play an effective role in the life of Kenya while at the same time, ensuring that opportunities are provided for the full development of individuals advancement." The objectives of educational opportunities for the population of Kenya outlined in the Sessional Papers are well defined but are not enjoyed by the nomadic pastoralists of Northwestern Kenya.

On the whole, Kenya has achieved an impressive national literacy rate of 86% for men and 70% for women since gaining independence in 1964. However, regional and gender disparities exist, and of concern are the high dropout rates of girls compared to boys. The national completion rate for girls in primary school is 35%, while it is 55% for boys. The rate is lower in pastoralist districts such as Turkana, where the completion rate for girls stands at 3% and 4% for boys. Of the 35% of girls who complete primary school in Kenya, only 22% go on to secondary school compared to 45% of boys. In Turkana district, the dropout rate is about 94%. Several factors exist for this gender disparity.

There is a serious need to address the dropout rate, particularly since education for women and girls correlates with fertility rates, health and nutrition as well as a general wellbeing for the whole family. Special emphasis should be made in education for girls coming from pastoralist communities like Turkana, especially in the prevailing difficult economic times where most families must invest their limited resources in education for their sons at the expense of their daughters.

In addition, in regions such as Turkana, the costs of educating the girl child is higher than educating the boy child. Turkana traditions demand that girls be married so that parents collect the dowry, or “bride price.” Turkana girls are required to assist with house chores which include collecting fire wood, water, looking after small herds and administering care for young siblings. These duties are demanded less from boys. Although the government of Kenya asserts that educating nomadic pastoral families on the value of education for girls will help increase girls’ enrollment in schools, no progress has been made to fulfill their promises.

This study outlines the major constraints facing Turkana girls and women in education in Turkana district of Northwestern Kenya and makes an effort to identify ways in which the main problems can be solved. Socio-economic status, cultural issues, education policies and factors related to the school environment as major constraints hindering girls from accessing and retaining are considered.

The study employed a combination of survey and naturalistic designs, and used a sample size of 95 individuals that was comprised of parents, education officials, head teachers, and teachers and students in both rural and urban Turkana.

Instruments used to collect data were questionnaires, direct observation scheduling, document analysis and in-depth interview scheduling. Data from informal interviews were also incorporated. The collected data was coded in a spreadsheet using Microsoft™ Access.

The research established that although the population in Turkana district is evenly distributed between males and females, statistics in education revealed inequalities, with more males in schools than females. Further, males dominated leadership positions, teaching positions and health care positions. In schools where data was collected, the study found that there were no schools where female students out-numbered male students.

The environment in Turkana District is harsh, that is, dry, hot, and remote. Those outside the district consider it a “hardship area,” which means that it lacks resources and adequate infrastructure. In spite of these disadvantages, the District is expected to compete equally for places and opportunities with other school districts. The trouble with such a policy is that rather than uplifting and implementing policies that benefit these populations in education, the policies of competition instead continue to marginalize the already marginalized students by requiring them to compete for seats in higher classes. In other words, students in Turkana district are measured on the same stick as those who come from more affluent and privileged areas of Kenya.

Kenya’s higher educational institutions have no affirmative action in place for students from Turkana district and as a result, students from the district, in particular girls, have never had the opportunity to pursue medical studies. Consequently, less than 5 students--all male--from nomadic pastoralist communities have been admitted to medical schools in Kenya and for those who receive such opportunities, their educational takes place outside the district.

On the basis of these findings, the researcher recommends the following:

- Although boarding schools exist in Turkana, they are in very poor conditions. As such, they should be rehabilitated.
- Schools in Turkana district need to encourage girls to fully participate in classroom and school activities and as such, schools should take every measure to enforce policies on sexual harassment and the use of words and gestures that demean the dignity of schoolgirls.
- Education cannot be achieved if the importance of it is not realized by the community. Therefore, awareness of the importance of education should be created to assist in this process. Seminars and workshops are some of the ways in which this can be accomplished.
- All stakeholders need to develop and implement adequate mobile schools with Turkana teachers who are able to provide instruction in the language spoken by the students.

- Although this may alarm those concerned with assimilation policies, more adequate boarding schools in Turkana district would serve the population well, as they would retain students.

Areas for further research include the following:

1. The study covered education access in Turkana District of Northwestern Kenya. Similar studies should be done in other pastoralist districts, especially studies that address gender roles and the impact of body beautification on access to social services.
2. In addition, further studies need to be undertaken to validate Turkana women's needs to access education equally.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to Turkana pastoralist women who continue to seek a better future for their children through the means of education.

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List of Abbreviations

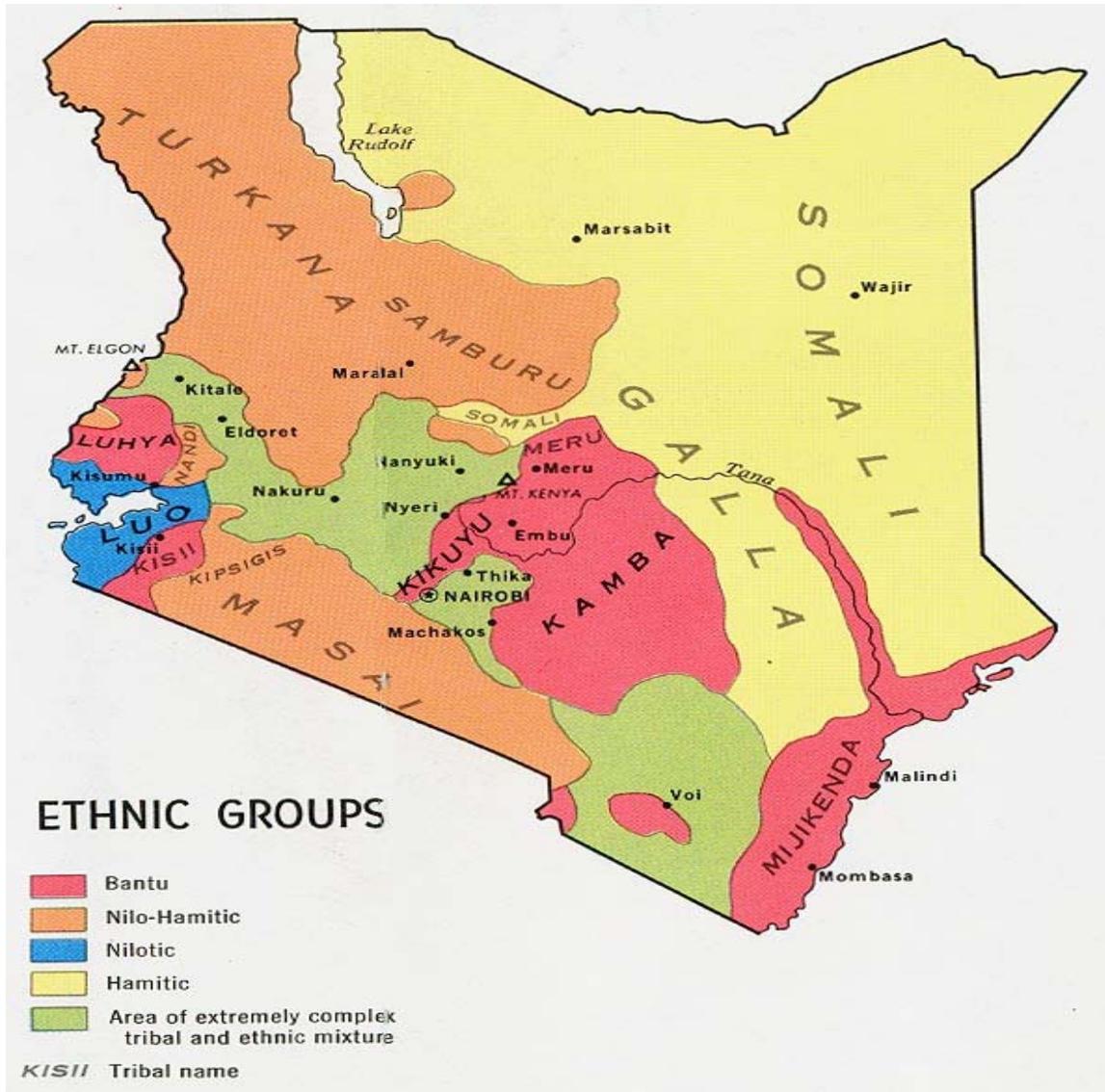
ABEK	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
AGC	African Gospel Church
AIC	African Inland Church
ALO	Arid Lands Organization
ASAL	Arid-Semi-Arid Lands
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DEO	District Education Office
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EFA	Educational for All
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
KSH	Kenyan Shilling Currency
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NFD	Kenya Northern Frontier District
RCEA	Reformed Churches of Kenya

Map of Kenya



Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

Map of Kenya's Main Ethnic Groups



Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Providing education to every child is perhaps the greatest investment that African countries such as Kenya can make for the future. It is for this reason that education has become more or less essential. Modern education has been linked to reducing poverty by providing opportunities for individuals to create a better future for them and to improve the welfare of their communities. As article 26 of the United Nations charter states, “everyone has a right to education.” Education, therefore, is not a privilege, but the right of every person. The United Nations Declaration states that “elementary education is compulsory.” For primary education to be available to all, the Declaration further notes, “education shall be free, at least in primary and fundamental stages.” In other words, all individuals who are citizens are member countries should have access to primary education free of charge. These member countries were to integrate the goals of compulsory education in their own countries. Kenya, as a signatory to the United Nations, has implemented free primary education in all districts. This study examines how education, specifically free primary education, has been implemented in the Turkana District.

My interest in studying pastoralist women’s experiences of education in the Turkana region of Kenya rose largely from my own experiences growing up in South Africa and from spending 6 years in the Great Lakes Region: Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Uganda. Throughout my travels in these countries, I noticed that women were disadvantaged in myriad ways. They were not just marginalized by cultural structures that privileged men, but from other sources as well. For example, if they came from poor families, or from minority ethnic groups, or rural areas, their lives were often extremely

harsh. Therefore, in many African societies women suffer from marginalization on a number of different levels. The only hope many of them have for escaping their marginalization is through education, and yet pastoralist women often must confront many obstacles to access an education.

The majority of African women, especially those in rural areas such as Turkana, have limited access to formal education. Many factors influence these women's educational opportunities, including early colonial ideologies of educating male children over female. Cultural norms that favor boys over girls, and economic hardships faced by many African families all contribute to the marginalization of African women, particularly when it comes to pastoralist women accessing modern education. The demands of subsistence economies in Africa place enormous demands on every member of the family, including children. In this regard, African children are often viewed as extra hands when calls for herding, farming, and domestic chores are made. With limited assistance for parents to keep up with domestic and farm responsibilities, mothers and fathers often choose which gender of child to provide education. In most cases, the girl child gets deprived of educational opportunities, remaining at home to assist with domestic chores while the male child enjoys the privileges of modern education. Modernity and tradition work hand in hand as they require parents to choose which child to educate (Sifuna & Chege, 2006).

In general, adults in positions of power, from parents to teachers, treat female students differently. Female students are frequently expected to perform at a lower level than their male peers; hence, they are often discouraged from achieving higher levels of academic formation. Even in the choice of courses, they are often herded towards the softer options, as society builds in them negative stereotypes. They are discouraged from taking such courses as math and science on the basis that they will not do well in them. However, perhaps the most effective

discouragement is the belief that female students will never use academic skills received from such courses because they will, sooner or later, be married off before completing their primary or secondary school education. Apart from economic considerations, other strains limit female participation and success in schools. These conditions include parental attitudes against what the pastoralist refer to as “the second colonial influence” on their daughters (Ndunda, 1996).

Parents often force their daughters to marry young. Emphasis is placed on having numerous children, as this will provide parents economic stability. The amount of time spent in initiation rites and the longing for girls to acquire traditional skills also contribute to girls tendencies to neglect education (Hyde, 1989). As such, a girl’s education is irrelevant to her extended family because it does not bring wealth to the household, particularly to her father. However, dowry, which rural African families offer in exchange for a daughter’s marriage, brings immediate wealth to the girl’s family, and makes her feel valuable to her new community. Girls that are between the ages of 11-25 and are unmarried are considered a burden in their families and communities. They are often regarded solely as another mouth to feed in their father’s house. The male child is considered a good investment when equipped with education, because if he succeeds he will be economically able to assist his parents.

Pastoralist women, such as the Turkana of northern Kenya, are treated differently when it comes to accessing social services geared towards economic empowerment than are African women in general. This exclusion creates gendered disparities in education between sedentary African women and pastoralist. Studies have revealed that pastoral women face more marginalization in terms of social, economic, and political representation compared to sedentary communities (Amutabi, 2006).

In my personal history, policies of apartheid for blacks in South Africa and economic hardships influenced my early educational opportunities. Furthermore, my being a stranger in the Great Lakes Region also limited my prospect of acquiring modern education, as I was unsupported economically. I lacked school fees, a requirement for attending school in many countries in Africa, such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Kenya, as Education For All policies had not been drafted yet. The political instability of the central African region also played a role in limiting my access to modern education. In addition, limited knowledge of languages spoken in this region also drove me as I struggled to learn Kinya-rwanda and Kirundi, as well as French.

My struggles to learn the different languages, as well as my personal struggles to understand, and be understood by, cultures different from my own, motivated me to study the Swahili language so that I could understand the Turkana women's educational experiences and needs. Writing my consent forms, interview questions, and communicating in a language spoken by my informants provided me with a clear understanding of their struggles of acquiring modern education, and minimized the language barriers that often exists between researchers and their informants. Thus, my ability to conduct research on pastoralist Turkana women and their educational access rests primarily on my ability to understand, in their own language, the level of marginalization that pastoral women face.

Colonialism and Modern Education in African and Kenya

Many ethnic groups in Africa have failed to remain in peace with one another since Europeans set foot in Africa. While literature tends to focus on ethnic conflicts in Africa as the main division among populations, it is often overlooked that colonialism played a significant role in dividing Africans, based on skin tones, facial structure, and body morphism, as T. O Ranger

pointed out in *The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa* (Hobsbawm, & Ranger, 1983) and is reinforced more strongly by Mamdani (1996) in *Citizen and Subject*. The colonial project clearly benefited greatly from dividing the people it ruled and by creating and perpetuating differences among African people. This led to the invention of differences, such as the ones in Rwanda and Burundi, where ethnic groups that never existed were created and given physical markers of difference, as was done with the Hutus and Tutsis. Mamdani (2002) explained in his book *When Victims Become Killers* that this creation of differences was in order to conquer and exploit African populations.

Hence, it would be a mistake not to recognize the origin of such divisions, as these identity representations influenced and that continue to impact the ways in which African ethnic groups perceive one another. This scenario, as previously mentioned, is particularly evident in the relationship of Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda (Mamdani, 1996, 2002). Here, the Belgium colonial administration created conflicts between the two ethnic groups based on the racialization of their physical features (Darder & Torres, 2004). Furthermore, divisions were also created between Batwas (pigmies), pastoralist population of Rwanda, DRC, and Burundi, and the Hutu and Tutsi ethnicities (Mamdani, 1996, 2002). Today, Batwas continue to be excluded from mainstream societies of the Great Lakes Region and are regarded as a backwards people. Such misrepresentations and marginalization of pastoralist populations around the world, and especially in Africa, gave me even more inspiration to conduct research on Turkana pastoralist women and education.

The fate of pastoralist societies in Africa is closely linked to the manner in which colonialism as a system of administration and capitalism as a system of economic organization were introduced and organized. Two approaches to the establishment of colonial rule have

continued to determine this fate. First, where pastoralist societies occupied arid lands that did not attract agricultural European settlers, establishment of colonial administration and socio-economic infrastructure were not prioritized. Colonial governments marginalized such areas and the people who inhabited these lands. The only reason the colonial governments showed interests was to use the pastoralists as reserve armies against other recalcitrant communities. This scenario is evident among the Turkana of northern Kenya, the Fulani of Nigeria and the Karamojong of Uganda. Consequently, pastoralist areas that fell within the arid zones in most of Africa were marginalized, in terms of the provision of symbols of modernity such as schools, because of their lack of economic usefulness to the colonialists.

The second approach was where pastoralist societies such as the Maasai of Kenya occupied lands that were fertile for agriculture. The colonial government in such cases occupied the fertile lands for white settlers. This process forced natives to relocate to arid and semi arid lands (ASAL) that could not sustain their pastoralist lifestyle (Fratkin & Roth, 2005). Ultimately, whether the land they possessed was useful to Colonialists or not, pastoral societies were degraded and were not provided with schools and other social services.

In the early parts of the 20th century, European colonial powers arrived in Africa with menacing force. African colonies were established in a particularly frenzied fashion after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, attended by seven imperial European powers: Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain (Iweriebor, 2002). European expeditions to establish colonies on the African continent followed the decline of the profitability of the slave trade. The eradication of the slave trade coincided with the development of a need for steady supplies of raw materials and markets for Europe's growing industries. The initial European

industrial policy for Africa was developed to establish relations with African societies strictly as suppliers of raw materials and market outlets (Boahen, 1985).

The imperative of European industrial production and the capitalistic economic motivation had no tolerance for equal exchange with African societies. Indeed, this one-sided approach to dealings with natives had been a primary drive for European colonization in Africa. Equipped with military technology provided by industrial development and spurred politically by inter-European power struggles for superiority, European imperialists embarked on the colonization of Africa. Despite the resistance that African societies presented them, imperial powers soon overtook most of Africa. From the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European powers imposed colonial domination on all African countries, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia (Boahen, 1985). Subsequently, European powers began establishing the political and administrative machinery necessary to facilitate the understanding of colonial objectives, including the exploitation of African resources for European industrial production, economic development, and prosperity (Boahen, 1985).

The different colonial administrative systems established in Africa reflected Europe's national administrative traditions and their imperialistic ideologies. Whatever differences European countries held, they shared the same bureaucratic, authoritarian, colonial state systems. To extract resources and labor, they built the administrative, social, and physical infrastructures required. In return, Africans experienced colonial domination through forced labor, low wages, taxation, land loss, social segregation, racial discrimination, and racist colonial education (Bogonko, 1992).

It was these oppressive and exploitative colonial, political, administrative, cultural, and economic policies that led Africans to institute the quest for freedom. The processes of freedom

began with the emergence of African nationalism and culminated in the attainment of African independence. Colonial administration had great influence on African traditional institutions as well as political leaders such as Kabaka Mwangi and Kabaka Mutesa I, both of Uganda. Achievement of political independence by African countries, however, did not signal any reprieve to the pastoralist population. Rather, it marked a continuation of the process of exclusion that had been initiated by the colonial governments. The history of post-colonial Africa is full of continued divisive policies, where, instead of total decolonization, the ruling elite decided to embrace colonial attitudes and structures of domination which favored complete segregation of pastoralists.

For pastoralist societies, this paradigm was manifested through a continued demand for change. To benefit from formal schooling, they were required to abandon pastoralism and resort to sedentary agriculture. During much of the colonial period, up to the 1980s, encouraging pastoralists to become sedentary was a key component of development thinking (Anderson, 1999). Pastoralism was seen as an irrational, backwards way of life compared to the higher status of sedentary agriculture established by colonialists (Kratli 2000). This paradigm of equating only sedentary agriculture with the possibility for continued development and modernization has remained a common feature of government policies for Africa, including Kenya. In fact, the argument of pastoralists being a less-developed people is often put forward to explain their poor participation in formal schooling. Theoretically, with constrained economic circumstances, it is difficult to provide education to scattered, mobile populations in sparsely populated areas, especially without the urge to participate in formal schooling by pastoralists. Unfortunately, no attempts have been made to understand the historical circumstances through which pastoralists' interest in formal education became marginal.

Like the paradigm of sedentarization, formal schooling for pastoralist societies in Africa has also become a double edge sword affecting their livelihood. While the philosophical conception of education relates to developing one's individuality, education for pastoralists has been designed not to enhance but to change them. According to Kratli (2000), where there is no convenient provision, pastoralists have to stay near settlements if they desire to have their children attend school. When in schools, children of pastoralists are deliberately introduced to a sedentary lifestyle in the expectation that they will accept the hegemony of the superiority of a sedentary existence. As expected, pastoralists have rejected such designs, and educational provision based on the attempt to sedentarianize pastoralists has failed (Dall, 1993).

Education for pastoralist communities has been instrumental in achieving progress towards a variety of ends, most of which are not compatible with their lifestyle. The underlying currents of pastoralist development thinking are reflected in attempts to address logistical problems--use of tents (as in Mongolia), other mobile structures (as in Kenya, Nigeria, and Eritrea with the concept of mobile schools), boarding schools (as in Kenya, Oman, and Mongolia), or no specific provision at all (as in Nigeria; Dyer 2001). The curricula content has also tended to reflect the shift of ideas about knowledge and attitudes that best serves the intended assimilative outcomes of the educational experience. Through these processes, education has directly and indirectly been associated with efforts to persuade pastoralists to abandon pastoralism; yet education also has the possibilities of reforming pastoralism to a modern mode of economic production.

In a well argued article, Dyer (2001) raised the issues that confront policy makers who design education programs for pastoralist societies within the context of the global Education for All (EFA) initiatives. These issues are relevant to my study on the Turkana of Kenya in terms of

both conceptualization and practical applications. The EFA notion is conceptualized within a framework of individual rights. This is antagonistic to traditional collectivist values among pastoralist communities where individual rights are subordinate to the welfare of the family unit and community. Discussing education of women as an individual entitlement creates conflict with the values of the community to which women belong. Secondary is the choice of curricular content. Whose knowledge is given priority?

Development of Education in Africa

Gender disparities in modern education in Africa cannot be examined through the lens of contemporary African educational policies, which are heavily influenced by colonial educational curricula and infrastructure. Thus, to analyze gender disparities in education in Africa, we must consider the origin of such disparities. In this section, the study examines the development of modern education in Africa, outlining methods by which African women have been discriminated against.

The development of modern education, education that centers on fulfilling individual needs to survive in a capitalistic world, coincided with the first encounter between Africans and Europeans in the early 1880s. Europeans perceived that Africans had no proper system of education, and that the indigenous education based on the transmission and conservation from one generation to the next, as well as aiming to adapt children to their physical environment, was primitive and backwards (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

African children, it was assumed, were left in total ignorance. Most missionaries assumed that they were faced with a “tabula rasa” on which to initiate modern education for the first time. Missionaries believed literacy and schooling constituted the total education

experience, excluding African indigenous education. Nonetheless, education can prepare men and women for survival in their society by initiating them to their culture. There is no society that does not educate its own population, either through indigenous or modern education. The continent of Africa was no exception. Before Europeans set foot in Africa, traditional African and Islamic educational systems were practiced. Although what each ethnic group learned varied, the social, political and economic systems were passed down to the younger generation through education that met each society's needs (Bogonko, 1992). Most African indigenous education systems were moral, progressive, gradual, and practical (Bogonko, 1992).

The context of study. The aim of this study was to establish the dynamics that influence girls' schooling, (i.e., access, retention and achievement) among the Turkana, a pastoralist community in Northern Kenya. My concern with exploring female participation in formal schooling among the Turkana pastoralist reflects a global effort to achieve gender equity in educational provision. This has been articulated by Educational for All (EFA) documents and more recently the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These concerns have advocated a close focus on the groups which have so far been excluded from existing educational provision, hence, the Turkana pastoralist women.

Turkanaland, which is home to the Turkana people, is a land occupying the area of North Western Kenya to the west of Lake Turkana in the Rift Valley Province. Turkana is the largest district in Kenya and covers an area of 77,000 square kilometers. It borders Marsabit and Samburu Districts in the East, Baringo and West Pokot Districts in the South. In the North it shares international boundaries with Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda. For administrative purpose the district has been divided into three constituencies: Turkana North, Turkana Central, and Turkana South, and recently, each of the constituencies have been made to be a district. The

expansiveness of the districts and the poor road network makes it difficult for transportation of people and their goods. Banditry, cattle rustling, and insecurity render travel very risky, particularly early mornings or late evenings.

Estimate of the population of Turkana varies; however, a provisional figure of the 1999 Kenya National population census of Turkana district was 450,860 people. This number does not include 70,000 refugees in Kakuma camps. Seventy percent of this population is nomads and therefore the concentration of this district population is always determined by rainfall, water and browse. The population density varies between one and seven persons per square km with a sex ratio of male/female 92:100. This low population density is due to the harsh environment conditions. Many deaths occur due to raids, diseases, and drought (which lead to famine and lack of water and pasture for the livestock).

Mortality rate is high. In 1996 the infant mortality rate was 159 deaths for every 1000 live births, as compared to the national rate of about 62 in every 1000 live births. Besides, HIV/AIDS is a threat to the Turkana population. According to the District Medical officer (July, 2001), some 34% of the population were already infected by HIV/AIDS virus.

Turkana are nomadic pastoralists. Traditionally the Turkana survived using a basic subsistence economy centered on livestock, such as goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys, and camels. However, due to a number of factors such as recurrent droughts and famine, raiding, and animal diseases, numbers of Turkana are now engaged in fishing, agriculture, handicraft production, and various forms of wage-employment. Agriculture is practiced only in few places along Turkwel River where irrigation is possible.

Life in Turkana is generally difficult. Illiteracy, ignorance, diseases, draught and famine, lack of employment opportunities, and unavailability of adequate development funds are some of

the factors that compete to make Turkana a poor and dreaded place to live and work in. Besides being poor, Turkana people have limited access to basic human needs, such as food, clean drinking water, health care services, housing, education, and security. Many people depend on relief food supplied by the non-governmental organizations, churches and sometimes the government (Kenya, 1997).

Unfortunately in Turkana, like with other pastoralist communities in Kenya, many people have not accepted formal education as a social value leave alone as a human right. Many parents still deny their children their right to study and to be educated. In spite Free Primary Education, Turkana districts register one of the lowest gross enrollment, retention, and completion rates in the country: 33% of children with the age group 5-10 actually start school 69.2% drop out before finishing primary school. Around 11% sit the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE “Standard 8”) exam, 4.9% go to secondary schools, 22% drop out of secondary school before completing “Form 4,” 4% sit Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE “Form 4”) exams.

Among the factors that have continued to determine gender and educational participation among the Turkana, include:

- In all Turkana villages and centers there are strong nomadic cultural influence. Nomadic lifestyle makes most families to move from place to place to search for water and pasture. For school children this movement is distractive. Sometimes they move and settle in places where there is plenty of water and pastures for the animals, but there are no schools. The children are therefore forced to move long distances to look for schools, or drop out of schools altogether (if that is a better option).
- Insecurity in the area makes it risky for children, especially girls to move long distances to and fro school especially in the evening hours.
- Many parents deny their children chances of education simply because they want them to remain at home and take care of animals.

- Girl child education is still very low with many girls leaving school to work at home caring for other children or being married at a very young age for a dowry of goats, cows or camels.
- High rate of pregnancy for girls and high rate of school drop-outs both for boys and girls between the ages of 14-18.
- Lack of food security in many families. Many children lack food to eat when they at home. This makes it difficult for them to concentrate at school.
- There is unlimited access to alcohol and illicit brews in school areas yet there is no alcohol and drug avoidance program in the school and in the community.

Pastoralist communities remain by far the most excluded groups from formal schooling in Africa. Increasingly, as a result of pressure on traditional pasturelands, the future of pastoralist populations is a major concern. On the whole, pastoralist societies are marginalized, especially with regards to educational provision, and women in such societies are double victims of marginalization. They are members of a generally marginalized community, and secondarily, as a consequence of their gender, they face additional obstacles.

Education is directly implicated in this concern. Badly conceived educational programs that do not relate to the pastoralists' individuality worsen the marginalization of pastoralist communities. On the positive side, however, good education can play an important role in human and national development (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989).

The issue of women and education in the developed world has received substantial educational policy advocacy in the last decade. Nevertheless, education remains a problematic area (Kelly, 1989; United Nations, 1995). Furthermore, equal access to education is endorsed as a basic human right in the World Declaration on Education for All, adopted by the world community in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. One of the central objectives of the declaration was the reduction in the current gender gap in education, which James Grant, executive director of UNICEF, once described as "Gender Apartheid" (UNICEF, 1992). All around the world,

women experience substantial obstacles in terms of accessing modern education and career progression. These obstacles are greater for women in “developing” countries where high rates of poverty and the dynamics of culture compound the problem.

Although many studies have related the importance of education for women’s wages, health productivity, and access to rising job markets (Hill, 1991), few studies relate modern education to pastoralist women’s economic advancement. The gap between sedentary women and pastoralist women with regards to education is substantially high (Okeke, 2002). An example of this gap is that which exists between sedentary communities in non-pastoralist areas compared to the Turkana pastoralist women in Turkana district. Table 1 shows these differences in detail.

Table 1

Enrollment in Primary Schools by Gender and Province, 2003

Province	Boys		Girls		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Central	425,034	50.08	423,655	49.93	848,739	12.39
Coast	242,337	54.23	204,541	45.77	446,932	6.52
Eastern	641,562	50.62	625,838	49.38	1,267,451	18.40
Nairobi	134,782	60.29	88,783	39.71	223,625	3.26
North Eastern	41,688	68.55	19,129	31.45	60,886	0.89
Nyanza	616,967	51.05	622,786	48.95	1,239,804	18.57
Rift Valley	875,002	51.07	838,162	48.93	1,713,215	25.01
Western	509,883	50.04	508,739	49.96	1,018,672	14.86
Grand total	3,487,255	51.14	3,331,633	48.86	6,819,324	100.00

Source: Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2003

In examining the gross enrollment rate (GER) by provinces as shown in Table 1, it is alarming to find that the North Eastern province records a total of GER 0.89 with the rate for boys at 68.55% and 31.45% for girls. Nairobi, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, Eastern, and

Central provinces recorded higher GER. More girls from these provinces had access to formal schooling than girls from the North Eastern province, which includes girls from Turkana district.

The critical role that women's education plays in national and global development has been documented. Women account for the majority of the population in most developing countries, but they account for an even higher proportion of illiterate that live below poverty indicators claimed (Onsomu, Kosimbei, & Ngware, 2006). Holding women back prevents these countries from registering positive economic and social development indicators.

More recently, the international community, in partnership with national governments, has renewed a commitment to achieving quality education for all of the world's citizens. These commitments were expressed during the Jomtien Conference (5-9 March 1990) on Education for All in which many African countries, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and the DRC, among others, pledged to educate every child by the year 2000, with attention to closing the gender gap in education. The World Summit for Social Development in 1995 in Copenhagen, and the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in April 2000, both supported the achievement of the goals of closing the gender gap (Oxfam, 2001a).

These commitments have proved tricky to achieve, especially in Africa, as evidenced by the frequent change of the target dates for the achievement of Education for All goals. This uncertainty is occasioned both by financial inability and lack of political will among African countries. It has been aggravated by the opaque manner in which the international community has looked on the goals. The Dakar plan of action, for example, included a commitment by western governments and international organizations, such as UNESCO, UNIFEM, ICRC, UNHCR, and others, to develop a global initiative that will assist national efforts. Evidence shows that neither the international communities nor the developing countries have entirely met

their side of the bargain agreement as is evident with Turkana pastoralist women of Kenya. An international constitution with the ability to mobilize the partnerships, resources, and commitment is needed to guarantee that both the Jomtien and the Dakar framework of action continue to be implemented, particularly in pastoralist areas of developing countries. Meanwhile children, especially girls, will still be excluded from receiving basic modern education (Oxfam, 2001b). The policies of the EFA and the MDG have called for the world's attention on ensuring that no children are excluded from receiving a primary basic education. Despite global initiatives to promote universal primary education, between 2002 and 2003 there were, according to UNESCO, still 115 million children of primary school age not attending school. Of these, 61.6 million were girls (53%). Sub-Saharan Africa has led the way with more 45 million primary school age children lacking access to schools (UNESCO, 2005). The numbers have continued to rise.

African countries fail to meet their targets because of the uneven manner in which education and social development initiatives are distributed. This partly has to do with policies of colonial governments, the manner in which western education penetrated these countries, and the lopsided nature of policies of the post-colonial governments. In most African countries, regions that were marginalized by the colonial governments still suffer from government neglect. These regions include those inhabited by pastoralist communities, where tangible developments of educational and social services have not occurred. Most of the educational policy documents of these countries hardly mention the education of pastoralists and do not address the challenge of pastoralist women accessing modern education. In a sense, this means that provision of education for pastoralist communities, especially women, remains a challenge to the achievement of international targets of quality education for all and the social development of the

countries involved. Various factors have been mentioned in the literature as important economic influences on gender differences in schooling. In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, Bloch, Beoku-Betts, and Tabachnick (1998) suggested that poverty arising from marginalization of these countries in the global economy and low levels of economic development are important factors that limit education access to pastoralist communities.

One may assume that the dynamics of educational provision have been well understood, given the proliferation of literature in the area, but this is far from true. Most studies lack descriptive surveys of pastoralists. These misrepresentations rarely provide a detailed ethnographic account of how the dynamics of education and development influence different schooling experiences for girls and boys. This study is an attempt to overcome such generalizations. By focusing on the problems of access by Turkana women to education, the study aims to show that pastoralists suffer unique problems that cannot be understood based on studies that have been carried out among sedentary groups. In other words, one cannot understand the Turkana pastoralist by using case studies carried out in other communities in Africa, as has been the practice. I strongly believe that there is a need to increase cognizance of the diversity issues and uniqueness of every society in Africa in order to provide sound policies and mechanisms for intervention.

Girls' Education in Sub-Saharan African

During the colonial period, educating women was not relevant, since distribution of colonial education reflected the European conception of gender relations and gender roles in society. All European colonial powers were essentially patriarchal, and at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the 20th century, when colonial powers set up general and

educational policies in their colonies, they had not yet accepted gender equality in distribution of education. European schools run by missions (in British and Belgian colonies) and states (in French colonies) enrolled African girls with the purpose of training future wives and mothers whose main endeavors were to be performed in the private sphere of the home. In contrast, boys were trained to fill the low-ranking positions of clerical, construction, and agricultural workers. In other words, Europeans trained African men to make a living outside their homes and African women to work in the home. Furthermore, the Europeans created schools for the “sons of chiefs” (Yates, 1982), who were trained by the colonial administration to play the key roles of leaders in the postcolonial era. African men were trained for the immediate fulfillment of Europeans’ interests. However, most of these men who attended the colonial schools came to manage local politics and policies at the time of independence.

Colonial policies initiated the process of institutionalized marginalization of African women and of negative homogenization of African women’s position in society. This negative homogenization resulted from Europeans imposing policies and values designed by European men with patriarchal foundations. Furthermore, they reinforced potential and existing patriarchal elements in African societies. At the time, most indigenous African societies were based on dual male-female participation. African traditions which empowered women, such as being in charge of finances from the market sector, were deliberately ignored or destroyed through their developmental and political policies. Women were displaced in the social structure even in the locales where women had led anti-colonial struggles before the European administration took over.

A major colonial legacy of gender imbalance with regards to education outcomes is the feminization and simultaneous devaluation of certain fields of study and occupations. These

fields began to be characterized by patterns according to the inherited European model, such as the study of nursing being principally done by women while men were, in a much larger proportion, being trained to become medical doctors.

In the colonial era, the most obvious characteristic of the social structure and educational policy was unequal opportunity along racial lines. In the case of Zimbabwe, which mirrors the situation in other countries, “the society was stratified mainly on racial criteria, which were the bases for ordering nearly all social relations, continued manipulation of the economic, political, and educational structures was particularly important in maintaining white dominance during the colonial era” (Dorsey, 1989, p. 41).

Mbilinyi (1996) has observed that all social issues raised by Africans during colonization and at the time of their independence were presented in the dichotomous/ dual terms of Blacks/Africans versus Whites/Europeans. Other components of the structural inequality (e.g., gender) built into the colonial system were not systematically addressed. The equality demanded by the new African leaders between European countries and the colonies, and between the colonists and the African people, clearly emphasized their quest for access to the same privileges as Europeans. In terms of educational opportunity, this meant that it would be possible for African leaders to send their children to the types of schools hitherto reserved for the European colonial/ruling class. At the time of independence, the structural gender inequalities were assumed to be sufficiently addressed in terms of their socio-historical roots and socioeconomic prerequisites to achieve long-term and fundamental changes.

It therefore became legitimate, almost a ritual, for newly independent African states, such as Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, and others to initiate educational reforms from the systems inherited from the colonial administrations. Different mechanisms were set by different

countries to assess the situation and to propose new systems. The reform documents were legally adopted, whether or not the reforms were to be actually implemented. Indeed, most African countries have signed or ratified the many agreements and conventions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, which aim at eliminating inequality based on gender and protecting women's rights and focus on education. In practice, these agreements have not been featured in resource allocation.

African countries have also signed a number of conventions which address the specific domain of work, labor, and gender that have been adopted by the General Conference of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Of direct interest for this chapter is the Convention against Discrimination in Education, which was adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1963. Besides UNESCO, whose mission focuses on education, other conventions and resolutions have identified education as one of the key areas for which legal provisions must be set. For instance, in the case of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the eight paragraphs of Article 10 of Part III address educational issues in terms of elimination or prevention of any forms of inequality. This article states that "parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure [rights] on a basis of equality of men and women" (United Nations, 1995). The areas of concern cover the education system, addressing equality of access to all types and levels of education, retention, the curriculum, and values that are instilled in the process of education, output, and outcomes.

As previously mentioned, the prevalent image of pastoralist communities characterizes their negative attitudes toward formal schooling, their attachment to cattle--a tradition which

limits women's opportunities for formal schooling--and their 'war-like' activities dominated by cattle raiding expeditions for purposes of maintaining large stocks. These images influence the manner that development policies for the pastoralists are articulated, but do not say much about the internal dynamics of pastoralist societies that reproduce these tendencies.

Pastoralism in Kenya

Eastern Africa by far has the largest number of pastoralists. Pastoralists occupy roughly 60% of Kenya and 50% of Tanzania (Pavitt, 1997). Likewise, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia have a large number of livestock-keeping nomads. In Somalia, for example, the ethnic groups of Afar and Beja specialize in camel herding. In Kenya, the Rendille, Gabra, Burji, Arier, Borana, Turkana, and Pokot, as well as the Maasai, are pastoralists specializing in small and large herds. In Sudan, the Toposa are pastoralists, while in Ethiopia, the Oromo, who occupy the whole of the south-western part of the country, are one of the largest pastoralist groups in the country. Other groups are the Merile Dasenetch and the Nyangatom Bume who occupy the land by the Omo River Valley between Kenya, Ethiopia, and Sudan. In Uganda, the Karamojong, the Jie, and groups such as the Teso all herd cattle and small stocks (Simala & Amutabi, 2005). Given the negative policy attitudes that have been discussed, the areas occupied by pastoralist populations represent an underdeveloped reserve, with low levels of female schooling and the attendant implications for social development.

The majority of Kenya's pastoralists reside in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL). ASALs account for over 80% of the surface area of the country, 50% of the livestock population and over 25% of the human population (Akabwai, 1992). Pastoralism is a key mode of livelihood in these areas and represents the only effective means of exploiting the more arid

lands. Nomads are among the poorest and most vulnerable groups in Kenya. Here, developmental efforts for pastoralists since independence have resulted in significant benefits neither to the pastoral populations nor to their economy as a whole. In fact, international organizations have had to work with the Kenyan government to provide even emergency assistance to pastoral groups (Amutabi, 2006). At the same time, these populations are the most prone to conflict and insecurity caused by unequal development. It is widely understood that pastoralists have been subject to an ongoing process of economic, political and social marginalization rooted in the colonial period and continuing to the present. Literature on pastoralism has mainly focused comprehensively on the “decline” or crises of pastoralism in Africa. East Africa, as the horn of the continent, has undergone political crises and drought (see for example Biot, 1993; Ellis & Swift, 1988; Fafchamps, 1998; Fratkin, 1991; Fratkin & Roth, 1990). Nomads have lost autonomy, are excluded from state structure, and are restricted from mobility for managerial, security, and political reasons.

With regards to educational provision and participation, the statistics for access, retention, completion and achievement remain low for both boys and girls in the regions. The situation, however, is worse for girls. Table 2 shows the number of schools and classrooms available in Turkana district from 1999 to 2003 for Turkana students compared to other non-pastoralist districts occupied by sedentary societies.

Though Table 2 shows that schools were available for Turkana students, the net enrollment, on the other hand, presents a different account. Table 3 presents the gender disparities in enrollment.

In 1999, the net enrollment for boys was at 29% but only 22.6% for girls. In 2000, these numbers increased slightly to 31% for boys and 23.2% for girls. These numbers continued to

Table 2

Number of Public Primary Schools and Classrooms By District From 1999-2003

District	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
1 Kwale	263	272	260	258	270	3,042	2,644	2,622	2,653	2,952
2 Kilifi	227	226	223	229	228	2,625	2,579	2,568	2,660	3,048
3 Gucha	324	352	335	345	351	3,117	3,093	3,235	3,419	3,782
4 Malindi	102	102	100	99	100	1,292	1,328	1,411	1,417	1,687
5 Nairobi	183	188	164	188	188	3,801	3,790	3,349	3,790	4,008
6 Nandi	524	516	520	514	545	4,954	5,004	5,273	5,429	5,447
7 Keiyo	158	171	160	135	159	1,509	1,495	1,542	1,283	1,555
8 Laikipia	225	229	229	231	233	2,312	2,281	2,473	2,310	2,393
9 Narok	226	265	270	268	288	1,936	2,093	2,210	2,296	2,550
10 Kajlado	188	193	192	195	207	1,782	1,770	1,814	1,862	2,055
11 Turkana	146	1,561	160	154	155	975	1,127	1,212	1,190	1,198

Source: Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2005

increase in 2003 from 31.6% for males and 24.2% for girls (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology [MOEST], 2000). While the provision of primary education has expanded dramatically in Kenya, this growth and expansion has not been realized in the pastoralist regions, especially in northern and eastern Kenya. Though the policies that have underpinned the development of primary schooling have been responsive to the needs and interests of the majority, they have proved to be inappropriate to the circumstances in Kenya's pastoral districts, and neglectful of the rights of children, especially girls. The consequences are chronically low levels of educational participation among pastoralist communities and wide disparities in the participation between boys and girls. In 1996, 4,238 Turkana girls were enrolled in standard one. In 2003, this enrollment decreased to 741 for standard eight. At the end of standard eight, only 17.5% of Turkana girls had completed eighth grade compared to Turkana boys at 24.9%. When compared to non-pastoralist districts such as Laikipia during the same years of 1996 and

Table 3

Number of Students in Primary School By Gender

District	1999			2000			2003		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Buret	69.3	70.9	70.1	80.5	81.5	81.0	91.3	88.9	90.0
Kajiado	48.8	43.9	46.4	48.9	44.5	46.8	56.4	49.7	53.1
Keiyo	97.9	101.0	99.4	98.3	102.1	100.2	108.5	108.7	108.6
Kericho	87.9	88.8	88.3	85.5	86.1	85.8	88.9	84.7	86.8
Koibatek	76.2	80.3	78.2	86.5	90.2	88.3	94.4	97.5	95.9
Laikipia	71.9	73.8	72.8	68.8	69.8	69.3	73.3	70.9	72.1
Marakwet	87.7	85.5	86.6	87.0	87.7	87.4	101.2	102.5	101.8
Nakuru	68.1	68.7	68.4	75.2	74.3	74.7	63.1	67.7	65.4
Nandi	74.8	78.8	76.8	77.7	81.1	79.4	84.6	85.6	85.1
Narok	46.7	40.8	43.8	50.2	43.8	47.1	68.4	60.7	64.7
Samburu	45.8	30.8	38.4	48.9	34.2	41.6	63.3	49.4	56.4
Trans- Mara	53.7	53.4	53.6	52.6	52.8	52.7	69.3	67.7	68.5
Trans- Nzoia	66.9	68.8	67.8	72.3	75.7	74.0	81.7	83.2	82.5
Turkana	29.0	22.6	25.9	31.0	23.2	27.1	31.6	24.2	27.9
Uasingishu	56.6	50.5	53.6	72.3	72.0	72.2	56.7	57.3	57.0
West- Pokot	42.8	40.3	41.6	48.2	43.0	45.6	86.6	65.7	76.2
Bungoma	86.3	89.7	88.0	87.2	90.5	88.8	101.2	102.3	101.7
Busia	70.5	73.6	72.0	67.6	70.4	69.0	86.5	87.8	87.2
Mumias	66.3	67.7	67.0	62.5	63.7	63.1	67.8	68.6	68.2
Kakamega	43.1	47.2	45.2	40.7	44.2	42.5	89.6	92.5	91.1
Lugari				56.6	60.0	58.3	94.1	97.7	95.9
Mt. Elgon	80.3	82.3	81.3	88.1	89.5	88.8	105.7	104.6	105.2
Teso	70.4	65.6	68.0	69.2	64.9	67.1	88.3	85.0	86.6
Vihiga	90.7	96.2	93.4	88.7	124.3	106.6	93.4	94.1	93.8
Total	70.5	70.9	70.7	68.7	69.6	69.6	79.1	76.3	77.7

Source: Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2005

2003, boys accounted for 6,068 and girls accounted for 5,545. Though these numbers decreased slightly as student reached standard eight, they hardly decreased to the levels of Turkana students.

In Laikipia, 58.5% of boys completed standard eight and 63.9% of girls completed the same standard (MOEST, 2000). The participation of women in schools in Turkana district remains relatively low despite the presence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and Christian missions. This inadequacy points to the fact that besides government policies that limit technical provision of educational infrastructure, other dynamics generated within local contexts compound this problem (Akaranga, 1987).

Universal participation at primary level for modern education in Kenya has been a national goal in various developmental strategies. Government expenditure on education through the Ministry of Education continues to be a priority in terms of budget allocations (MOEST, 2003). However, varying rates in education in Kenya's pastoralist communities is attributed to the regional, economic and gender disparities with Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) districts recording the lowest participation rates, as mentioned above. Poor educational achievement in the ASAL areas is often attributed to various factors that include the following: low level of school facilities, traditional nomadic lifestyle, reduced awareness of the need for education--which is perceived as socially irrelevant--and general underdevelopment.

One of the most serious obstacles that pastoralist communities face when determining education for their children is the high cost of education, including school uniforms, textbooks, stationery, and maintenance of school facilities under governmental educational policies of cost sharing. Sickness, domestic chores, and hunger brought by droughts and floods also play a major role in pastoralist children's education. Thus, free primary education to pastoralist

communities is understood as an entity which does not require tremendous resources from but a free education system that will provide Turkana pastoralist children with resources needed to attend school. The majority of pastoralist populations in Africa practice mobile life-styles in order to balance grazing requirements for their herds. Some African governments have used such requirements as a justification to not make efforts to reach pastoralist populations for educational purposes. The Kenyan government has blamed Turkana parents for not constructing educational infrastructures for their children, as a way of justifying not supplying educational materials such as uniforms, textbooks, desks, and enough teachers.

Equally important is the analysis of the inappropriateness of the services to meet the needs of nomadic populations. Current educational systems use stationary schools not designed to meet pastoralist needs. Rather, these schools exist to serve school access to advantaged populations. Educational content may contradict traditional wisdom, placing two cultures into conflict.

As previously stated, many cultural practices hinder an African girl child accessing modern education. Pastoralist girls are no exception. Girls are married off young, normally between the age of 9 and 13 years (Ezeomah, 1983). Parents fear that once their daughters attend school, they are influenced by modernism and will make decisions to marry outside their societies. Equally, the distance between schools and pastoralist homes contributes to the cost of a pastoralist girl's education to her parents and community. Parents often conclude that the distance to school exposes their daughters to danger such as rape, which is categorized as destroying property among the Turkana.

Turkana district, the focus of this study, is situated in North Eastern province of Kenya. This province has the lowest primary-school participation rates (as illustrated in Tables 1 and 2).

If educating women is an important instrument for change and transformation, it is among the pastoralists of this province that this policy is likely to be rigorously tested. A consultative and ethnographic approach to pastoralist communities in which education policy can be changed to enable Kenya, as a country, to achieve the goal of education for all is the purpose of this study. Pastoralism has long been the dominant feature of the area's economy. The relationship between pastoralism and education is widely acknowledged to be problematic (Kratli, 2001), leading some scholars to argue that pastoralism is inconsistent with the demands of formal schooling. This logic continues to exert a profound influence on African governments dealing with pastoralist populations. The implication is that attainment of education for all and gender equity in educational provisions is not possible among pastoralist communities. Such logic underpins a policy approach that starts from the premise that pastoralists must settle down in order to benefit from formal schooling. This assertion confuses lack of technical capacity to provide education amenable to pastoralism and the imperatives of providing such an education as a human right of the pastoralists in general, but more specifically girls and women. This logic is fundamentally at odds with the demographic reality of the regions the pastoralists occupy, where the population has to be in constant movement across the rangelands in search of food, pasture, water and security.

The World Declaration on Education for All (1990) emphasized the need to remove educational disparities between countries, regions and gender. In addition to stressing the importance of girls' education, the needs of particular groups such as pastoralist nomads were specifically mentioned. The Declaration also encouraged learning through a variety of delivery systems, hence mobile education and the adoption of supplementary alternative programs. In

this light, government policies need to be revised to address gender-based and regional disparities that accentuate the problem of girls' schooling among pastoralist societies.

High rates of non-participation of girls in formal schooling among the pastoralists continue to be invisible in national policy planning. This is because non-participation of girls in pastoralist communities is explained casually in terms of traditional cultural values, rather than shortcomings in policy and practice. Such circular logic compounds the ideological reluctance to provide girls with the opportunity to attend school. By describing the problem in relation to cultural values, the temptation is to blame pastoral communities and women for non-participation, while absolving public policy from responsibility. Educational inequality between gender and regions in Kenya can, however, be addressed by public policy. Carrying out this study based on qualitative/ethnographic methodologies is one way through which consciousness of the affected population can be stirred to demand such responsive public policies.

Data for planning the provision of education for pastoralist areas is not readily available. Rather, what is obtained are generalizations that do not contribute much to understanding the unique situation of pastoralists, especially issues related to pastoralist women's schooling. Information, for example, exists showing the participation of girls in education to be low, but is not accompanied by context specific variables that influence educational demand and supply in these areas. Studies show that school environments play an important role in girls' schooling. Kakonge (2002), Obura (1991), and Wamahiu and Habte (1995) showed the stereotyped images of girls in textbooks, and demonstrate that girls' aspirations for schooling, irrespective of the environment, tend to be high. The studies point to the fact that the culture obtained from schools and textbooks can easily function as a way of excluding girls from education.

Despite this, studies on pastoralism and education provision have not gone beyond generalizations to examine the influence that various stereotypes of pastoralists have on women's access to schooling. Evidence continues to show other variables such as early marriages, household chaos and family obligations that require girls to attend to small herds influence girl's education. Other variables include impoverishment and pervasive food stress, low levels of gender awareness, prevalence of negative attitudes towards girls' education and acute malnutrition and wastage. The present study attempted to analyze how a constellation of these factors mediates the process of girls' schooling in Turkana region.

Equity for women involves provision of equal opportunities to attend school and equal opportunities to achieve. Education provides the impetus to break stereotypes that exist toward women in society. Kinnear (1997) argued that education is a tool for the empowerment of women. Education provides a woman the ability to function confidently and offers her options in her daily life. While Kinnear advocated education as a sector that is designed to empower women, Bloch et al. (1998) pointed out that education is not benign in every case. On the other hand, Robertson and Berger (1986) contested that because basic education does not offer women meaningful economic opportunities; it enhances their subordination in societies. Any formal education, primary, secondary and or higher education is a major source of individual development and transformation. It creates opportunities for women outside their homes and eliminates the confines of tradition and policies. Low expectations and limited access of women to schooling and labor markets negate these aspirations.

Statement of the problem. Education is necessary for participation in the normal life of societies. As such, all countries can benefit from investing in education. Investing in education has many benefits for the people, as well as their society and the whole world. The purpose of

this study was to analyze the dynamics that influence the participation in formal schooling (access, retention, and achievement) by girls and women among Turkana pastoralist group in Kenya. The Turkana pastoral occupy a hostile ecological environment and have long been marginalized by governmental development policies. The education and social development indicators among the Turkana, like most pastoralists, fall far below the national average. Education and other social service facilities are scarcely available, and where they are found, other factors such as distance, the harsh environment, security, and the dynamics of supply and demand limit the ability of Turkana pastoralists, particularly women, to utilize such resources (Lar, 1997).

While the Kenyan government has been quick to blame the Turkana for this state of affairs, no efforts have been made to address the policy gaps in education for pastoralists, especially Turkana pastoralists of northern Kenya. In such circumstances, women among the Turkana, as is the case with those of other pastoralist communities, suffer a double misfortune. Women experience marginalization first as females in a developing country, second, as members of a pastoralist community that continues to be marginalized from mainstream development and finally, from poor educational policies that neglect to address their needs in education. Understanding the conditions that influence Turkana women's schooling patterns therefore contributes to the design of responsive schooling and development policies.

Researching the issue of Turkana women and access to formal schooling is important to both national development policies and international trends and obligations. Kenya, as a nation with nomadic pastoralist groups does not have educational policies specifically addressing nomadic pastoralist, their interests are subsumed within the general category of marginalized groups such as rural Kenyan communities. This is evidenced in Kenya's recent educational

policy documents which reiterate its commitment to provide education to all its population. Those in ASAL regions, where the majority of nomadic pastoralists live, remain the most disadvantaged with regards to education provision. Population density is low in nomadic pastoralist areas and as such one would understand why it is difficult to provide a comprehensive school network. However, Kenya, as a member of the international community and as a member of those who stress the importance of EFA, needs to put in place policies to facilitate the provision of quality education, in line with the Jomtien and Dakar targets. This cannot be achieved if the situation of the pastoralists, specifically pastoralist women, is not addressed. Undertaking this study therefore contributes to the achievement of this goal, by stirring consciousness among the targeted groups. Pastoralists across Africa share in this state of marginalization and this study, through a critical review of literature and interrogation of fieldwork results, intends to provide a comparative overview about the situation in other countries. There is a growing recognition that essential improvement in these areas is advantageous and crucial. In the past, colonial and postcolonial governments ignored problems of pastoralist education, as well as other forms of social provision, and concentrated rather on the transformation of pastoralist communities as a prerequisite to the provision.

A common characteristic of pastoralist populations and the ecological zones they occupy in most of Africa is that they are minorities suffering from problems of under-representation and socio-economic marginalization. These circumstances force pastoralist communities to engage in unlawful activities, such as cattle raiding, for survival. The continued underdevelopment of pastoralist societies, therefore, constitutes a security concern to both national governments and the international community. This is because their low levels of economic development have hindered their participation in education, and because education policies designed for these areas

tend to accentuate social and economic exclusion. This situation stands in contrast to commitments that have been made by the international community and promulgated by national governments. In particular, the situation of pastoralist communities is a hindrance to the realization of EFA and the MDGs goals. In the long run, continued exclusion of pastoralist communities from mainstream development through education poses a security threat to national governments.

Objectives of the study. Specifically this study is designed to address the following objectives:

1. Determine the level of access and retention to formal schooling among the Turkana pastoralists women.
2. Examine how socio-economic and availability of educational facilities impact access to formal schooling among women in Turkana District.
3. Establish what environmental, political, and cultural constraints exist, to thwart female access to formal schooling in Turkana District.
4. Examine advocacy for women's education in Turkana District.

Research questions.

1. What are the levels of access to schooling among Turkana pastoralists' women?
2. What constraints exist in accessing education?
3. What governmental and non-governmental policies exist for provision of schooling?
4. How adequate are the educational and sanitary facilities for school-going girls?
5. What cultural stereotypes among Turkana pastoralists inhibit the girl child's education?

Significance of the study. It is hoped that research findings from this study will be useful to various stakeholders in the education sector and, as such, that it will provide a benchmark for future plans and endeavors to establish and improve the education for pastoralist

women. Further, the undertaking of this study and the presentation of its results provide important information that governments and policymakers can utilize in designing responsive education programs specifically for pastoralist women and communities. The provisions of Education For All, especially for women, are an important concern of Kenya's development policy. The education of women is also a key concern of the international community to which Kenya belongs. Providing empirical data that contributes to the achievement of this goal is a key objective of this study. The ethnographic approach of this study has been designed to engage the population as a way of hopefully enhancing their awareness of their educational rights. It is hoped that even in a small way, this study will lead to more awareness about the gender issues that continue to limit women's schooling opportunities among Turkana pastoralists.

Limitations of the study. Conducting research in villages and the interior of Turkana district, the center region of this study, was challenging, and settling-in was logistically, practically, and psychologically time-consuming. First, Turkana district is in a security zone whereby Turkana pastoralist and their neighbors such as the Pokots, Karamojong, and Samburu participate in banditry and cattle raiding. This process made it difficult to reach informants living in the interior. Second, Turkana nomadic pastoralist women and access to formal schooling are the center of this study; however, problems were encountered while collecting data where I could not fully dialogue with women in the interior regarding their experience with formal education. Three main factors contributed to this dilemma. First, these women lived in the interior and were consistently on the move with their families and herds. This presented hardships especially with the absence of proper roads and vehicles. Second, although I resembled my informants physically, few factors distinguished us and these included the language notion, where my informants could not speak English and the majority spoke only a

little Kiswahili. The language spoken in Turkana is Ki-Turkana which sounded nothing like Kinyarwanda or Kirundi among other languages spoken by the researcher. Also, in order to gain access to Turkana married women and unmarried girls, a trust needed to be developed with husbands and fathers. This presented problems as I was an outsider conducting research on education among them, while many viewed education as a way of changing their wives and daughters. Turkana men associated education with bad behavior that has no respect for their culture. Third, discussion groups had to be organized through male elders. Inevitably, these gatherings have an air of officiality; they are events that make women's participation a bit difficult.

While every effort was made to interview as many participants as possible for ethnographic accounts, the scope of the sample was dictated by different factors. These factors were (a) the availability of security escorts to the interior where the majority of informants live, (b) availability of informants, given the nomadic nature of the population (c) the availability of schools where conditions involving statements A and B were met, (d) availability of girls in schools and women in the community who were willing and had permission to be part of the study sample, and (d) the time and resources at the disposal of the researcher to deal with the district expanses, remote school facilities, and elevated security status.

Theoretical Framework. The conceptual framework supporting the education of pastoralist, specifically Turkana pastoralist women, in Kenya was inspired by various scholars across various fields, namely researchers in the field of sociology such as Ogburn and scholars such as Van Allen, Stamp, Apple, Lather, and Harding. It is believed that Turkana pastoralist marginalization is brought on by many factors to which require explanation using theories from various scholars. First, the lack of social development in Turkana district is due to the limited

access to resources in the district and the population as whole. As such, Ogburn declared that “a culture lag occurs when one of two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts that existed previously” (Ogburn, 1964, p. 86).

Ogburn (1964) used a model that compares societies and cultures to an organic model in which different “parts” are analogous to the organs of the human body. Further, he used the same terms to describe a model that links society to machinery running either well or poorly depending on the state of the different “parts.”

Ogburn (1964) identified a range of approaches that might be used to study cultures lagging with regards to social change. These approaches include invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment (Ogburn, 1964). Further, Ogburn argued that as new inventions get introduced to existing societies, maladjustment take place and a period of time is needed for proper adjustment and adoption. According to Ogburn, inventions can be produced in societies from within societies by the realization of new possibilities.

These approaches offer different perspectives for understanding the absence of social development among African pastoralist societies, especially when it concerns pastoralist women and access to formal schooling. This study of formal schooling among Turkana pastoralists in Turkana district employed Ogburn’s approaches. Formal schooling among pastoral women assumes that Turkana district, the largest in Kenya, is underdeveloped socially, economically, and politically. Regardless of Kenya’s advancement in social development, that is, the introduction of free primary education and EFA, in comparison to its neighbors Tanzania and Uganda, pastoralist communities such as the Turkana in northern Kenya still lag behind in

acquiring these privileges. This example fits Ogburn's hypothesis of one culture advancing while the other lags.

Brinkman and Brinkman (1997) agreed with Ogburn that culture lag, or socio-cultural lag, occurs socially as well as culturally. Both Ogburn (1964) and Brinkman and Brinkman argued that a culture lag takes place when the material part of a culture moves rapidly and forward of the non-material part. This process is also reciprocal, whereby the non-material culture is able to move ahead of the material culture. Brinkman and Brinkman and Ogburn provided the example of different groups with certain forms of jobs adequate for women. According to the authors, factors influencing changes in social attitudes are adjustable as time passes (Brinkman & Brinkman 1997; Ogburn, 1964). Cultures change when changes are provided to them and the notion that Turkana pastoralists have refused development, which would bring change to their culture, is false. However, the level of development--social, political and or economical--requires systems of support. As such, education for Turkana women, if provided, requires sustainability from the policy markers point.

While Ogburn (1964) and Brinkman and Brinkman (1997) argued that it is possible for one culture to develop while the other lags. Van Allen (1976) argued that the public that relates to decision-making where few individual possess the knowledge required making decisions. He noted that the setting of questions that concern the welfare of the community in a public way necessitates the sharing of "political knowledge," the knowledge needed for participation in political discussions. A system in which public policy is made publicly and the relevant knowledge is shared widely contrasts sharply with those systems in which a privileged few possess the relevant knowledge, whether priestly mysteries or bureaucratic expertise, and therefore control policy decisions. Hence, the sharing of knowledge and questions to which

governs Turkana women is not shared with the people to which the political decisions are made to begin with (Amadiume, as cited in Stamp, 1989).

The nature of collectivism, and the space of style in which that collectivism operates, is an important distinction of public and private spheres. In general, women in Kenya operate in the spheres that have been rendered less evident by contemporary male-dominated structures and discourse. Inevitably, the community of men has been favored over the community of women. Men have the privilege of making decisions at the public level that affect all African populations. In the pastoralist woman's context, these public/private variations have taken core because outsiders, such as missionaries and colonial officials, as well as contemporary governmental elites, have recognized men's networks as the sole, legitimate "public," when they should deal with the uniform, undifferentiated "public" that embodies "public interest" (Stamp, 1989, p. 116).

Public discourse articulated in policy documents is produced by and disseminated mainly by the community of men in the current state. Turkana pastoralist women are absent from the production of these public documents. The private discourses on education produced by women are produced mostly at the individual level and to some extent at the group level. Women's discourses are primarily their own experiences existing at the "private\informal" world of "women's affairs." However, discourse is not neutral. As Apple (1991) pointed out, "all our discourses are politically innocent and occur within shifting and dynamic social context in which the existence of multiple sets of power are expected" (p. vii). Power, Foucault and Gordon (1980) argued, is not a property but a strategy that is constantly in tension and in activity. Consequently, the public and private discourses on education network are in complex ways. Women are not mere victims of public policy discourses, but they act upon these policies as

individuals and as collectives. They interact within the constraints and opportunities of existing structures at the same time as they act to restructure the social system.

The research of pastoralist women and access to education involves pastoralist women and girls at the grassroots level within pastoral society setting. Stamp (1986) labeled these women as the part of the backbone of the Kenyan peasant society who are doubly dominated as peasants within underdeveloped capitalism and as a dominated category within the peasantry. Peasants, in this case refers to herding as opposed to land-cultivation, do not have the privileges to cultivate land as do the majority of African women. Despite the crucial role that these women play in their societies, their realities have continued to be invisible in public discourses covering all aspects of the society, and specifically, in the education discourse in Kenya. Freire (1990) argued that “reality” is never simply an objective datum, or a concrete fact, but is also certainly people’s perception of it because of the indispensable unity between subjectivity and objectivity in the act of knowing. Reality is not independent of our experiences, and thus social, economic, cultural, and political factors play a major role in the shaping of people’s reality as Ogburn (1964) and Brinkman and Brinkman (1997) showed. The reality of women and men’s lives is shaped by the complex interactions of the social, political, economic, cultural, and historical contexts of the particular society.

Feminists have shown that women’s experiences have either been ignored or distorted (Eichler, 1983; Harding, 1986). More importantly, Euro-centricity, and the desire by western feminists to use western values as yardsticks, has produced the “Third World Woman” as a singular gigantic subject, a stereotype that has worked to this woman’s loss (Amadiume, 1989; Mohanty, 1991). The Turkana pastoralist woman’s delineation of her reality from these

perspectives is important in countering the hegemonic perceptions of women that have portrayed them as stereotypical pawns of men.

Stamp (1995) argued that a text on African women must ask new questions that aim to extract what women are doing as active agents of resistance and change in the maelstrom of contemporary African affairs. Equally, a text on Turkana women should indeed seek to extort what they participate in to resist stereotypes which often contribute to their marginalization.

Potash (1989), writing about gender relations in African societies, argued that it is crucial that we begin to ask questions that clarify the complexities of gender relationships, questions that portray the “reality” of women as social actors who use the system to achieve their ends. Potash (1989) concluded that “such praxis approaches emphasize human resourcefulness while recognizing systemic limitations” (p. 191).

For the women’s action to become visible, they must be allowed to participate in the study as who they really are, informants and “knowers” as Harding (1986) emphasized, rather than as the objects of the study, which has been the pattern in many conventional research methodologies. As knowers, women participate in knowledge production through participation, dialogue, and analyses of discourses (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991). When pastoralist women participate as knowers and subjects, their voices as subjects of inquiry are culturally identifiable and it creates the possibility of understanding their conditions as well as the researcher’s standpoint of history and cultural locatable experience (D. E. Smith, 1987).

Many research methodologists, particularly post-positivists, advocate reciprocity of research. Lather (1991) argued that participants should gain self-understanding and ideally, self-determination through the research. The methodology of my study attempted to accomplish this reciprocity process as a viable objective. The pastoralist woman’s understanding of the

dynamics of gender inequalities in accessing educational opportunities is evident in some of the efforts that they have taken in providing their children with education. Turkana women's actions as a group, and as individuals, have created the possibility for the transformation of their and their children's realities. The research process will contribute to the re-orientation, focus, and energy for participants in what Freire (1990) termed conscientization, knowing reality in order to better transform it. Mies (1983) argued that active collective consciousness becomes possible only when women can use their own documented (spoken), understood, and analyzed history as a "weapon" in the struggle for them.

Mies also noted the importance of creating a wider network of communication for women from different villages. She argued that a research project should be linked to an ongoing movement. Mies argued that "a research project that does not link with some local group which can become a permanent base for conscientization, mobilization, and action will remain at best a pleasant episode in the lives of the women" (p. 137). This research, of formal schooling among Turkana women connected with Turkana Nawotongrong women's group involved in small scale enterprise by means of micro-lending.

D. E. Smith (1987) observed that research for women must begin from the standpoints of women. Such an inquiry regards women's experience as starting and ending points for inquiry. Alcoff (1991) stated that anyone who speaks for others should only do so out of a concrete analysis of the particular power relations and discursive effects involved. Fals-Borda and Rahman (1993) argued that "the concept of speaking with conveys the possibility of tangential and shifting alliances between speakers from different unequally located groups" (p. 184).

Feminism as a political movement struggles for methodologies that can bring women's experience to light and put such experience on the political agenda (Mies, 1983). What the study

strived for are methodologies that are informed by epistemologies that consider pastoralist women as knowers and active agents of social change, rather than as mere victims. These methodologies must also consider gender, race, class, and ethnicity as vital categories of analysis in understanding pastoralist women's material standpoints.

The complexities of feminism as a political movement aimed at addressing women's issues are intensified by the fact that the female subject is herself a site of differences. Mohanty (1991) took a western feminist to task for having asked the wrong questions and thereby producing the "third world woman" as a singular monolithic subject. Mohanty posited:

Assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality, on the one hand, and inadequate self-consciousness about the effect of Western scholarship on "third world" in the context of a world system dominated by the West, on the other hand, characterize a sizable extent of western feminist work on women in developing countries. Marginal or not, this writing has political effects and implications beyond the immediate feminist or disciplinary audience. (p. 53)

Davies and Graves (1986) argued that the portrayal of African women as super mother, as a symbol of Africa, or as the one with a golden heart does not necessarily counter the facile racist image of African women portrayed in many anthropological studies. Davies and Graves argued for a "truthful assessment of women's lives, the negative and the positive and a demonstration of the specific choices that women must often make" (p. 15). In addition, Amadiume (1989) noted that work by third world women must be political, challenging the new and growing patriarchal systems imposed on our societies through colonialism and western religious and educational influences. Countering the racist and sexist discourses on African women involves acknowledging women's resistance as well as their compliance with the patriarchal structures that perpetuate their subordination. As Van Maanen (1988) argued, ethnographies are politically mediated, since the power of one group or research to represent

another is always involved. Most crucially, ethnography irrevocably influences the interests and lives of the people represented in them both individually and collectively.

Conclusion. This chapter provided a review of how colonialism has marginalized both pastorals and women in general, and how the colonial continuity syndrome has exaggerated these problems, in spite of efforts to address them. It is an examination of how formal schooling can aggravate the situation by contradicting traditional wisdom, attempting to sedentarize nomads, and ignoring norms.

Difficulties that Turkana pastoralist women face in obtaining education have been discussed. Attendance in Turkana is low because of poverty, hunger, mobility, lack of adequate educational policies by the Kenyan government, cultural norms, and gender stereotypes. The study has pointed out that education holds the potential of solving these problems. In additions, the study has shown that solutions to these problems will provide benefits at the local, national, and global levels; however, solutions born from a single country will not be adequate to address problems faced by pastoralist women in regards to accessing education in Africa.

This chapter has provided an introduction to the study. Specific interview questions have been offered, with guidelines for flexible expansion. Security issues and logistics were recognized and specific objectives were laid out to review literature, examine policies, measure trends, gather stories, examine financial impacts, and recommend strategies for further improvement. The study analyzes the frames around the public and private spheres and explores the concept of conscientization. Armed with this framework, along with the privilege of education and socio-economic status, the study engages the lives of Turkana women of Lodwar, Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Kalokol, Lokori, Katilu, and Lokitaung in Turkana district, to comprehend Turkana women's about their experience regarding their education in their region.

Chapter 2

The Nature of Primary Education

Introduction

In general, both primary and secondary educations differ from one country to the next in Africa. For this study, before embarking on the topic of pastoralist women and access to formal schooling in Turkana district of northwestern Kenya, an analysis of primary and secondary education in Kenya is important. The analysis includes the development of free primary education (FPE) and its features as well as their current state, the general objectives of Primary Education, the curriculum offered, its duration and the kind of examinations required at the end of standard eight. This analysis will determine the obstacles hindering Turkana women's access and retention in education.

Primary education in Kenya. Primary education is currently in the first phase of Kenya's current education system of 8:4:4. This system means 8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, and 4 years of university. The primary course is meant for preparation of students who go through the system to participate fully in personal development and in the social, political and spiritual well-being of the nation. The education system is also meant to cater to the needs of those students who terminated their formal education at the end of standard eight as well as those wishing to proceed to secondary school.

Historical development of free primary education in Kenya (FPE). The development of free primary education in Kenya, as well as in other countries in Africa is not a new trend. Free primary education has existed for several decades. For example, in their election manifesto of 1963, the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) prepared the following statement:

KANU intends that every child in Kenya will have a minimum of seven years of free primary education. In principle we are in whole hearted agreement with the object of free primary education. It is an important social service and it ought to be freely available to all children and to be supported out of tax revenue. (Republic of Kenya, 1964, p. 66).

This goal has continued to guide the development of education policies in Kenya. For example, the Report on the National Education Objectives and Policies (Gathathi Report, 1976) recommended the idea of free primary education. According to the Report:

The efforts towards equality and national unity in the country is the provision of basic education to all citizens . . . this is achieved through the provision of free seven years of primary school. The undertaking of the recommendation was to implement in stages. In 1974, fees were waived for classes one-four; in 1978 the same fees were abolished for class five; 1979 this trend continued for class six; and in 1980 for class seven and eight. (p. 2)

In December 1973, Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta, declared that the free primary education program be implemented in 1974 for first through fourth grade. In 1978, the retired Kenya's second president Arap Moi extended the free primary education to seventh grade, and in 1989, free primary education was extended to eighth grade. The program began declining in 1988 when the Kamunge Report introduced cost-sharing policies as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programs imposed on the developing countries by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) institutions. The program of cost-sharing required that communities and parents construct schools, purchase textbooks and other learning materials required to for their children. The government, it was recommended, would continue to finance the provision of educational administration and professional services such as supervision, curriculum development and management of examinations, in addition to salaries for teachers in public schools.

The implementation of cost-sharing policies in the face of rising poverty led to negative effects on access, retention and quality of primary education in Kenya. Specifically, the

implementation of these policies led to the decline of enrollments mostly in pastoralist districts such as Turkana. This meant that parents in pastoralist areas were unable to afford education for their children as their economy depends entirely on cattle. However, the 2002 election of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government of Mwai Kibaki made free primary education in its pledge. As a result, upon winning his election, primary education was declared free in Kenya in January, 2003.

Current salient features of free primary education in Kenya. Free primary education has been a familiar phrase in Kenya. However, the term free education seems inconsistent within the majority of the Kenyan population. The language used to describe the current Kenyan primary education conveys the message that the government provides all that is necessary for children to attend school. Parents, in particular have different views of what free primary education and how it is supposed to work. Many have the notion that they should only be expected to provide uniforms to their children, while others believe that every aspect should be free, including uniforms. This, however, is not the case at all. Free primary education in Kenya only covers tuition and stationery, and in only government-sponsored schools. Even so, the conditions of these schools are in horrible states. In order to understand the concept, we need to look at the concept of free primary education under a critical light.

As stated by the Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2005), free primary education allows children access to education without discrimination. The Kenyan government has removed major obstacles that hindered children in developed areas in Kenya to access education, but it has done very little for the pastoralist children who already were disadvantaged in terms of educational infrastructure. Students located in the undeveloped areas such as ASALs, urban slums and rural areas are not fully benefiting from free primary education

as schools in these overcrowded areas. It is not uncommon to find 150 students per class, per a teacher in Turkana in areas such as Kitale, Eldoret, while in Nairobi, Mombasa, one can easily find 15-30 students per teacher. The school-going students are male and females between the age of 6 and 13. However, under free primary education, any individual wishing to attend primary school is eligible to attend. Thus, it is possible to find overage students who are enabled to attend by establishing one class to serve these students.

Primary schools have to be all inclusive and cater to students from various backgrounds which include students with special needs as well as street children who have been exposed to drugs or are so emotionally stressed as to need to be rehabilitated in order attend and participate in regular classes and activities. As stated by the MOEST (2003, p. 3) inclusive education “addresses the learner’s needs within the mainstream schools and advocates for all children, regardless of their disability, to access quality education in their neighborhood schools.”

In the current provisions made by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, a student with profound disabilities can no longer be excluded from school education. This is a step towards undiscriminating the population. This is in agreement with Villa and Thousand’s (1999, p. 38) view that:

Inclusive education represents a concrete step that can be take in a school system to ensure that all students begin to learn that belonging is a right, not a privilege that is earned. If we are to create schools which students feel welcomed and feel as part of a community, then we must seek to create schools that welcome diversity in all students.

While school fees and levies have been abolished, meaning that parents are no longer required to pay for their children’s education at the primary level, constructing educational infrastructure on the other hand remains a challenge for parents in rural areas, particularly pastoralist parents, as resources to provide educational structures are limited. The Kenyan government and developmental partner agencies are attempting to provide the basic teaching and

learning materials, wages for critical-non teaching staff and co-curricular activities. In 2003, the government, along with donor agencies, was to contribute 1020 Kenyan shillings per a child for primary education.

The joint responsibility and commitment of the Kenyan government and donor agencies means that the government considers the provision of primary education as central to poverty reduction and as such, Kenya is implementing the spirit of partnership, where parents, students, districts and education officers have roles to play. Parents, for example, are still required to meet the cost of the following: examination fees for eighth grade students, uniforms, schools meals, transportation to and from schools, boarding facilities, and health care fees.

Under free primary education policies, the government of Kenya is supposed to supplement parents' efforts in managing low-cost boarding schools and school feeding programs in arid and semi-arid lands such as Turkana district. Free primary education does not require parents and communities to improve, refurbish and use existing facilities. In other words, free primary education cannot stop community initiatives. For example, where schools have to maintain certain facilities and services for students such as hot lunches, transportation, boarding facilities, etc., and have to change for maintenance and sustainability, this should be discussed and agreed upon by parents. However, the Ministry's of Education approval through the District of Education Board is required before changes are to be made.

Objectives of primary education in Kenya. Primary education objectives emanate from the national goals of education. According to the Ondieki (2004), primary education in Kenya should provide students with the opportunities to:

- Acquire literacy, numeric, creativity and communication skills
- Enjoy learning and develop a desire to continue the learning process

- Develop the ability for creative thinking and logical judgment
- Appreciate and develop dignity of work
- Develop desirable social standards, morals and religious values
- Develop into a self-disciplined, physically fit, and healthy persons
- Develop aesthetic values and appreciate their own and other people's cultures
- Instill respect and love for their own country and the need for harmonious co-existence
- Develop individual talents.

Whatever is taught in primary schools therefore should ensure that students attain the above stated objectives in one way or another.

The primary school curriculum. Ogula (1998) defined curriculum as a course of study offered in schools, as well as other programs offered in the school such as clubs, societies, guidance and counseling, sports and other settings in which learning takes place. The primary school curriculum is nationally developed at the Kenyan institute of Education (KIE) by a panel of experts. The content of various class levels is arranged in the syllabi detailing what should be taught and what learning activities students should be engaged in order to bring about the desired results. The current Kenyan primary school curriculum has undergone several reviews aimed at improving and provision of quality education to meet the needs of the students.

The revised curriculum is comprised of externally examinable subjects that are approved in Kenya. The subjects include Kiswahili, Mathematics, English, Science and Social Studies of Geography, History, Civics, and Christian Religious Education. The Kenyan primary school curriculum is comprised of two types of Religious Education recognized as examinable: the Christian Religious Education (CRE), and Hindu Religious Education (HRE). Internally

examinable subjects include Creative Arts, Physical Education, Programs of Pastorals (PPI) and Indigenous Languages.

The revised curriculum has also infused the following areas into the core subjects: Environmental Education, HIV/AIDS., Human Rights, Children's Rights, Moral Values, Ethics, Social Responsibility, Guidance, and Counseling, as well as Gender Issues. The infused areas are intended to make the youth to be aware of their rights, their roles in society, the adverse effects of drugs and substance abuse, the dangers of the HIV/AIDS scourge and the need to keep a healthy and clean environment. Headmasters are to ensure that the subjects are assigned to the instructors and are taught in various classes as prescribed in the syllabus.

The language of instruction in primary schools. This stems from the National Language Policy of 1976. The policy gives the following guidelines; the language of instruction in lower primary school is the language of the school catchments' areas. They envisaged the following scenario, that students who come from a single ethnic community in the neighborhood of the school be instructed in the same language they use at home, thus providing a smooth transition from home to school.

Still, students who come from a mixed background, in this case multi-lingual, would be instructed in Kiswahili, the national language of Kenya. In schools in urban centers the medium language of instruction remains English, even at the lower primary level as it is assumed that the English language is used widely at home. For the pastoralist schools such as those in Turkana District, the languages of instruction are English and Kiswahili. This is because teachers in the district are not Turkana, but rather teachers that the government has placed in schools in the district.

Instructional Material Procurement

Instructional materials are critical ingredients in the learning process and intended curriculum cannot be effectively implemented without them. The rationale is that instructional materials provide content and organize the scope and sequence of information to be presented in each class. In January 2003, the Kenyan government re-introduced the implementation of free primary education. In order for students to access to textbooks and other instructional materials, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, in conjunction with its development partners, agreed on the minimum requirements for instructional materials provision for all public primary schools and enrolled student in such schools. The following are policy guidelines on textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2003, p. 8):

- The government policy on school textbooks is that the school committee should strictly buy one textbook as a course book in each subject per class
- Textbooks are required for both upper and lower primary
- Six titles are recommended by the MOEST for every subject and schools are free to choose one textbook from the six titles
- Books bought for each class are expected to remain in the same class for use over the next three years
- Communities are expected to provide storage facilities for the books and other teaching learning materials
- Textbook-to-student ratio is one book for every three students in each subject in lower primary classes (1:3); and one book per two students in each subject for upper primary (1:2).

It is the responsibility of the primary school headmaster that the students in their schools get the recommended textbooks.

The selection of textbooks/instructional materials. In order to ensure that students learn the required content, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology established a

comprehensive approved textbook and other instructional material for use in Kenya's primary schools. These books cover all subjects as well as other areas of the curriculum. Headmasters and subject panel teachers are expected to examine the recommended textbook to which they are required to select one book for each course taught in their schools. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2003) outlined the following textbook selection procedure:

1. Schools must set up an Instructional Material Selection Committee (SIMSC)
2. Teachers need to be involved in the selection of the textbooks
3. The committee should study the MOEST approved list of primary school textbooks and other instructional materials in order to determine which textbook are appropriate for their schools, classes and subjects

In addition, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology outlines specific stationery supplies for each student per academic years. Each enrolled student should be provided with the following:

Lower Primary (1-4)

1. Notebooks
2. Pens and pencils
3. Eraser and sharpener
4. Ruler for grades 3 and 4

Upper Primary (5-8)

1. Notebook
2. Pens
3. Ruler
4. Mathematical instruments

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology does not provide stationery to every single child enrolled in Kenya's primary school, hence the Turkana pastoralist students' difficulties. However, it claims that such stationery is provided. The policies of stationery, as well as instructional materials, appears promising to Kenya's students and parents. However, the realities are, especially for students and parents in arid and semi-arid regions, the policies school requirements are very vague and require parents to contribute more. This is often done through the policies of cost-sharing. For a region such as Turkana District, where schools are in poor very condition, where ten students must sit on one bench, where teachers have to lend students their own textbooks, the cost-sharing is yet another barrier hindering children from accessing education. Teachers in Turkana schools have less access to materials that are needed in order to prepare adequate lesson plans for their students, however, these same teachers are expected to teach students and prepare them for the national exams.

The current state of public primary school in Kenya. The declaration of free primary education in Kenya is a dignified idea which could enable all Kenya's school-age children to gain access to an education regardless of socio-economic background. The onset of free primary education in Kenya has had an impact on school enrollments in that there has been a large influx of students in different classes. According to studies by UNESCO (2005), the new enrollments are primarily those who had never attended school and or students who dropped out of school due the inability to pay school fees. The major influx was felt mostly in the lower grades. Others transferred from private academies to public primary schools. The high enrollments in urban schools were largely from street children and slum areas. The enrollment of children with special needs rose as well.

The age admission policy resulted in the enrollment of over-age students in Kenya's schools. Many of the over-age students had been working as house maids; this is especially true for girls. Others were engaged in some form of child labor. Many parents also insisted that their children be placed in higher classes even when children had never attended school previously. For example, students enrolled in grade six should have been in second grade. Other parents skipped nursery school and had their children enrolled in first grade to avoid paying nursery school fees. These groups of students need to be retained throughout the primary cycle and be taught basic literacy and numeric and problem-solving skills. Mass influx of students has led to the over-crowdedness of Kenya's classrooms; desks and chairs are inadequate and textbooks remain unavailable for all students. Often, students in the first three grades are forced to sit on the floor or on mats in many rural schools like those in Turkana District. Poor conditions in the provision of adequate furniture, proper trained teachers, visible chalkboards and visual aids have negatively impacted students learning outcomes, particularly in pastoralist areas where resources are already limited. In the interior schools in Turkana, restrooms are lacking, and students must utilize the bushes. Where adequate plumbing exists, restrooms are normally in poor conditions. The situation has affected girls and those with challenging needs. In addition, the congestion in classrooms is not conducive to a school atmosphere, and affects the teaching and learning process. The large student influx has caused a teacher shortage in many districts, in particular in pastoral areas where one finds the teacher student ratio to be 1:150.

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the development of free primary education in Kenya since independence. The nature, objectives, the curriculum and the language of instruction have

been highlighted. I have also examined the salient features of free primary education to enhance understanding. The selection and procurement of instructional materials have been discussed based on the guidelines and textbooks policies of the Ministry of Education. The next chapter discusses the literature review.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature available on pastoralists and their access to modern education in Sub-Saharan Africa. It looks at pastoralism in various parts of Africa and examines issues of pastoralism on the whole as well as pastoralist educational participation. Female education among pastoralist communities, specifically Turkana pastoralists in Kenya, is evaluated. Obstacles hindering Turkana pastoralist groups, especially women, from participation in education are analyzed. Lastly, Kenya's educational commission reports from 1964-1991 and seasonal paper of 1964 and 2005 are examined in relation to the issues of education in pastoralist areas in the country.

Literature on nomads and education is relatively scarce, disparate and inaccessible. Studies on individual countries or even regions are usually no more than a sparse collection of secondary sources. Although 8% of Kenya's land mass is populated by nomadic pastoralists. Although they total about 2.5 million people, little has been done or documented about their education. Nomadic pastoralists are some of the poorest and most marginalized groups in Kenya; reaching them with formal education, especially the girl child has become a major challenge. As such about 1 million pastoralist children remain outside the education system. In general, in pastoralist communities, the enrollment of girls remains lower than that of boys. Girls' dropout rates and absenteeism are some of the highest, while their achievements and performance in the school system are low.

Kratli (2001) provided a comprehensive review of the literature on and issues pertaining to nomadic education. A few main points Kratli addressed are as follows:

1. Most education programs appear confrontational to nomadic culture.
2. Education programs are not supportive of nomadic ways of life and these are seen as alien to participants. This undermines community change and contributes to the urban drift.
3. Evaluations of educational provision only measure educational impacts that are considered desirable, such as qualifications and part of what education is supposed to do. This ignores the contradictory or undesirable results. When undesirable results are observed, they are usually blamed on the recipients.

Education programs in the nomadic communities need to provide the type of education that is consistent with the environment to which nomads live in. The current educational programs in Turkana district are not designed with such priorities. Although many of the problems of inadequacies are not specific to nomadic children, studies show that nomadic children, particularly girls, fall far behind when it concerns education access (UNICEF, 1992).

Pastoralist Areas in Africa

According to the United Nations, roughly 10% of the world's population--living in more than 80 countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan, Niger, Ethiopia, India, and others--is pastoralist indigenous groups whose cultural practices play critical roles in preserving our planet's societal and ecological diversity (Hogg, 1997). However, the lack of acknowledgement and recognition on the part of mainstream societies regarding the values of pastoralism has often resulted in the marginalization of nomads socially, economically and politically. Many African pastoralist societies are still impeded from determining their own appropriate development paths in line with their cultural values. Their lack of modern education

has resulted in the failure of accessing other social services, political representation, and basic rights.

On the continent of Africa, pastoralists are found in arid and semi-arid regions. The livestock-keeping communities are divided into four different areas in which nomads reside and share similar environmental conditions. Similarities include: types of herds, methods of economic production, related social histories, and cultural practices such as religion and political organizations. For example, North African pastoralists live on the margins of the Sahara with their herds of small stocks such as goats and sheep. Berbers of Morocco, Kababbish Arabs of Sudan, Cyrenaican, and the Bedouins of Libya also benefit from the trans-Saharan trade and practices similar methods of economic production. Tuareg pastoralist groups of Niger, Algeria, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Mali also participate in the same economic trade, where their earnings originate from distance trade with the Sahara desert from camel raising (Rasmussen, 2000). Some of the North African pastoralists are known to practice Islam, as their societies lean towards hierarchically stratified systems.

The Fulani of Nigeria and Niger, who also practice Islam, are examples of the people of Sahelian grasslands. These West African pastoralists have a long history of interaction with sedentary groups, such as the Hausa, Songhai, and the Bornu. Like the Tuareg of North Africa, the Fulani pastoralists take long distance journeys following the annual seasonal rainfall as they move between the Sahara and the grasslands to the south. In Southern Africa, pastoralist groups include the Khoisan speakers as well as the Bantu speaking agro-pastoralists. Khoisan speakers include the Tswana, Herero, and Swazi people, who combine cattle raising with dry land horticulture. Pastoralists in this region are generally sedentary. Like other pastoralists, such as

Fulani, cattle have become an important aspect of their economies (A. B. Smith & Webley, 2000).

Eastern Africa has the largest number of nomadic pastoralist societies. Pastoralist communities such as the Maasai, Samburu, Turkana, and Pokot occupy roughly 60% of Kenya and 50% of Tanzania. Likewise, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia have large numbers of livestock keeping nomads. In Somalia, for example, the ethnic groups of Afar, Beja, Rendille, and Gabra specialize in camel herding. In Sudan and Kenya, the Turkana, the Pokot, and the Maasai, as well as the Toposa are pastoralists. In Ethiopia, pastoralists such as the Oromo occupy the whole south-western part of the country, and comprise one of the largest pastoralist societies. In Uganda, the Karamojong, the Jie, and Teso, all herd cattle and small stocks such as sheep and goats. The Teso also combine herding with agriculture. East African pastoralists are known to organize in small, decentralized and autonomous household units and many live in semi-sedentary communities, from which livestock is herded daily, as is the case with the Teso of Northern Uganda. At the same time, these pastorals move in and out of their villages periodically as resources become scarce or political tensions increase. As such, few East African nomads differ from Mid-Eastern or Saharan pastoralists, who move great distances with their herds as required (Namara, 1999).

Pastoralism in Kenya

The majority of Kenya's pastoralist population resides in the arid and semi-arid lands that account for over 80% of the surface area of the country, 50% of the livestock population and over 25% of the human population. Pastoralism is a key mode of livelihood in these areas and represents the only effective means of exploiting the more arid lands (Galaty, 1994).

Samburu pastoralist groups occupy the south side of Lake Turkana in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. Traditionally, Samburu herd cattle, goats, and sheep in arid and semi-arid regions in Kenya and other neighboring countries with sparse vegetation. A nomadic life-style is essential for their survival since attempts to settle down in permanent locations have reduced their self-sufficiency and ability to maintain their traditional values and practices. Samburu pastorals branched from one of the later Nilotic migrations from the Sudan, as part of the Plains Nilotic movement. The broader grouping of the Maa-speaking people continued moving south, under the pressure of the Borana of Ethiopia expanding into their plains. Maa-speaking peoples have lived and fought from Mt. Elgon in Uganda to Malindi on the coast of Kenya and down the Rift Valley into Tanzania. The Samburu nomads inhabit an early settlement area of the Maa group. The Maasai constitute the Maa-speaking pastoral group who moved south and have retained a more purely nomadic lifestyle until recently, when they took interest in farming and education. Those in the East continue to herd cattle along with other small herds such as sheep and goats. The expanding Turkana encountered the Samburu when they began expanding north and east (Tanaka, 1984).

Among the Samburu are the Pokot, who reside in west central, north and south-western Kenya. According to Dietz (1984), the Pokot pastoralist group is linguistically related to numerous sedentary populations, such as the Kamba, living in the region, with ties to both the Nilo-Hamitic peoples who came from North Africa and to Bantu peoples migrating from Central Africa. The Kenyan census (Kenya, 2001), however, places them among the Kalenjin pastorals who share Nilo-Hamitic ancestry and history. The nomadic lifestyle that some Pokot practice is similar to that of Kenyan sedentary societies and has allowed them to come into contact with Africans from different regions with various backgrounds. This interaction has facilitated a

social civilization that in some circumstances has included marriage with neighboring communities such as Kamba, Karamojong, and Turkana. Since Pokot are among the Nilo-Hamitic people, some of their customs are those borrowed from Karamojong, Jie, and Turkana, whom they neighbor.

Although a small number of Pokot pastoralists are cultivators, the majority are pastoralists who measure wealth according to the size of the herds one owns. Herd animals are usually exchanged, most significantly as a form of bride wealth. A man is permitted to marry many wives, as long as he has sufficient stock to offer in exchange for his brides (Schweizer & White, 1998).

As for political systems, Pokot society is governed through a series of age grades. Group membership is determined by the age at which one undergoes initiation. For boys, this usually takes place between the ages of fifteen and twenty, while for girls at the age of twelve. After initiation the youth are permitted to fully participate in the local economic activities, which are usually in the form of herds. Later in life, the youths are granted status and respect according to their age (Jonsson, 2006).

Such is also the case for the Rendille who occupy the north central region of Kenya. Like the Samburu and the Pokot, the Rendille also are nomads who herd camels, goats and cattle. The Rendille live in a harsh environment shared by many powerful pastoralists, such as the Oromo and Turkana, who often harass them. The Rendille consist of nine clans called the white Rendille. Each of these clans consists of two to seven sub-clans. They are culturally similar to the Gabbra, having adopted some Borana customs and being related to the Somali people to the East (Spencer, 1973).

The language they speak is closely related to Somali, but their allies are the Samburu to the South. One sub-group of Rendille, the Ariaal, is ethnically Rendille, but shares the same language with Samburu. This scenario applies to many different ethnic groups in Africa. For example, Bagisu of Uganda are ethnically identical to Luya of Kenya, while Wa'gnoni of Tanzania are Zulus who migrated north during the first encounter with white settlers. The Ariaal no longer speak the Rendille language and are in reality a different pastoralist group. Furthermore, the Ariaal follow Samburu clan groupings and initiation rites (Fratkin, 2004). Missionaries had great influence on Rendille, who now practice Christianity, while the majority of pastoralists, such as Ariaal, Turkana, and Maasai practice traditional indigenous religions.

The Maasai, best known for their exotic beads and dances, live in Kenya and Tanzania. It should be noted that populations practicing pastoralism and nomadic lifestyles have a common belief that all cattle belong to them. Because of this belief, the Maasai and Turkana pastoralists participate in cattle raiding to retrieve herds they believe must have been stolen from them. The bond the Maasai have with their herds has necessitated a semi-nomadic way of life as they follow seasons in search for resources to meet the needs of their herds. The first European explorers to Maasailand described the appearance of the Maasai as the most exotic people of all humankind. Today, there are approximately 600,000 Maasai in both Tanzania and Kenya (Saitoti & Beckwith, 1980).

With 450,000 people, the Nilotic-speaking Turkana of Kenya comprises the second-largest pastoralist group, after the Maasai (World Vision, 2005). This group is one of the last nomadic societies of Africa today. Fortunately for them, the land they inhabit is very remote and too arid to attract many outsiders. Many African governments, including the Kenyan, have taken the traditional territories of their nomads to settle ever-increasing sedentary populations. The

Turkana nomads have extracted a living from land that is, for the most part, inhospitable. From colonialism to the present, Turkana pastoralists have been recognized as Kenya's most marginalized population.

Demography. Demographic studies (Dyson-Hudson & McCabe, 1985) indicate that between 1920 and 1989, Turkana pastoralists were extremely dynamic and mobile people. In a nomadic pastoral system of subsistence, migration serves several purposes that incorporate maximizing grazing and water usage for herds. Migration also serves as a drought coping-mechanism. Because of their dynamic and flexible nomadic lifestyle, it is difficult to determine the structure, settlement patterns and distribution of the population in Turkana district.

Some Turkana nomadic pastoralists occupy areas where there are few reliable pastures and resources of water for both animals and humans. Hence, these are areas where schools for Turkana pastoralist could be set up, particularly for Turkana girls. These schools could take into consideration Turkana traditions while at the same time, incorporating modern education. Other areas where Turkana population density is higher include irrigation schemes such as Lokori, Kaatilo and the urban and market centers such as Lodwar. These areas are relatively equipped with some infrastructure such as adequate roads and communication means and by public infrastructure including schools, dispensaries, and piped public water systems and shopping facilities. Populated areas have a number of schools that tend to attract students from agro-pastoralists and not children from nomadic pastoralists. Further, parents from mainland Kenya often send their children to boarding schools in Turkana as the cost is very low (Lokuruka, 2003).

According to Munyesi (1998), the Institute of Development at Nairobi University estimated the population of Turkana in 1996 to be 299,000; however, the official government of

Kenya gives a figure of 450,000 (Leslie & Little, 1999). This figure is much higher than those provided by above sources. Some reasons for the discrepancies have been mentioned above, however, they also include the absence of adequate resources to carry out a sufficient census. As a result, this discrepancy makes it difficult to estimate the population by gender which, in turn, affects the provision of education for girls in the district. It is therefore imperative that a way to rectify the conditions with regards to the accuracy of the population in Turkana district is found and implemented. This will allow educational policymakers and planners to work together accordingly in order to provide for the various social needs of Turkana pastoralist and more specifically, the needs of Turkana girls.

Turkana Administration and Political Situation

The District of Turkana is one of Kenya's 69 administrative districts. For the purposes of provincial administration, Turkana is divided into nine administrative divisions, namely Kaalokol, Turkwel, Lokori, Kaatilo, Kaakuma, Lokicokkio, Lokitaang, Kaapendo, and Kibish. It has 29 locations and 54 sub-locations. The district commissioner is responsible for the operation of the district as the chief executive officer for the rural development activities. The social services sector of Turkana is run by the County Council. The town services are provided by the municipal or urban councils, as is the case of Lodwar Town (Lokuruka & Lokuruka, 2000). Lokitaang sub-district is not a full-fledged district as defined by the government, but has nonetheless maintained this status for more than 40 years. Colonialism partly is to blame for this state of underdevelopment. However, lack of interest by the Kenyan government in the sub-district is also due to the consistent cattle raiding between the Turkana, the Pokots of Kenya and the Borana pastoralist of Ethiopia.

Turkana is divided politically into three constituencies, namely Turkana North, Central and South. An elected member of parliament represents each constituency. The district of Turkana has been voting for Kenya African Nation Union (KANU) since the country became independent in 1963. However, in 1997, the district was challenged when a Member of Parliament for Turkana North constituency was elected on opposition party. Access to Kenya's resources is determined to a large extent by political support and also by the relationship of an ethnic group to the community providing the President. Since independence in 1963, Turkana district has not been endowed with equal political leadership capable of articulating and delivering aspirations for the people, so it has realized little in the form of modern development. Despite Turkana women voting during elections, and even though they comprise 60% of the voters in the district, they have yet to elect a woman to represent them in Parliament (Lokuruka & Lokuruka, 2002). Lokuruka argued that it might take Turkana women another two decades to fully participate in political positions in Turkana as well as in Kenya.

Economic Activities in Turkana District

The economic activities for Turkana people in the district are based on subsistence activities of the sub-groups as described below:

Pastoralist nomadic: Turkana nomadic pastoralists form roughly 90% of the population in Turkana district and they depend on livestock which often include camels, cattle, sheep, donkeys, and goats. For this group, livestock provides the dietary needs of milk, meat, blood and ghee. Depending on the location at a given time, as well as the animal situation, this group of Turkana often will take on cultivation activities; however they practice it as a supplement to livestock husbandry. As such, livestock husbandry is the backbone of Turkana economy.

Turkana women are the pillars of nomadic lifestyle as they tend to the animals, fetch water, milk livestock, construct kraals--enclosures--for livestock, construct homes as well as take on the responsibility of child rearing. Supplemental income, which is essentially livestock oriented, is attributable to women (Reckers, 1997).

Fishing-pastoralists community: The vulnerability of the livestock sector to drought makes it necessary for some pastoralists to turn to fishing on Lake Turkana for survival. The population residing by the lake participated in finishing activities. Many do return to pastoralism sector when their herds recover (Angel & Robbins, 1981).

Agro-Pastoralist: The agro-pastoralists in Turkana are those who heavily rely on sorghum cultivation for subsistence. More and more famine relief victims have become agro-pastoralist in Turkana district in areas where the environment allows them (Angel & Robbins, 1981).

The extent of rain-fed agricultural production in the district is not determined, but estimates of 200 acres have been provided by Turkana Rehabilitation Development Program, (Whitehead, 1988). The advantage of the rain-fed agricultural production system is the low cost of the operation structures compared to the irrigated methods of crop production. In both systems, the grain of sorghum dominates other crops such as cowpeas, green and black grams, corn and other 3-month-maturing grains that are produced by rain-fed agriculture. The availability of these crops supplements Turkana pastoralist diets of protein food. The population living in urban centers such as Lodwar, Lokicair, and Kakuma have access to different kinds of foods--rice, potatoes, meat, and corn--that are unavailable to pastoralists (Pavitt, 1997).

Food from animals is common source of minerals and vitamins for Turkana nomads. With the exception of sorghum, Turkana nomads face a plant shortage. Depending on the rainy session, nomads sometimes have access to wild fruits and vegetables for 2 months a year to

supplement their diet of sorghum. The fruits and vegetables contribute to Turkana dietary requirements for the minerals and vitamins. The availability of diverse crops in the irrigation schemes and plots by the river is an economic advantage to the agro-pastoralists, especially women, in addition to the improvement of their nutrition (Lokuruka, 2003).

In general, Turkana women provide the labor requirements for crop production and care for small herds such as sheep, goats, as well as looking after children. However, work in the modern irrigation schemes requires the participation of both men and women. This is a break from the traditional practices, as it is a necessity not a choice. In the finishing industries on Lake Turkana, the finishing activity remains a man's work as it is considered perilous for the women to participate. Women are responsible for constructing necessary equipment to dry fish.

Wage earners: Turkana wage earners entirely depend on cash for subsistence. They live in market centers and make a living from employment with NGOs, the government, or private businesses. In addition, some participate in petty trading, selling crafts, firewood, charcoal, beer, crops, fish and sometimes their bodies in exchange for cash. As previously mentioned, Turkana district in Kenya has the least devitrified economies and makes one of the smallest contributions to the country's GDP. The district is not able to meet most social needs of its constituents (Drought Monitoring Project, 1995).

Turkana pastoral continuously relocate their livestock to regions that will provide sufficient feed and water. It is the herd-owner who, based on his assessment of the future needs for water and grazing for the livestock and the conditions in the present location and elsewhere, decides when and where the camp moves. Other factors, such as the presence of predators, other pastoral groups in the area, livestock diseases, or the desire to live near friends also influence the decision to relocate. The welfare of the camp depends predominantly on the skilful decision-

making of the herd-owner. Bad decisions and dreadful luck can lead to livestock losses, which sometimes force families to move away from pastoralism to seek other means of livelihood such as farming and fishing. In most cases, they move to trading centers in Lodwar, Pelekech, or Lokichoggio, while those living in the southern part of the district will often come to Lokori, Katilu, or Loperot. Others will travel to famine relief centers in the northern part of the district. In many societies in Africa, marriage is the focus of existence. It is considered a drama in which everyone becomes an actor or actress. Therefore, marriage is a duty, a requirement from society, a rhythm of life in which the individual participates. There is an African saying that “those who don’t participate in such rituals are a curse to their community.” Failure to get married under normal circumstances means that the person has rejected society and society rejects him in return (Mbiti, 1969).

Among the Turkana, marriage has the significance of establishing and reinforcing alliances among families and bride wealth. Further, marriage also provides a man with the rights to offspring. Without this exchange of dowry, children from the union belong to the mother’s biological family, a trait that is not commonly practiced in many parts of Africa. In fact, it is considered shameful if a man’s children are claimed by his wife’s family and is only acceptable under dire circumstances. It is through marriage and childbearing that Turkana men become independent pastoralists, because both wives and children assist in livestock management, a requirement if one is to have over 100-200 cattle and small herds (Leslie & Little, 1999).

Traditionally, gender roles exist across Africa and Turkana society is no exception. Customarily, an African girl child is propagated for wealth in the sense of dowry. This child only needs a hardworking husband to feed and clothe her as she in return produces and takes care of the offspring. In Turkana nomadic society, women have responsibility for small herds such as

sheep, donkeys, and goats, in addition to the tasks of gathering and preparing food, fetching water, milking, and childrearing. The male is responsible for the grazing, watering, and marketing of larger herds, as well as training the future village elders (Leslie & Little, 1999).

Livestock is an important economic factor for Turkana pastoralists of Kenya. The contribution of livestock includes the production of food through the means of milk and blood; raw materials such as skins and horns for industry; cash income; savings; fuel; social functions and employment. Turkana's livestock sector contributes 8% to Kenya's total export earnings and is the fourth major source of foreign currency through export of live animals and skins. The number of livestock owned per family is usually an important indicator of wealth, given the extent to which livestock contribute to household income and food security. Hence, Turkana pastoralists prefer to hold large livestock, as custom provides rank according to stature. Furthermore, large stocks minimize the vulnerability to animal diseases.

The crises of the 1970s and 1980s went unnoticed in many African countries and communities. These crises were structural adjustments policies, which were a response to the economic crises that African nations were facing immediately after independence. The economic crises that many developing countries experienced in the late 1970s and 1980s were the results of external and internal factors (Kanyinga & Ibutu, 1994). The principle external factors were the oil prices of 1973 and 1979 as well as high interest rates of borrowed international loans and international credit. Given that developing countries' exports were dominated by dollars, the weakness of US currency also played a role. The affects of the crises on pastoralists were the new requirements of immunization of their herds, which they could not afford.

It has been well recognized that pastoralists are among the most marginalized populations in the world, and Turkana nomads of Northern Kenya are no exception. This pastoral group is economically, politically, and socially disadvantaged. In fact, outsiders such as refugees to Kenya receive better treatment in terms of room and board. The relationship between the “hosts” and the newcomers is bitter. This has contributed to the Turkana resenting refugees from the neighboring countries of Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, and Somalia residing in the Kakuma refugee camp, which is located directly in Turkana district. Turkana is impacted by famine, drought and severe economic hardships that make living conditions difficult for the population. Here, Turkana as a group challenges the international primary doctrine of refugee protection and their perception of the Kenyan government is not positive. Economic capital in the district is very scarce and the little education and health services that exist are provided by missionaries, whose ultimate goal is to save the Turkana from the evils of heathenism (Amach, 2009).

Turkana Education

As stated previously, missionaries were the first European group to deal with African education (Bogonko, 1992). Interest in promoting modern education by missionaries and colonial governments were based on the need to have “civilized” civil servants. In general, the colonial and missionary education confined African women to domestic sciences, in the Victorian sense, where women were supposed to be homemakers and men nation-builders. As Sifuna (1990) argued, politically independent African nations such as Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and others had confidence in the possibilities of promoting economic growth and development through the means of modern education, but they ignored indigenous African education. Instead, they designed education based on their own modernist objectives and

interests. The emerging countries understood that modern education was the vehicle through which national human resources could be developed. Education was to produce African personnel to replace the departing white expatriates.

Since the mid-1970s, the debates and policies of gender equality have taken center stage, not only at the level of the individual nation-state in Africa, but as an international concern, particularly at the United Nations and its various specialized agencies. The question of gender equity in society was first recognized as an international concern meriting massive mobilization when the year 1975 was declared International Women's Year, followed by the United Nations declaration of 1976 to 1985 as the Decade for Women. This led to the four major international conferences on women: Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. These meetings produced policy documents which identified the most pressing issues to be tackled by each state. Women's access to and benefit from education are among the priorities. For instance, the second among the twelve "critical areas of concern" adopted in the Beijing Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (United Nations, 1995) specifically point to the inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training. The Beijing Plus Five" Conference, which took place in June 2000 at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York city to renew further commitment, was an indicator of the sustained interest in treating gender as a central issue in development.

Apart from these gender-focused conferences, major meetings that addressed other social issues also systematically included a gender component including: the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development, the 1993 Vienna Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the 1995 Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development, and the 1996 United Nations Conference on Human

Settlements in Istanbul. Furthermore, it has become a tradition for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to seize the opportunity of these meetings to also organize on the same themes, at the same time in the same venue, to raise the voices and concerns of those whose needs are not perceived as a priority by the states. The largest groups of people who have been marginalized, and those who have been the major organizing force for the NGOs, have been women. Thus, these international meetings, conventions, and resolutions have become a global arena influencing domestic policies on women's needs. The prominence of gender in the international arena has led to a flurry of post-modern and post-colonial discourses since the mid 1980s that stress the need for critical studies which address the specific social contexts of women around the world (Kenya African National Union, 1997; Mohanty 1991). An important underlying purpose has been to build the needed database for the development of theories grounded on women's life experiences.

Education Documents

In this section, the study examines the reports of Kenya's early government-initiated educational and developments that have been produced over the last 30 years: the Gachathi Report (1976), the Mackay Report (1981), the Ominde Report (Ominde, 1964), the Wanjigi Report (1982-1983), the Kamunge Report (1988), and the Ndegwa Report (1991). These reports give a picture of the pattern of changes in educational policies in Kenya from independence in 1963 to the present. The policies have served as guidelines in the formulation of relevant curricula. Downey (1988) argued that "policy is an instrument of governance and policy making involves the processing of needs and demands of society as well as establishing of guidelines for functioning of the system" (p. 23).

Education as development. Education assumes a critical role in development plans in any country, including Kenya. Peattie (1981), upon reviewing the history of development planning since the mid-20th century, concluded that “the planning of education has been placed squarely and legitimately into development planning” (p. 93). Government-initiated development plans in Africa in general are influenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), whose operations are perceived as far from being politically neutral by most members of less developed countries (Honeywell, 1983). Kenya is not excluded from this influence. The educational segment of national development plans typically assigns to the education system roles and responsibilities, which in general contribute to the national development goals and suggest ways in which the system can be improved (Thomas, 1993).

Unlike during the colonial era, policymakers have had the opportunity to formulate policies that will enhance social, economic, and political development. Under colonial rule, African people’s voices were excluded from government; the same was true for the Kenyan population. Kenya’s national resources were organized and developed mainly for the benefit of Europeans and Asians while the African population remained largely uneducated, untrained and deprived of the economic benefits of their labor (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983).

Freire (1990) argued that education is not a neutral enterprise; it is a political one. The colonial government had used education to enhance and to maintain a racially segregated society, and to regulate access to economic, political, and social opportunities. As such, colonial education limited Africans to occupations of rural, semi-ethnic society and to the lowest levels of the public administration (Ominde, 1964).

At independence, education had become an arm of Kenya, a new emerging nation in which, as the new leaders claimed, all people had equal rights. Education was pressed into

services to help foster the psychological basis of nationhood, to promote national unity, and to serve as an instrument for the conscious change of attitudes. Leaders in independent Kenya had been witnesses to the power of education in the control of social, economic, and political opportunities during the colonial period. Consequently, the government assumed central responsibility for education at all levels by removing responsibility from various communal and religious bodies that managed the segregated system (Gachathi Report, 1976).

Since independence, the Kenyan government's control of the education sector has been enshrined in the Laws of Kenya under the Education Act. This Act entrusts the minister of education with the responsibility of promoting the education of "the people of Kenya and progressive development of institutions devoted to the promotion of education" (Republic of Kenya, 1980, p. 5). The minister is also "in charge of securing the effective co-operation, under his general direction or control, of all public bodies concerned with education in carrying out the national policy for education" (p. 5). The Education Act "allows the Minister to order or entrust any of his functions with respect to education to a local authority on such terms, conditions or restriction he believes fit" (p. 6).

Involvement of the public is sought during the formulation of education policy recommendations. Unofficial voices, in this case educators, parents, community leaders, and the general public, are often invited to contribute to the national discourse on education. Whether their views have any influence on the education guidelines that result from these commissions, however, is another issue.

Education for Pastoralist Women

The first president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, shortly after independence in 1963 initiated the Kenya Education Commission, which developed the Ominde Education Report (Ominde, 1964). The Commission consisted of 14 members: 13 men and 1 woman. The members of the Commission Report were appointed by the Minister of Education, Prof. Simeon H. Ominde. Dr. Ominde, one of the few Africans to hold academic posts during that time, chaired the commission. Four commissioners were members of parliament; the rest were high-ranking civil servants. The only female member was not an academic or a politician and her participation was limited to the panel that examines primary level education.

The Ominde Report is responsible for formulating policies on education to serve the new independent nation of Kenya. Prior colonial policies dealt with education as separate social activities along racial lines as European education, Asian education, and African education. Africans were given an education deemed suitable to their position in colonial life and “appropriate” to the African population, as the lowest echelons of the society. Colonial policy on the education of Africans ensured that most of the African population had little or no education.

Kenyans, as members of the public, were invited to contribute to the commission. The invitation provided educators and critics an opportunity to express their views. Despite the public invitation, the final policy recommendations were the members’ responsibility (Ominde, 1964).

The Ominde Report noted the crucial role that education has to play in cultural, social, economic, and political development. During the time of the developing of the report, Kenya was in a period of multiple transitions from a subsistence economy to a monetary economy, from

the development of natural and human resources to the development of resources to benefit Kenyans (Ominde, 1964). The report further noted that a highly skilled African labor force is required not only to take up positions that had been denied to them, but also to continue the nation's economic development. The Ominde Report recommended the provision of universal basic education and production of high level African skilled human resource for cultural, economic, and political. Education in Kenya is set to foster a sense of nationhood and national unity, serve all Kenyans without discrimination, promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe, and religion, through the respect of cultural traditions of Kenyans as expressed in social institutions and relationships (Ominde, 1964). Consequently, the education system is placed into the service of achieving the social, cultural, economic, and political goals of an independent Kenya.

During Kenya's first election as an independent country, Kenyan women were underrepresented in education since the colonial administrators developed education along gender and racial lines. The Ominde Report rejected appeals for girls-only boarding primary schools. Advocates for the schools have argued that "in mixed schools their daughters' interests will be neglected, that their daughters will be used by teachers for the performance of duties unrelated to classroom, and that moral dangers exists in mixed education at the upper primary level" (Ominde, 1964, p. 65). The report argued that providing boarding primary schools for girls will not only be expensive, but that girls' boarding schools will not necessarily solve the problems identified by proponents of single-sex schools. The report, however suggested single sex secondary schools as requested by a large number of heads of schools, who made oral submissions to the commission.

The Ominde Report further noted that the need to “Kenyanize” the entire infrastructure of the modern work force, especially management positions, demands quick production of highly skilled African manpower from a pool of uneducated Africans. “The African majority, under colonial rule, had been left with educational prospects which, despite popular pressure, were limited by sheer numbers, by the modest means placed at their disposal; and by the social occupational role to which they were restricted” (Ominde, 1964, p. 21).

The Ominde Report addressed the development of pastoral areas and the need to provide education to the inhabitants of “under-developed areas.” However, the report concluded that this development requires a great supply of economic resources as well as concurrent changes in traditional ways of life. The development of human resources in the pastoralist areas is viewed as an essential contribution to progress; however, the effect of education on nomads is evaluated to be unfit for pastoralists, except to provide the basis for development. The report recommended that the educational facilities in such areas need to carefully coordinate with the provisions of other means of economic and social development. It concluded that unless the pastoralist population views education as an entity that is consistent with their lifestyle and the development progress of their regions, those benefiting from education will flee the districts for other regions in search of better economic, social and political outlets for attainments. The Ominde Report provided pastoralist populations in Kenya with somewhat of choice, however it also fears that pastoralist will abandon their pastoral ways of life to compete for improved social, economic and political status.

The commissioner does not seek to replace the colonial education offered in Kenya prior to independence. Rather, he seeks to change the rules that regulated the educational opportunities to favor the “African-Kenyan.” The category of race eclipsed other forms of

inequalities that are part of the inherited colonial systems of education and governance. Policy recommendations zeroed in on race issues such as the “Africanization” of the modern sector. Subtly, the education system in Kenya after independence eliminated the existence of gender barriers in access to education and employment opportunities. Furthermore, the Ominde Report emphasized academic education as a prerequisite for participation in the formal/modern employment sector, and emphasizes the modern sector that is urban based. The approach accelerated the rural urban migration of male job seekers. The enthusiasm shown in the Commission Report’s prioritization of Kenya’s development needs does not adequately address the needs of pastoralists.

Gachathi Report

The Gachathi Report (1976) is Kenya’s second policy document devoted solely to education after independence. It was realized within the economic, political, and social context defined by the 1974-1978 development plans. The Gachathi Report emphasized the need for educational changes not only to cope with the sluggish Kenya’s economy, but also to stimulate its growth. The report was produced by a committee of 24 commissioners, headed by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Peter Gachathi. Only two of the commissioners were women, of which one was a headmistress of Kenya’s oldest girls’ high school while the other was a lecturer in the Department of Home Economics at Kenyatta University. The male commissioners included high ranking academics, heads of postsecondary institutions, senior civil servants, and successful businessmen.

Academician and educators’ papers were sought for the Commission Report. Of the 32 papers presented, only two come from female academicians with masters’ degrees and none had

political or social clout. Also invited to submit interviews and memorandums were representatives of organizations, departments, and interested individuals. The impact of the Ominde educational policies on the economy with a mandate of providing new direction for education in Kenya is examined.

Kenya's economy had not expanded since the development of the Ominde Report. Rather, unemployment and rural-urban migration rates had skyrocketed. The transition from a traditional society dependent on agricultural subsistence to a modern society produced undesirable results that became impediments to economic growth. Rising school enrollment was accompanied by high dropout rates. The academic system of education was accused of promulgating the myth that formal education automatically led to high wage employment in the modern urbanized sector of the economy. This myth resulted in a heavy rural-urban migration in search of nonexistent jobs (Gachathi Report, 1976). The Commissioners argued that school graduates have no skills that are needed in major areas of national development (Gachathi Report, 1976). Education however, successfully provides some highly skilled labor for participation in the modern sector, as well as for Africanization.

Because the educational system in Kenya performed poorly in its role in national development, the commissioners recommended new policy directions to be adopted so that education could play its rightful role in national development (Gachathi Report, 1976). The Gachathi Report focused on women and education, general education and rural development as areas that contribute to economic development.

The report pointed out that although half of the human resources required for national development consisted of women, the general status of education and the skills of women lag behind those of men. Further, the report noted that if national development is to be maximized,

the basic knowledge and skills possessed by women should at least be equal to those of men. The report recommended that “basic educational and skill attributes acquired by women be continually supplemented by lifelong and effective non-formal learning since women are also biologically responsible for bearing and rearing children” (Gachathi Report, 1976, p. 47).

These policy recommendations aim to address gender disparities in educational opportunities in Kenya that are not addressed by the Ominde Report. The Gachathi Report (1976) noted that the underlying reasons for gender imbalances in opportunities are traditions, beliefs, and prejudices held by people regarding the roles and occupations of women. The commissioners note that these have to be modified or abolished. Women do not have adequate formal education and the majority of educated women restrict themselves to gender specific careers such as nursing, secretarial, and teaching. Furthermore, the Gachathi Report outlined that:

It must be remembered that the prominent life pattern for the majority of women, even for those who have had education and training will include essential family responsibilities and in terms of careers, this would mean a life of multiple roles and occasional disturbance. (p. 45)

The report (Gachathi Report, 1976) suggested the following policy recommendations to address gender imbalances and to increase women’s educational and economic opportunities:

1. Make more secondary schools co-educational (to give more girls opportunities in the larger number of boys only schools);
2. Increase opportunities for girls in science;
3. Provide compensatory enrollments for women at the post-secondary and university levels of education;
4. Increase non-formal education and training for women, with special emphasis on their economic roles;

5. Evolve an integrated structure of informal education and training at the national and local levels, and give emphasis to the role of women in the economy by recruiting more of them as agricultural and extension officers;
6. Improve the career guidance program in schools, especially for girls (p. 47).

The Gachathi Report (1976), like the Ominde, addressed the need to bring areas inhabited by pastoralists into Kenya's mainstream development policies. Education is mentioned as one way that this goal can be accomplished. However, the report stressed the same issues that the Ominde Report outlined, that it, is difficult to accommodate populations living in remote areas. The arid and semi-arid lands are seen as needing free education, since the pastoral and nomadic population still prefers their culture and occupation as opposed to western education. The mention of pastoralist women in the report is absent. This is interpreted to mean that pastoralist women are included in policies addressing gender disparities in Kenya, yet they have no education opportunities.

The Gachathi Report (1976) also recommended the provision of "free" universal basic education for enhancing the efforts toward the equality of economic opportunities and national unity in the country. It states that the primary level of education will assist all citizens to contribute fully to social and economic development. Nevertheless, within this "free" education rhetoric, parents still have to meet the costs of uniforms, building funds, equipment levies, and activity fees (Gachathi Report, 1976). The latter costs constitute one of the principal impediments to girls' education and are responsible for high dropout rates among primary and secondary schoolchildren.

The Gachathi Report (1976) centered on rural areas as sites of development. The report defined development as the totality of the processes of change geared towards enhancing the quality of life of the people living in rural areas. One could make assumption that policies

related to rural areas are important to Kenyan women, as they constitute 70-80% of the rural population. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Instead, the shift from urban to rural development is an attempt to reduce the rural-urban migration of Kenyan male job seekers in search of scarce employment.

The Gachathi Report's (1976) policy recommendations attempted to break the "official silence" on sedentary society gender inequalities in educational opportunities. It also draws attention to the multiplicity of roles that women engage in as workers, mothers, and wives. The report provided an opportunity for the construction of gender as a category of analysis of educational opportunities, yet none of the Kenyan educational policies address the needs of pastoralist woman, nor did the policies recognize pastoralist women as a population with unique educational needs which differ from sedentary women. Even so, few subsequent policy documents use gender, especially pastoralist women, as a category in the formulation of educational and development policies.

Mackay Report 1981

The Mackay Report was written in 1981 by a working party appointed to review Kenya's higher education system in relation to the rural development objectives and to recommend how a proposed second university could better assist in their attainment. Kenya's President, Daniel T. Arap Moi, appointed the working party. It consisted of 17 men, the majority of whom had high academic achievements and who were high-ranking Kenyan civil servants, with the exception of the Canadian chairperson, Dr. Mackay.

Kenya was faced with rapid unemployment growth that was intensified by rural and urban migration of school dropouts who sought already limited employment opportunities in the

formal employment sector. The role of the second university is to train individuals with skills to enhance rural development. Furthermore, the purpose of the creation of a second public university is to enable the government to maintain control over higher education, which was threatened by the increased presence of private universities. The institutions were seen as cashing in on the high numbers of Kenyans who faced not only the lack of access to the local university and junior training colleges, but also the inability to find jobs or create their own. The private universities' curricula did not fit with Kenya's national planning.

The report recommended the restructuring of the educational system from 7-4-2-3 (7 years of primary school; 4 years of secondary education; 2 advanced level, and 3 years of university) to a 8-4-4 (8 years of primary school; 4 years of secondary education, and 4 years of university). The Mackay Report (1981) also recommended all students in secondary level of education to fulfill mathematics and science requirements for graduation. Further, the report recommended curriculum change both at primary and secondary levels with more emphasis on practical courses to provide skills for self-employment. These recommendations were viewed as solutions to the growing demand for higher education, rural-urban migration, unemployment, and Kenya's sluggish economy.

The Mackay working party report did not consider gender as a category in its educational analysis (Mackay Report, 1981). Its recommendations were based on 12 topics that at the time were felt to encompass the different areas in need of investigation. None of these topics addressed or raised issues related to women in general, but more specifically, the Mackay Report (1981) did not address pastoralists or pastoralist women. Nevertheless, the recommendations have direct bearing on women's participation in education and in economic activities.

At the primary level, the report (Mackay Report, 1981) emphasized practical or vocational courses for self-employment. These include masonry, carpentry, and tailoring. Females are limited to tailoring since masonry and carpentry are traditional male trades. At the secondary level, the report recommended science and mathematics subjects to be made compulsory. This recommendation privileges boys as it is these schools that are well equipped for teaching science and math subjects. At the higher level, the emphasis is put on the production of “skilled and high-level manpower” for rural development. The commissioners emphasized scientific and technical skills at the higher level. These are the skills that the majority of Kenyan women are not given the opportunity to acquire, because many do not study the prerequisite science courses in the lower levels of education. Consequently, the recommendations, though outwardly gender neutral, exacerbated gender inequalities in access to educational and economic opportunities.

Wanjigi Report

A committee appointed by President Moi to examine the unemployment problem with respect to the rural and urban formal and informal employment sectors produced the Wanjigi Report of 1982-1983. This committee consisted of nine men and was chaired by Mama Wanjigi, who was also the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. One member was an academic and the rest were high-ranking civil servants. The report concluded that, “despite the impressive achievements in improving the living standards of Kenyans since independence, income is still low and the majority of Kenyans are still very poor” (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983, p. v). The academic-oriented education system is viewed as the major contributing factor to unemployment. The Wanjigi Report endorsed the Mackay Report

recommendations to restructure the Kenyan educational system from a 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 system and to create a second public university. The report notes that within the 8-4-4 educational system, there is an emphasis on practical skill development and a deliberate exposure to practical problems of Kenya.

Poor economic growth, high unemployment rates, rural-urban migration, expansion in education, and increasing costs of public education are the major factors that influenced Wanjigi policy recommendations. Expansion in schooling meant an increased number of school dropouts. “Education and training is costing Kenya 41 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product, making it the largest budgetary allocation to a single government service” (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983, p. 47).

Education is still seen as a tool for solving social, economic, and political problems facing Kenya. The Wanjigi Report (1982-1983) report concluded that the nation’s education system lacks flexibility and recommended that education system be made flexible, relevant, adaptive, and vocational, contrary to the one that is in place, one which is considered to be weak, inflexible, and geared toward white-collar jobs, despite earlier reports emphasizing vocational schools and rural development. The percentage of unemployed in the modern sector jobseekers has been higher among Kenyan women than among men.

The Wanjigi Report (1982-1983), however, did not make any recommendations to ensure that pastoralist communities are not discriminated against in the labor market, nor did the report address discrimination against women in the labor market. The report recommended the introduction of sex education in primary school and primary teachers’ curriculum, because uncontrolled population growth is seen as a barrier to economic growth. It justifies the introduction of sex education at the primary level on the grounds that “children reached puberty

at this stage” and “lack of knowledge about sex and reproduction is one of the causes of pregnancies among school girls” (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983, p. 57). Nevertheless, the report did not address the victimization of adolescent girls, for whom pregnancy would mark the end of their formal schooling. Furthermore, the report failed to address the issue of the male population responsible for the pregnancies in the first place. The men are most often teachers and mature men who in general terms should be guiding young girls in their education.

Kamunge Report 1988

the fourth Kenyan education report is the Kamunge Report developed in 1988 and devoted solely to education. It came 4 years after the implementation of the 8-4-4 educational system first recommended by the Mackay Report. The Kamunge Report examined the 8-4-4 educational policies, and objectives to guarantee that they are in agreement with the changing social, cultural, economic, and political demands of the country. The 8-4-4 educational system was implemented quickly, without physical facilities, workshops, teaching, and learning materials. In addition, the Kenyan government could not cope with the financial demands of this educational system. A working party was appointed to work out an intensive cost-sharing plan for financing education and training in the country. This party consisted of eighteen commissioners, two of whom were women. The majority of the men were senior civil servants. One of female commissioners served as a secretary. James Kamunge was the chair of this working party and the Director of Education.

The report puts emphasis on the centrality of education and training, in helping the nation to meet the many challenges of socioeconomic development. It stresses the need for education and training to offer Kenya’s youth the skills that will lead to self-reliance, self-employment, and

prepare them for employment in the rural areas (Kamunge Report, 1988). The report noted that although education is a vehicle for economic development, the government of Kenya cannot afford to finance the expanding educational system. Kenya was under pressure from the World Bank and the IMF to reduce her educational expenditure that the institutions claimed had contributed to the increasing debt deficit and was, as such, an obstacle to economic development. The World Bank and the IMF proposed increased cost-sharing between the government and communities, parents, and beneficiaries of education and training. This would prove to be a challenge for an already marginalized population whose educational needs were not being addressed to begin with. The working party recommends the immediate implementation of the revised cost-sharing strategy, first implemented after the 1974-1978 Development Plan. The party claims that the increased cost sharing will “accelerate the expansion of education and training opportunities and thereby increase access to education and training at all levels and to ensure their quality and relevance” (Kamunge Report, 1988, p. 2).

The Kamunge Report (1988) did not address gender issues in its examination of the economic problems facing Kenya; however it recommended policies such as the increased cost-sharing strategy that will have an adverse effect on women’s education. The strategy meant that in rural areas, for example, communities would be expected to take more responsibilities in the building of schools and to provide teachers with homes. Parents would have to cover the costs of books, uniforms, exercise books, activity fees, medical care, and additional fees that the community imposes from time to time. The increasing demand for physical and material labor in order to meet these costs increased the workload for rural women, who were overworked already. Pastoralist women are not specifically addressed, but rather, are included in a “one size fits all” generalization of gender and access to education. However, the report recognizes that

those living in arid and semi-arid lands have not benefited from modern education in Kenya and recommends mobile schools, shepherd schools, Dugsi (traditional Quranic schools), madrassa (feeder schools) multi grade schools, and other localized innovations that facilitate reaching the un-reached and hard-to-reach populations. These alternative approaches are to supplement Kenya's regular primary school system that takes care of the majority of children.

Ndegwa Report 1991

The Presidential Committee on Employment created the Ndegwa Report to address the increasing unemployment, rural-urban migration, and high population growth. The Gulf crisis and external debt burden made it impossible for Kenya to invest in the economy to improve conditions for its population. The committee was appointed in April 1990, and consisted of sixteen members, most of whom were senior civil servants, including two women with academic credentials. The women were advocates for equal rights both at the local and international levels. The chairperson was Philip Ndegwa, who was a Permanent Secretary. The committee associates unemployment with Kenya's historical colonial legacy of dichotomizing the economy and labor market into urban and rural sectors, formal and informal sectors, and large- and small-scale sectors with a major urban bias (Ndegwa Report, 1991).

The report was in line with Kenya's 1989 World Bank Country Study recommendations in relation to women and development. It endorses the World Bank's recommendations, such as the emphasis on basic education for women in order to enhance fertility control. The financial support for the project was provided by the United Nations Development Program, which in return influenced the outcome of the report (Ndegwa Report, 1991).

The report emphasized the role of basic education for economic growth and recommends the provision of universal primary education by the year 2001. It claimed that farmers and informal sector workers with primary education are more productive than workers who have not had basic education, and that educated and literate people are likely to be more productive and will do better in most activities. The report claimed that the education of women “contributes significantly towards many other desirable objectives such as that of reducing population growth” (Ndegwa Report, 1991, p. 161). The report drew attention to the high levels of illiteracy rates in Kenya, 44% for males and 57% for females. The report claimed that populations in arid and semi-arid areas need to be targeted more with regards to education. Mobile and boarding schools are some of the recommendations for reaching children residing in such environments. However, the report did not specifically address pastoralist women, nor does it address the Turkana as a pastoralist group.

The Ndegwa Report (1991) commended women’s economic activities in the informal sector, as well as their reproductive labor. It notes women’s roles in agriculture, food production, cash crop production, and in small-scale industries. The Ndegwa Report also noted women’s nurturing roles as mothers and as custodians of family health, especially the welfare of young children, as contributing to the quality of the country’s labor force. It claimed that women’s contribution to development has been widely acknowledged in official policy statements and development literature. Furthermore, the report assumes that “the Kenyan government has put significant efforts into measures to promote women’s development and in redressing the disadvantages suffered by women during the colonial period, especially due to the neglect of their education” (Ndegwa Report, 1991, p. 229).

The Ndegwa Report (1991) pointed out that female representation in the modern sector has risen to over 21% by 1990 compared to 12.2% in 1964. Most of the women in Kenya's formal sector, however, are employed in lower ranks and are concentrated in the service sector. The report recommended an increase in the number of places for women in key positions in the formal employment sector.

The report (Ndegwa Report, 1991) also recommended the following measures to be instituted by the government to improve women's performance, enhance their productivity and efficiency, and increase their employment opportunities:

1. Develop planning to be done with specific reference to gender issues;
2. Kenyan government to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women;
3. The introduction of a common curriculum for girls and boys in technical training to encourage girls to take up courses that provide them with more options and employment opportunities;
4. A policy to increase the number of opportunities for women in key positions in both private and public sectors;
5. Women, especially in the rural areas, ensured access to information of importance to them. (pp. 232-233)

The Ndegwa Report (1991) suggested that the government increase women's earning potential by supporting them through home-based income-generating activities such as tailoring and food processing, activities that are particularly suited to women's multiple roles.

In addition, the report recommended further increases in parents' contribution to their children's education, irrespective of the fact that by 1991 many parents could not meet their current 70% share of fees required for their children to attend school. This increase has had severe implications for girls' educational opportunities, particularly when a family cannot raise its share. In many ways these fees influence parents' decisions about which child to send to school.

In this case, it is usually the boy child who gets educated for cultural purposes. Many African girls have been denied educational opportunities on these grounds.

Overall, the report attempted to treat gender issues in Kenya in detail and makes recommendations that aim at addressing some gender inequalities (Ndegwa Report, 1991). The inclusion of gender issues in this report is associated with participants in the committee, and the development discourse of the time propagated by development agencies such as the World Bank and reflected in Kenya's development plans, particularly the 1989-1993 Development Plan. Overall, as with the previous reports, pastoralist populations are not fully addressed. Rather, the tendency for both reports is to follow up on the first commission report, the Ominde Report, which recognizes the marginalization of pastoralists in education but does little to implement policies necessary for pastoralist populations.

Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 on a Policy of Framework for Education, Training and Research addressed the importance of the provision of education and training to all Kenyans as the government's development strategy. It reviewed the long term objectives of the government to provide every Kenyan with the basic quality education and training which includes the 2 year pre-primary education, 8 years of primary, and 4 years of secondary/technical education. The paper further illustrated that the aim of the Kenyan education is to change the ability of Kenyans to preserve and utilize the environment for productive gain and sustainable livelihoods. While the government stresses the importance of exploiting the environment to its utmost gain, it must be remembered that Turkana district can be classified as a desert with very limited resources that can be utilized for Kenya's productive gain. Kenyans are being told to embrace modernism while at the same time continue the policy of self reliance based on land cultivation. Turkana pastoralists live in an environment that only certain grains can be grown in and even with such

grains, only those living near irrigation schemes have access to such privileges. The sessional paper also says that development of quality human resources is central to the achievement of national goals for industrial development. Universal access to basic education and training ensures such impartial access to basic education and training for Kenyan youths, including girls, vulnerable groups and the disadvantaged. The report does not specifically recognize the Turkana as a vulnerable group, nor does it in particular address Turkana women and girls. It is apparent that Kenya continues to produce educational policies that do not, *per se*, address the Turkana pastoralist group, particularly Turkana women as a unique population that is marginalized first as a member of a pastoralist population and second as women in general. These women continue to be submerged within the group of African woman who are far more privileged (Ndegwa Report, 1991).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the changes in the policy themes and the treatment of gender, particularly pastoralist women and girls in Kenya's policy discourse articulated in the policy documents, are examined. An examination of the public discourse on education shows that since independence, Kenya's educational system has undergone a series of changes and restructuring aimed at enhancing social, economic, and political development. Economic growth and politics have played a central role in determining the direction of education in Kenya.

At independence, the Kenyan government was faced with two major problems that education was assigned the responsibility of solving. The first and far more important was the immediate need to produce competent Kenyans who could take over for the departing colonial administrators. The second and greater challenge was the long-term problem of devising a

system of education that could address the complex political, social, and economic needs of an emergent nation (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983).

At independence, education was called upon to enhance the rights of all citizens unhindered by the consideration of race, ethnicity, and religion. It was to provide the Africans with high-level skills and access to professions and senior positions in banking, industry, and all significant activities of the modern world that had been beyond the reach of Africans before independence (Ominde, 1964). Important at this period was the racial factor. The African/race variable, therefore, assumed a “genderless” Kenya where opportunities had supposedly previously been limited by race only.

The Ominde Report (1964) also recommended the provision of free basic education for all. At this historical point, education was perceived as a right of every Kenyan. This view of education changed in subsequent policy documents such as the Sessional Paper # 10, which noted that education was more of an economic than a social service. It noted that economic growth was the guiding principle upon which all policies in independent Kenya would be made and implemented. The paper warned that free education could not be provided at the expense of economic growth (Republic of Kenya, 1965). The 1974-1978 Development Plan went further and pointed out that education was not a right, but a privilege and a scarce commodity. This led to implementation of the cost-sharing strategy to reduce government spending on education. From this time forward, Kenyans were compelled to take more responsibility for educating themselves (Republic of Kenya, 1974-1978). Subsequent policy documents such as the Kamunge Report and the Ndegwa Report recommended increased cost sharing where parents would have to meet over 80% of the cost of education. These policy changes attempted to devise a system of education capable of addressing itself to the changing social, economic, and political

needs of the country, at specific historical points. Other educational policy changes have included shifts from an emphasis on academic education to vocational education, employment to self-employment, and urban to rural development.

The Ominde Report (1964) inherently emphasized academic education for white-collar jobs in the formal employment sector. A decade later, the 1974-1978 Development Plan noted that the formal sector could no longer absorb all the school dropouts. The country was faced with poor economic growth, a high unemployment rate, and rural-urban migration problems that were linked to the academic system of education (Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983). This led to the recommendation of restructuring the entire education system from 7-4- 2-3 to 8-4-4, with each level being terminal. The new system of education was to emphasize vocational school subjects to offer graduates at every level, skills for self-employment and for rural development (Kamunge Report, 1988; Mackay Report, 1981; Ndegwa Report, 1991; Wanjigi Report, 1982-1983).

Also, an examination of the policy discourse articulated in the policy documents shows variations in the conceptualization of the role of the woman in national development. Some policy documents paid substantial attention to gender issues and to women's roles in national development, while the majority did not engage gender issues. The introduction of gender issues in the policy discourse was influenced by the focus of the policy document and by other factors including the prevailing development discourse orchestrated by development agencies and the gender representation in the committees and working parties. Of importance is the nature of gender issues that were raised and how they were framed. Some documents emphasized the role of women as economic and political agents in the public sphere. They emphasized the need for women to have equal access to higher education and to acquire scientific skills to participate in the formal sector. Others emphasized women's productive and reproductive roles in the private

sphere and recommended that they be offered basic education and non-formal education that enhanced their delivery of these services.

The review of the history of educational opportunities for Kenyans only serves to accentuate concern for the future opportunities of Turkana women.

Chapter 4

Research Design

Introduction

This chapter discusses in-depth the design of the study in two parts. The first part includes research purpose and methods, my own position as a researcher, and the personal research strategies I used to conduct this study. The second part discusses the research strategies that were used to actually complete the study. These included sampling techniques, data collection, and the data analysis plan. In each section, I provide the rationale for selecting the different procedures and how I used it to acquire, analyze and present the collected data.

Critical Ethnography

Because this study aims at interrogating Kenya's educational policies towards pastoralist nomadic indigenous women, critical ethnography will be used, as it seems to fit more closely with the quest of my study and the theoretical framework that I will use. Van Maanen (1988) has described critical ethnography as a research method that is "strategically situated to shed light on larger social, political, symbolic or economic issues" (p. 127). Ethnography is a study that is methodologically oriented towards "anthropological, qualitative, participant-observation' techniques. The techniques derive their theoretical formulations from critical sociology and philosophy" (Masemann, 1982, p.1). It is also embedded in the concept of culture, in that it can help in elucidating webs of cultural, social and political processes and practices that are significant to people and which may in one way or another shape their thinking and behaviors (Carspecken, 1996).

The choice of critical ethnography for this study has been influenced by my interest in qualitative orientations for exploring questions related to people's culture, and the objectives of the study that require a sustained engagement with the informants as the best approach for the study. The issues that determine women's access among pastoralist societies to modern schooling hinge on certain cultural predispositions. Unpacking such elements of culture require qualitative approaches that enable the researcher to get an emic view of the issues under study, as perceived by the informants. This is in contrast to research methods that are top-down, where the researcher imposes her/his reality on the population being studied. At a personal level, emic research orientation is academically rewarding both in developing intellectual insights into how cultures link to issues of modern schooling and also in making practical suggestions for interventions. In regards to the issues of pastoralist development, more specifically their attitudes to modern schooling, studies that have ignored the emic perspective as a basis for interventions have led to aborted educational and developmental policies for the groups (Sifuna 2005). Therefore, I believe that critical ethnography assisted in not only producing knowledge about the conditions that hinder pastoralist women in schooling, but also assisted in asking moral questions about desirable forms of social relations and ways of living for political purposes (Thomas, 1993).

Critical ethnography has close links with a post-structural feminist approach to research. Reinharz (1992) identified feminist researchers as people who document people's lives and activities through interviews, participation and observation. Others (Goldberger, Tarule, Clinchy, & Blenky 1996; Harding, 1986; Maguire, 1987; Tisdell, 1988) have identified feminist approaches to research as that which places people at the center of analysis rather than recipients of research results. In other words, it is research that acknowledges people as subjects of

research, rather than objects of study. In my own study, I will interrogate the Kenyan government's development initiatives such as the provision of formal schooling for pastoralists, pastoralist society's attitudes towards formal schooling and the obstacles these communities encounter concerning accessing various forms of schooling.

Consequently, my study combined critical ethnography and feminist methods. These methods allowed both my participants and I to utilize multiple identities, roles and experiences to identify, describe, question, and analyze our resources, reflections and actions for self-understanding and self-direction. However, since post-structural feminists insist on making gender the base unit of analysis, the research identified individual pastoralist women's multiple relations (Oyewumi, 1997), their particular situation with regards to education (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Saint Martin, 1994) and capacities (Noddings, 1984); the representation of pastoralist women in educational policies, as well as socio-cultural and historical conditions of East Africa, specifically Kenya (Leont'ev, 1978, 1981; Vygotskij, Bruner, Minick, Rieber, & Carton, 1987) as units of analysis. Utilizing these three points as a focus of this study allows for analysis of macro- and micro-level factors that influence access, retention, and achievement in education by women in the pastoralist societies of Kenya. This helps to avoid making absolute claims about pastoralist cultural backward-ness as the cause of their underdevelopment, a view held by many feminist researchers (Mama, 1997). Given the complexities involved in providing education to marginalized populations--here the pastoralist woman--I believe that critical ethnography will be a more adequate approach in addressing pastoralist needs in education than other approaches of qualitative research. I have come to realize that the ways in which pastoralist women in Kenya negotiate around traditions and customs cannot simply be explained by simple descriptive approaches.

My Position as a Researcher

A researcher's own biases have been cited as a primary criticism of qualitative research (Yin, 1994), particularly on the issue of the researcher's subjectivity. However, it would be wrong to confine this criticism to qualitative research, because any research idea emanates from the researcher's perspectives and interests. In this section, I observe Emerson's (2001) argument that a researcher should clarify their personal stake on their research activities. As such, I am uncovering my position and the relationship of the idea of this research and the Turkana research participants. My stance originates from a belief that asymmetrical power relations and dialectical constructions of meaning, which methodically generate inequalities among people, constitute a society. From my own experience as an African woman, it has become more and more clear to me as time passes that asymmetrical power dynamics are a key factor in constructing oppressive social structures. Such structures assign people contradictory identities embedded with meanings assigned to individuals' particular roles and positions for political purposes, hence Turkana pastoralist and other Kenyan ethnic groups.

While growing up, there were certain roles that I was expected to perform which differed from those of my brother. These gendered labor divisions prevented me from participating in other activities to which I considered important. African girls and wives are perceived as inferior; they are told what to do, as well as where and when to do it. Looking after the home is considered a woman's responsibility. From my own experience as a daughter, and as an African woman who understands African cultural expectations of wives, I have come to the conclusion that to a large degree, a society's inability to provide equal services to women indeed isolates them from resources. This phenomenon, therefore, impedes to some degree the realization of a

woman's goals in life, hence, the Turkana women of Northern Kenya are repressed by the patriarchal order of their society.

My research assumes that limited access to resources excludes women from full exposure to the wider world apart from domestic life. The intersection of this creates in women insensitivity to social, economic, political, and cultural processes that may have contributed to the production of their situation in the first place. For example, Shujaa (1996) has argued that worldviews and systems of knowledge are symbiotic, that is, how one views the world is influenced by what knowledge one possesses and what knowledge one is capable of possessing is influenced by one's worldview. The limited education, which in turn translates to knowledge, regulates Turkana women's behaviors and shapes how they perceive themselves and the world around them.

For this study, I was the primary person responsible for collecting and analyzing data. I relied on my own life experience as an African woman to gain access to pastoralist women in the Turkana district of northern Kenya. Furthermore, my life experiences from the Great Lakes Region, Kenya, assisted me in accessing Turkana pastoralist women. I gained my informants' trust by volunteering to discuss my educational experiences as an African woman living in the United States. Also, in order to better understand their challenges and hardships, I lived with Turkana women and participated in their daily activities, including household chores. Through this, I was able to minimize the gaps and distance that might otherwise existed between Turkana women and me. I participated in many cultural functions such as rituals and weddings and it is through this process that I came to learn whether these women considered me an insider or an outsider.

Units of Analysis

In this study three units of analysis exist: (a) the local context, (b) day-to-day interaction of teachers, headmasters, parents, and (c) individual girls within the school context.

Selecting the Local Context

There are multiple reasons for choosing Turkana community as the base of my field research. First is the recognition that pastoralist communities are marginalized. Second, is that studies of pastoralist societies have tended to focus on the Maasai, due to easy accessibility to the areas they occupy. Because of this, generalizations tend to be made to the effect that pastoralist societies are generally uniform in their socio-economic activities and attitudes. Such generalizations are misleading. The Turkana, besides practicing both pastoralism and sedentary agriculture, were bypassed by the Iron Age. This fact has a bearing on the socio-economic activities they engage in, and more particularly the gender division of labor that accounts for the position of women and general attitudes towards formal schooling.

The Turkana also, unlike the Maasai, occupy more arid zones and being at the border, face frequent incursions from other pastoral neighbors in Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia. All of these observations point to the fact that their socio-economic conditions are different and the way they have structured gender relations and attitudes towards formal schooling may be different from that of the other pastoralists in Kenya. This is especially true for pastoralist women such as the Turkana. In countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, pastoralists suffer from lack of political representation and economic hardships which impact their main economic livelihood--cattle. Pastoralists also suffer from an inability to access social services, such as basic education, that are available to the sedentary societies. An

understanding of discrimination, based on one's ethnic group, also helped me choose Turkana community for this study. Moreover, I have spent 6 years of my life in the Great Lakes Region of Africa and speak several African languages, including Kiswahili, a language that the Turkana pastoralist population understands and speaks. It is due to these reasons, along with my own personal experiences of oppression as a South African and as a woman, which influenced my decision to undertake this study in Turkana district.

The second reason is related to the Turkana position in early ethnography and literature related to education and pastoralists. Prominent scholars who have conducted research on Turkana pastoralists of Kenya (Blount, 1986; Colin, 1982; Hodgson, 2000; Herskovits, 1926; Lamphear, 1976) have focused on the decline of pastoralism among Turkana or on Turkana and cattle keeping tradition. One example is Herskovits' (1926) reports of the Maasai pastoralists and how the cattle complex has dominated and reinforced some of the misrepresentations of East African pastoralists. Herskovits' "cattle complex myth" portrayed pastoral peoples as ones who are centrally attached to keeping large herds a point of "economic irrationality." Cattle-keeping was categorized or associated with certain cultural traits that maintained patriarchy and dictated the nature of gender relations. In this respect, cattle-keeping produced several myths with regards to pastoralists of East Africa. Large herds of cattle signified a man attached to tradition and naturally married many wives as a symbol of his "irrational" wealth.

The overall effect of these myths has been to present an over-exaggerated view of the nature of gender relations in pastoral communities and the agency of women. Within the context of colonialism, from photojournalists to filmmakers, the images of pastoral people have remained distorted. What structures such images is the abundance of false representations which are accepted as truth. For example, in Kenya the typical Maasai man is either an old man with

many cattle, which he wants to exchange for younger wives, whose source to fame has been the killing of a lion and the initiation process to warrior-hood or a tourist attraction at the beaches who, besides dancing, provides exotic sexual experience to women who look forward to such as part of their “safari.”

Having met some of these misrepresented pastoralists at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples Issues (May, 2005) and discussed with them previous and current representations of their societies, along with the marginalization they face in accessing education, also attracted me to study pastoralists in Kenya. Equally, literature on the provision of education to pastoralists in East Africa tends to focus on Turkana refusal to embrace education (Roth, Nathan, & Fratkin, 2005; Leggett, 1999). As with their early counterparts, their conclusions indicate a misrepresentation of pastoralist women concerning education. The ways that Turkana women strive to provide education to their daughters and the lack of educational policies to address the needs of these women were excluded in these studies. This study aims to help fill this gap.

Selecting the Day-To-Day Interactions of Residents

In this study, I observed parents, teachers, and students within the age range of 7-18, headmasters, and village elders in the Turkana region of northern Kenya. I observed people in three different types of interactions: general interactions, specific women’s activities, and symbols associated with classrooms, shelter, and marriage ceremonies. Three criteria guided the interactions to which I have selected. Firstly, women were observed in places where both genders are found in large numbers at the same time. The second criterion is related to my interest in observing interactions that are intergenerational. This helped with my observation of

how people of different age, gender, and profession interact together. Thirdly, informants were observed in various classes; in other words, Turkana pastorals with large herds. Using these three criteria, I observed people in schools, offices, community meetings, markets, and churches. Women's activities such as cooking, food gathering was observed. My choice for observing these was based on the need to identify activities that are viewed as "women's work" in my research, which can often hinder Turkana women and girls accessing schooling.

Criteria for selecting social and cultural symbols such as drawing on a bride's face, on cattle, and body tattooing are led by the need to analyze how cultural artifacts generate feelings among people. These help draw a clear demarcation between men and women. Schools and community spaces were ideal artifacts as they mediated people's perceptions about others, but specifically women and girl with regards to education. As mentioned above, body tattooing and drawings on brides' faces are also ideal artifacts due to their cultural representation.

Selection of Research Informers (Women)

Women were selected as informants based on a strategy that Merriam (1998) referred to as snowball, chain, or network sampling. Utilizing this sampling method, contact was made to colleagues and friends in Nairobi who hold posts at Kenyatta University and Moi University. Before my departure to the field, I established contact with Ms. Molenka Lucy, the executive director of the Indigenous Information Network of Kenya, whom I met at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples Issues in New York, May 16-28, 2005. These contacts were receptive to the purpose of this study. I planned to be based in three different sites for this study. In the first site, Nairobi, I obtained permission from the Nairobi Ministry of Education and the Children's Department, which clears research undertaken involving children. The

second site is Moi University, where I examined colonial educational documents on the Turkana. Lastly, I was in Lodwar, where I conducted the rest of the study. Here, access to local school officials, document reviews on Turkana and familiarization to Turkana pastoral culture, for the purpose of gaining their trust, were all key to the research process.

Volunteer participation was a significant factor in the selection process for interviews. I interviewed women, students, headmasters, teachers, parents and village elders who volunteered to participate in this study. As a researcher, I wanted to understand from the participants the policies behind the provision of education for their daughters. The village elders' experiences and reflections of what has been happening between them and the Kenyan government regarding the education of Turkana pastoralists, especially Turkana women, was essential for this study. How do the Turkana make sense from the absence of social services such as education? My hope was that as the interviews progressed, participants would suggest names of other individuals they believed would enrich the data. I considered diversity and heterogeneity (Mbilinyi, 1992) and selected women based on geographical, age, children (based on gender), and social and economic status.

Selection of Research Informers

Selection of informants for the study was based on the research objectives and was done after preliminary visits to the field, to establish rapport and familiarization with the terrain. This is done in accordance with the principles of qualitative research that discourage predetermined selection of samples, as this in a way leads to the top-down approach to research. Purposive stratified sampling was applied to select convenient samples of pupils (both female and male), community and NGO workers in the education sector, and community members (both male and

female) who were Church workers were specifically targeted, as they provided most of the education infrastructure among pastoralist communities in Kenya.

Other informants for the study, such as Ministry of Education officials, both at the local and national level, were purposively sampled as they are few and have statistics on the schooling situation among the Turkana in comparison to other regions of Kenya. Furthermore, village elders provided information on the politics, social and cultural problems that face their community, with regards to education. From my own experience of attending boarding school briefly and then attending regular daytime school, headmasters were males. Thus, my interviews centered on male headmasters as they provide details to how Turkana women and girls are admitted in schools and what the selection criteria for admissions are. Generally speaking, these administrators have connections to both the schools and the community as a whole.

Interviews with male parents point to the underlying barriers to access to schooling among Turkana girls, as it is the father who makes the decision whether to send them to school or marry them off young, a method which increases the father's wealth by means of cattle.

Research Consent

To conduct this research, I sought and obtained consent from the human subject review board at the University of Illinois. I also, as mentioned previously, obtained permission from the Nairobi Ministry of Education and the Children's Department, which clears research undertaken involving children.

I requested voluntary participants for the research. This was done verbally and in writing. I read to the participants a consent form, which stipulated the protection of their rights, research procedures, and possible risks involved in the research process. Moreover, participants

were reminded that they were free to ask any questions and that at any time they were free to withdraw from the study. In addition, participants were asked for clarity whether they understood and agreed to participate in the study. They also choose a place and time that they wished to be interviewed.

I explained to the participants the nature of my study and provided them with background of myself as a student at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign conducting research on the dynamics of women and modern education specifically in pastoralist context. I then outlined the themes of my research questions and asked for their permission to audiotape their responses. This was done verbally in Kiswahili language and in writing in both Kiswahili and English. Additionally, participants were informed that the research is purely an academic one, thus has no direct implications to social, political, and economic policy. This minimized any assumptions that their difficulties of accessing modern education will be solved.

Data Collection

The primary data for this study came from four sources: Observation, shadowing, interviews, and written texts.

Participant Observation

As an emerging critical ethnographer, I observed people's interactions with the aim to understand their behavior and interpret their language (both verbal and non-verbal) and actions. Observation of Turkana women in the market and as they attended their small herds of sheep, goats and donkeys was conducted. Headmasters were observed in their offices, teachers in the classrooms, and at student oriented activities. Village elders were observed in community

gatherings. In general, participants were observed in community meetings as well as in various social gatherings. Equally important were my notations of dress code. I observed the difference of dress code between women and men, the dress code between girls and boys, and the women from different social classes. For example, a woman married to a village elder dressed differently than a woman married to a man with fewer cattle. In these observations, I conducted informal interviews with women and men. I attended parent meetings with school administrators and teachers, and participated in group discussions dealing with education, when invited.

Journal Writing

Journal writing was a key component to this research. In my journal I wrote details of my surroundings, my movements, and the people I interacted with, their comments, the natural environment, and their attitudes towards education, a key element for this study. My thoughts and interpretations of events were also reflected in my journal writing. The informant's information was recorded from day-to-day conversations of parents, teachers, student, headmasters, and village elders. Observation of the participants' interactions among themselves, men, students, and in various places was documented. The journal helped me to keep track of other people's comments, community events and my reflections of my surroundings. Ongoing activities and events that filled my day in the field were recorded. The journal also served as a place where notes were preserved, and could thus be used to identify any gaps in the interviews and from there make follow-ups if necessary. In this way, I used my journal to capture and reflect on what took place in the field, to assist me in capturing the context for detailed description and analysis.

Written Documents

Written documents were useful sources of data for this study so far. Secondary sources were consulted. Selection of written documents was purposefully done following the research goal and specific questions that led to the development of this study. This study aims at establishing the dynamics that influence Turkana women and girls' schooling (access, retention, and achievement) among Turkana pastoralist communities in Kenya. Thus, I sampled texts relating to pastoralism, pastoralist, modern education in Africa, gender and education in Africa and Kenya, and Kenya's educational commission reports. Primary data came from Moi and Kenyatta Universities. These documents engaged the history of colonial occupation in Africa and Kenya, in particular, as well as pastoralist zones, specifically. I also obtained written current and colonial documents on education in Kenya. In addition, at the regional level, written documents on the Turkana, colonialism, and the provision of education were accessed.

Secondary sources came from reviewing the literature from textbooks, journal articles and dissertations. These I obtained from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I consulted databases from a broad range of internet search engines including JOSTOR, ProQuest, Women's Studies International, ERIC, Dissertations Abstracts, and Nomadic Studies Journal. In reviewing and analyzing secondary sources, I felt obligated to assess the content of a document and the credibility of the author. I used the following criteria: the attitudes (between hegemony and liberation) and the social position of the author (i.e., academician, politician or anthropological traveler); the institutions to which the authors were affiliated and the audience for which the text was intended (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1996).

In doing so, I cross-referenced sources to determine their density and referential power. My cultural knowledge of rural Great lakes Region, as well as pastoralist traditions and issues

related to gender and education inequality, was used. Moreover, my own experience as an African woman, as a daughter and extensive cross-referencing on literature on rural Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Uganda have allowed me to determine whether claims of pastoralist and education were reasonable for a given historical period (Stoller, 1984).

Interviews

With a critical ethnographic lens, in-depth interviews are considered appropriate techniques to capture participants' thoughts, beliefs, and experiences (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Since I am interested in identifying gaps in education with pastoralists, how women and girls are accessing education, and what factors hinder their full participation in education, I developed sets of questions that served as guidelines and provided a framework for discovering the factors influencing Turkana women accessing schooling. As participants narrated their stories, detailed additional follow-up questions were requested. In other words, participants provided their stories behind what they narrated. This way, I was able to understand their struggles with regards to education and how these struggles shaped their perceptions.

Sessions began by asking participants to provide brief life histories, including where they were born, if and where they were schooled, their families and their own beliefs about education for their children, and how they perceive this education. What are the expected outcomes of modern education? What is the perceived purpose of education to their daughters and sons? What is its purpose and relationship to their lifestyles as nomads? A series of open-ended sub-questions were prepared to ensure coverage of topic areas that would guarantee maximum return of my research interest. Also, sessions began with conversations, which then were led by a question; "Tell me about yourself. Can you start from when you were young at your parents'

home.” Sub-questions came from participants’ narrations. The aim of these questions was to establish the contexts of participant’s experiences as women, students, parents, teachers and administrators.

Second interview questions depended on the answers that participants provided during the first interview. With second interviews, I began, “When such and such happened, why you did . . . what did you . . . how did you . . .?” I further asked participants to describe challenges they experienced with regards to education and what their approaches to meeting these challenges have been. Whenever appropriate, I encouraged participants to elaborate, rather than assuming that I understood what they meant.

Focus Group Discussion

Apart from observations and individual group interviews, focused group discussions were conducted. With focused groups, I elicited information about the women’s and the community’s attitudes, towards education. Women were asked to provide their views about modern education and any link that might exist between education and their development. In addition, they were asked to identify any goals they individually or as a group wanted to accomplish for their lives and what plans, if any, they hold for reaching these goals. What are the impediments that hinder them in reaching these goals? The focused group discussions were aimed at raising women’s awareness of their position within their community.

Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis in qualitative studies is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the data collected (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Data that was collected for this study

included interviews, observation, field notes and written documents. I linked the literature about educational provisions in Africa, Kenya, for pastoralists, the people's interactions and women's interpretations of their identity, all in search of patterns. I followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) ideas to approach my data, which include reduction, display, and verification.

Data reduction is a process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting and transforming collected data into meaningful story. Data reduction was an ongoing process of the research, as I made decisions about what to observe, what literature to read, what words to use, how best to present my data, and so forth. The process of reducing data is important in order to retain the purpose of the study and to remain within the framework of the study. This was achieved by means of breaking down collected data into constituent parts (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000) in order to identify key concepts, issues, situations, policies, practices, behaviors, actions that represented the dynamics of schooling among pastoralist women. Broader themes that emerged from the data reflected the direction of this study.

The second activity involved is the displaying of data. This is a process that Miles and Huberman referred to as "extended text" (1994, p. 11). Extended text involves reducing or collapsing complex information into selective and simplified configurations. Through my previous qualitative research projects, I learned that sometimes it can be difficult to relate datum with each other. Thus, to configure my information, I employed an *in vitro* and *in vivo* approach (Baptiste, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to make sense of my data. This involved figuring out what the data is saying about the issues of education for the Turkana women. This process involves "paraphrasing of the actual data; or imposing terms from outside" (Baptiste, 2001, p. 9).

Verification refers to the process of making valid conclusions. It involves asking question like, "What is to be made of it all?" (Wolcott, 1994). To make valid conclusions, I

combined data from socio-cultural-historical state along with local day-to-day interactions of participants' meanings that women attach to education. The overarching goal was to present, describe, and make sound conclusions based on collected data.

Data Analysis Process

Subsequent to the framework of this study, data analysis was prepared within three levels: socio-cultural circumstance; people's day-to-day interactions, and particular women's perceptions and actions regarding education. With regards to analysis of data for socio-cultural states, I read them closely to piece together information regarding education provisions. From there, I searched for evidence of deliberation and unequal distribution of education. The day-to-day interaction focused on observable and unobservable actions. In the interviews, I looked for statements and patterns in participants' articulation of their perception about education.

To analyze the socio-cultural condition of Turkana, I chose to follow the lead of historian and anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler, to apply "the general principles of a Foucaultian frame to specific ethnographic time and place" (Stoler, 1995, p. 2). I began my analysis of educational policies in relation to Turkana women by looking at the colonial episteme and "the distances, the oppositions, [and] the differences" that defined this era but have not been completely disbanded in the post-colonial epoch (Foucault, 1991, p. 55).

This Foucaultian approach to the study of the social-cultural condition of the Turkana community, coupled with an analysis of the economic forces and social relations that shape colonial and post-colonial educational policies, allowed me to address the political concerns of feminist scholars (Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Gore, Katerere, Moyo, & Mhone, 1992; Stoler, 1995).

Given my own experience of having lived in the Great Lakes Region, and having been schooled in South Africa and Rwanda, I relied on my own cultural knowledge to assess the reliability of the information I gathered about Turkana. I am aware of my viewpoints and or assumptions regarding pastoral situations with regards to education. Thus, my first step was to remove these viewpoints regarding women and access to formal schooling (Emerson et al., 1996). I treated each text separately and in context. Kosso (1991) argued that “[texts] can be understood only when viewed in the context of the ideas and norms during their manufacture and use” (p. 622). To avoid interpreting data as objective reality, I approached each text as a cultural symbol with meaning. Field notes, together with familiarity of research site and the culture, come in handy when interpreting historical document about Turkana.

Ethical Considerations

In researching people’s lives, scholars have forced us to reconsider ways we represent our research participants, in what they have come to term the “crisis of representation” (Gonick & Hladki, 2005) or “politics of identification” (Creswell, 2003). Their concern is about how researchers engage in ethical relations with research participants, how the data is presented to readers, and whose interests are addressed by the research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) provided suggestions of issues that should be considered in order to ethically engage in qualitative research. These include credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability.

Credibility

The credibility of this study was accomplished through instrument sensitivity and triangulation of data. Patton (1990) identified a researcher as the primary research instrument

and the level of knowledge and skills of the researcher determines, in part, the degree of credibility of the study. I successfully completed coursework in qualitative methodology, which provided me with expertise in following interview protocols, listening and interpreting meanings attached to words and actions, and data analysis. Additionally, my knowledge of the culture of the participants and the history of the Great Lakes Region provided a further level of understanding of the context of my field.

Triangulation of data sources was done to further enhance credibility. Triangulation connotes an idea that any bias in particular data source, investigator, and method would be neutralized when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigator and methods (Creswell, 1998). In this study, I combined different methods of data collection, which included analysis of socio-cultural and historical context.

Transferability

The concept of transferability is based on the idea of sufficiency in the provision of evidence as to: what criteria were used in the sampling, data collection procedures, and analysis. This is deemed important to make it possible for an independent researcher to reuse results with new phenomena or different groups (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, I used detailed accounts of sampling criteria; data collection methods and data analyses accompanied descriptions of my field notes and journal entries.

Dependability

Dependability refers to whether the design and the findings of the study make sense to other researchers, including the degree to which findings are supported by data collected and the

demonstration of the process of collecting and analyzing data. My dissertation advisor reviewed my journal entries and field notes to determine whether analysis was believable.

Conformability

This refers to whether the findings can be confirmed as seen through the research design. Conformability connotes an idea that research findings should reflect the framework used in the study, together with the questions that led the study. Conformability of this research was achieved by sticking to the research questions, my own reflections and interpretations of the events in the field, and my critical appraisal of my beliefs and biases.

Limitations of the Study

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) have viewed a major limitation of qualitative research as the sacrifice of the quantity of participants for the information that can be developed only through extensive interviews or long periods of participant observations. This study was limited to 96 residents of Turkana in Northern Kenya.

Conclusion

I provided a theoretical framework for my study and offered a description of, and the rationale for, the selection of critical ethnographical approach. Furthermore, I provided a discussion of the perspective of the researcher. Sampling, consent, data collection and analysis and credibility of the study were also covered. I described that data for this research was in three categories: data that presented the socio-cultural and historical state of Turkana; data which illustrated the day-to-day interactions of people in Turkana; and data that represented selected

women's narrations. Finally, the research conclusion and implications drawn upon an analysis of the data collected in the field. Furthermore, it provided the position of the researcher within the study.

Chapter 5

Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis and presentation based on research carried out between September 2005 and January 2008 both in the United States and Kenya. These findings are based on my research objectives, using Turkana District of northern Kenya as my case study. The findings are systematically presented with descriptions and illustrations where appropriate.

Population Statistics

The study established that even though the total population in Turkana District has an approximate ratio of 1:1 between males and females, statistics in education sector revealed gender disparities, with more males in schools than females. Apart from having a higher enrollment of males in primary and secondary schools at all levels compared to females, males dominated community leadership positions as well as the teaching profession, especially in upper secondary classes. In all schools sampled, the study found that no single school in Turkana had girls outnumbering boys. In addition, leadership positions in Turkana communities are dominated by men. This was the case, for example, at the local government where men held important positions affecting women. For example, decisions of owing productive resources were made by elder men in the community. There are no gender equity policies in place for Turkana women that would bring positive change into Turkana women.

Generally, despite improvements in gender equity in all four study areas, and indeed throughout East Africa, much still has to be done in such areas as fair representation in decision-making, reduction of violence against women (including female genital mutilation), provision of education and ownership of assets.

In all the schools under my survey, there were more male teachers than female. For example, there were 89 male teachers in secondary schools in Turkana District compared to only 36 females. This reflects an imbalance, based on the 1999 Kenya Population and Housing Census, which shows that the total number of males and females in the District was 241,813 and 243,713 respectively. Based on the census, it is estimated that presently there are more females than males.

The study used a sample size of 95 individuals that included parents, education officials, head teachers, teachers, and students in both rural and lodwar town Turkana. The occupations and categories of the respondents are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Respondents and Their Categories

Respondents	Male	Female	Total	of total
Parents	8	2	10	11
Secondary school teachers	5	5	10	11
Primary school teachers	7	3	10	11
Education officials	12	3	15	16
Students	30	20	50	53
Total	57	38	95	100*

*The numbers do not add up to 100 because of rounding

Educational Progress in Turkana

Turkana District is dry, hot and remote, and classified in Kenya's civil service as a "hardship area," which means that it lacks resources and adequate infrastructure. Despite these disadvantages, Turkana District is expected to compete for opportunities with other districts. The problem with such a policy is that it continues to marginalize the already marginalized community for lack of adequate resources to compete favorably in examination and curriculum

instruction. Students in Turkana district are measured on the same level as those who come from more affluent and privileged areas of Kenya.

Kenyan universities give no affirmative action to students from Turkana district and as a result Turkana girls have never been able to pursue medicine or other highly regarded courses of study and only less than five male students from nomadic pastoralist communities have ever been admitted to medical school at the universities. Moreover, for those who manage to receive such opportunities, their learning takes place outside the district.

Free primary education has also proved to be a challenge, as it brings more students into primary school where classrooms are already crowded, while at the same time resources such as educational materials, classrooms and teachers are not adequately provided to meet such burden. Except for one polytechnic school that admits primary school dropouts or standard eight dropouts, no other college was available to meet the needs of Turkana students. One nursing school, a constituent of Kitale Nursing School situated outside the district, admits less than 50 students, with less than 10% of enrollment being nomadic students. The situation poses a serious bias and disparity against the local Turkana students.

Access to Formal Schooling

The respondents were asked to explain their understanding of “access to education” for the Turkana. The majority of them, accounting for 80%, indicated that access to education means the availability of schooling institutions within reach of majority of the people. Other respondents from the key informants understood access to refer to means of entering the schooling system and the opportunity for an individual to acquire formal education. When respondents were asked to give an assessment of the level of access to education for girls in

Turkana, all the respondents (100%) indicated that the level was low. They pointed out, however, that this was most severe in the rural areas as the urban areas were moderately served with schools, both primary and secondary schools.

Parents immersed in nomadic pastoralism do not regard education of their children as a priority, especially for the girls. Such parents view the school only as a place to take children when they are in stress as an alternative coping mechanism, particularly during drought. They take children to school to get water, food and shelter. When conditions stabilize the children are withdrawn from school and taken back home. There they participate in the family's subsistence economy, with boys working in herding while girls perform household chores.

There are many factors why Turkana pastoralists are not engaged in formal education. First, there are no Turkana role models that have benefited from education. Second, missionaries shunned the area in the colonial period due to the inhospitable weather and climatic conditions. Third, the Turkana have not been involved in education as policy makers or implementers and are still regarded as foreign to the process. Thus, Turkana see education as an instrument of control and domination. It has been suggested that the fact that the local population, to a large extent, does not identify with education, perhaps explains their unwillingness to invest in education, such as paying school fees and putting up physical structures.

The research also revealed a high level of attrition or dropout rate. A large percentage of children who join schools drop out before reaching eighth grade (the matriculation class in primary cycle) because of lack of support from parents who are unwilling to invest in education, despite the fact that some come from well-to-do pastoralist families.

My research further revealed that Turkana students, who manage to attend secondary school or even college, also drop out due to lack of financial support from parents. This category

of dropouts, usually semi-literate, is unable to find jobs and as such, remain in urban and peri-urban centers unable to re-integrate into pastoralist communities. Arran from Lodwar attended Kamkuma girls' secondary school and stated:

I wanted to finish secondary school and attend Moi University in Eldoret to become a nurse but my parents could not afford to continue paying my school fees because the fees were too high for them. My father did not want to sell more cows for me and he wants me to come home and get married. I do not want to get married and look after herds. I will find a way to go back to school even when my father says no.

Arran's situation is not foreign to many girls in Turkana district who understand the benefits of education. Clearly, this scenario has a great influence on school children who may not see the benefits of education as they see their peers not advancing. While Arran stresses the need to continue her education, Sara on the other hand would rather learn ways to care for family herds, as this will benefit her more when she moves on to her extended family. She stated:

I was in primary two (second grade) when my parents took me away from school. We had many cows and mom wanted me to help her with them. Sometimes I had to walk long ways to fetch water for cows. Also, milking them is my job. When I was 11 my dad gave me a husband with many wives. I went to live with him at the age of 13 and at 14, I had my first child. I like having many co-wives because we help each other with kids, house chaos and I like being loved by my husband. If I had stayed in school, I would not have this

Sara is a classic example of school dropout in Turkana district. Rather than seek employment in urbanized areas, her family married her off young to a man twice her age with four wives. Other students who drop out of school often seek employment in urbanized areas. Normally, girls become waitresses and because such a sector does not pay much, they often result to prostitution to support their families. As for boys, they take on employment as guards.

The study further established that Turkana pastoralists perceived education as contradicting to their culture and lifestyle and is, thus, considered a foreign ideology associated with the government. This was evidenced in school text books where the importance of

education only centered on certain subjects such as math, science, religion, geography and civic studies. For the Turkana, this only implied that sending children to school was not a priority to most, as children learned nothing related to the pastoralist lifestyle. The survey revealed that at times, only those children that the pastoralist network cannot absorb are released or allowed to attend schools, especially when pressure from government officials exists. Mecha, a 71 year old woman from Lodwar, attended neither formal school nor Turkana traditional craft school. She illustrated the point of modern education contradicting her culture:

Turkana culture is very rich with many customs and traditions which are important to teach our children so that they can teach their children. But when the wazngus (White Missionaries) came, they started these meetings to teach us that wearing our necklace for example is not good because God does not approve it. Whenever we met with the wazngus, we had to take off our beaded necklaces which were very difficult because they are meant to be on your neck permanently because it represents beauty. He also told us not to mark faces and body paintings because that custom is witchcraft. Many Turkana women and men stopped wearing necklaces and stopped body paintings because they were discouraged. But many of us refused to stop the practices because that is who we are. Our ancestors wore them and so we do also.

Free primary education in Turkana today still follows what Ms. Mecha discusses above.

Turkana girls are not allowed to attend school when wearing beaded necklaces. The policy, even though not specifically outlined in Kenya's educational documents, discourages girls from attending school with elaborates ornaments. This clearly contributes to the marginalization of girls by disinclining them to attend school.

The Girl Child and Access to Formal Schooling in Turkana

An analysis of official government data at the District Education Office revealed that girl child retention and completion rates in Turkana District were very low, especially at the

secondary school level¹. Statistics show that out of 38,600 girls eligible for primary school education in 2002, 32,000 were in school. This is clearly very high enrollment as it indicates that there were over 80% girls enrolled. This is high compared to the schools that I sampled in my study, where enrollment of girls rarely went above 50%. Four explanations might account for this discrepancy.

First, government officials used estimates for many schools because schools were inaccessible most of the time due to poor roads, insecurity, and lack of proper transportation for government officials. Second, since government funding for schools is based on enrollment, most schools often inflate their real enrollment numbers so as to secure high funding. Third, the low levels of enrollment always imply that the education and local administration officials are not doing enough to sensitize Turkana people to sending their children to school. They therefore collude to inflate enrollment in order to be seen as working hard and well. Secondary school enrollment numbers were more realistic and compared favorably with my own findings. Finally, I believe that since the universal primary education program under Kenya's Ministry of Education encourages enrollment at this level, stakeholders at the districts inflate the figures to reflect what is taking place elsewhere in Kenya, when the reality in Turkana is totally different. Mr. Rono, a headmaster once at Lokori primary school and now at Lodwar boys' secondary school, elaborated on this point:

Lokori is close to the Karamojong pastoralists of Northern Uganda and many families have to move often due to cattle raiding among Turkana and the Karamoja. As such, schools in this area often have fewer students than the governments' statistics indicate. The government people came to Lokori School once and at that time, the school housed 182 students. Each year, the government's calculation of students enrolled at my school rose from 182 to 300 while the actual enrollment never reached beyond 245. Lokori is considered a dangerous place for people to visit or live and as such, the government does not want to sacrifice its people. Funding is also another issue where the government must

¹ The district enrollment records kept by the DEO office in Lodwar Turkana show that the number of girls entering secondary schools in Turkana district is lower compared to boys.

estimate students' enrollment to be high. The environment also cause the government to report students in schools because sometimes in the middle of quarter or year, the same students who left with their families to herd, return to school, especially when there is drought and schools provide food.

The DEO official data show that the number of eligible children who should be enrolled in secondary school stood at about 14,500 in Turkana district in 2002, while only 937 eligible children were attending. Two reasons might explain why many secondary schools in Turkana district had such low enrollment. First, the government's policy is to encourage attendance of primary schools under the universal primary education policy. This means that the focus is on primary education and as such, the officials do not bother with what takes place at the secondary school level. Second, lack of secondary enrollment is something that non-governmental organizations are dealing with and, in order to attract more NGO attention, the officials have to indicate that there is a large percentage of youth out of school that require training. This might explain why Turkana has one of the largest concentrations of NGOs in Kenya. Thus, it is easy to understand why there is a huge disparity between primary and secondary schools percentage enrollment, of about 83% and 6% respectively. Furthermore, students in secondary are adolescents at a time when youths are required to participate actively in the family's economic activities such as cattle raiding and rustling.

For most educational zones, the ratio of girls to boys is 1:1 in lower primary school. Tables, however, for the upper primary classes depict a higher dropout rate for girls than boys. This was the case in 15 out of 16 zones. One of the zones, Kainuk, is quite volatile and insecure due to cattle rustling and other forms of armed attacks by bandits. Therefore, since Kainuk zone

is bandit-prone, this explains why comparatively fewer girls enroll for schooling right from the beginning of lower primary school².

Comparative Dropout Rate for Girls in Two Urban Zones in Turkana District, Kenya, for 2003

Comparison of enrollment statistics in two zones of, Kawalase and Kanamkemer, during two different periods of 2003 and 2006, the enrollment indicated a higher dropout rate for female students than their male counterparts. Table 5 further illustrates the scenario, utilizing data from 2003.

Table 5

Student's Enrollment in Kawalase's Zone (Urban) Primary Schools in May 2003

Gender	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	Total
Boys	523	420	430	332	344	328	377	323	3,077
Girls	539	378	398	321	262	253	218	195	2,564
Totals	1,062	798	828	653	606	581	595	518	5,641
Kawakase enrollment 2003									5,641

From Table 5, it is apparent that enrollment in first grade, as compared to eighth grade, is a clear indicator that dropout occurs with time. Comparatively, tables for 2003 show a higher enrollment for girls in first grade compared to the enrollment of boys in the same class. On the contrary, there were 323 more boys than girls in eighth grade, a clear indicator that the number of finishing or dropout rates in primary school in Turkana district for boys are better and lower for girls. Generally, about twice as many boys and girls are enrolled in primary school, however,

² Kainuk is within Turkana district where Pokot pastoralist occupier and the two groups are constantly at battle over cattle. This is done by cattle rustling. Women and girls are often victims of rape.

more boys finish eighth grade than girls. Table 6 shows a higher dropout rate for girls than that of boys in Kawalase Zone in 2006.

Table 6

Student's Enrollment in Kawalase's Zone (Urban) Primary School in March 2006

Gender	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	Total
Boys	617	481	563	466	425	392	458	445	3,847
Girls	619	490	449	398	404	384	399	329	3,472
Totals	1,236	971	1012	864	829	776	857	774	7,319
Kawakase enrollment 2006									7,319

The study also sought to find dropout rates of girls for the aforementioned zone for the 2006 academic school year. As for 2003 statistics, enrollment for girls in first grade was higher than that of boys and dropouts could only explain the reduced enrollment in upper classes in favor of boys.

Table 7 further indicates a lower enrollment for girls in schools despite the fact that the population in Turkana District breaks evenly between males and females.

Table 7

Student's Enrollment in Kanamkemer's Zone (Urban) Primary Schools in March 2003

Gender	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	Total
Boys	253	201	185	178	136	96	113	120	1,282
Girls	253	194	173	151	94	80	54	58	1,057
Kanamkemer enrollment 2003									2,339

Table 8 provides the gross enrollment for girls and boys for 2006 in Kanamkemer primary school. It is evident that in both years, boys outnumber girls the higher the grades got.

Table 8

Student's Enrollment in Kanamkemer's Zone (Urban) Primary School in March 2006

Gender	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	Total
Boys	261	207	196	221	148	178	181	124	1,516
Girls	267	253	202	197	161	116	128	87	1,411
Kanamkemer enrollement 2003									2,927

Tables 6, 7, and 8 show a higher dropout rates in several specific Zones, especially Zones characterized by hardships such as banditry and girl child labor in moderately urban and urban areas. Three possible explanations account for this scenario.

First, besides insecurity, Kainuk has a rich artisan fishing industry that requires intensive labor and the use of girls for such duties as fish drying and smoking is often required. Second, like the rest of the district, Kainuk does not have many resources. Hence, the majorities of parents are poor and cannot afford to clothe and send their children to school. Other factors previously discussed in this chapter play a role in higher dropout rates for girls. These factors included early marriages, cultural stereotypes against the female students and lack of adequate role models for girls among the working class.

Table 9 provides a summary of enrollment for primary schools in Turkana district for March 2006. Although Turkana district has attempts to provide education to its population, it is clear that girls still lack far behind boys as evidenced by the numbers of girls enrolled from first grade to eighth grade.

Table 9

Turkana District Enrollment Summaries for Primary School as of March 2006

Gender	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	Total
Boys	6,108	4,450	3,797	3,311	2,566	2,233	2,291	1,815	26,571
Girls	5,265	3,448	3,120	2,417	1,875	1,580	1,523	995	20,223
Totals	11,373	7,898	6,917	5,728	4,441	3,813	3,814	2,810	46,794
Total									46,794

Enrollment and Completion of Primary Education

According to the Ministry of Education, statistics showed that in 2003, the percentage of those completing standard eight in Turkana District, and who were in standard one in 1996, is 24.9% for boys and 17.5% for girls. In several more developed parts of the country, more females completed standard eight than males, particularly areas that seem to enjoy governmental support and funding for gender awareness programs. Some of such cases are further illustrated in Table 10.

Girls' Access and Retention

The study sought to consider gender retention by calculating percentages of one class over those of the previous. This is illustrated in Table 11.

The Turkana schooling data presented illustrates how retention of girls in primary Schools in Turkana District is lower than that of boys after second grade. The study further found that many girls dropped out of school because of the diverse domestic and traditional values, which, as identified earlier, include early marriages, as well as the reasonability of herding small livestock. As analyzed in the case of the Kawalase Zone, Turkana girls are often

Table 10

2003 Percentage Completing Standard 8 Compared to 1996 Standard 1 Enrollment

District	1996 std 1 enrollment			2003 std 1 enrollment			completing std 8		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Taita Taveta	4,880	4,426	9,306	2,916	2,821	5,737	60	64	62
Lamu	1,392	1,215	2,607	675	585	1,260	48	48	48
Kiambu	10,238	9,366	19,604	7,211	7,551	14,762	70	81	75
Muranga	18,856	17,209	36,065	4,836	5,350	10,186	26	31	28
Nyeri	12,654	11,818	24,472	8,751	9,395	18,146	69	79	74
Kirinyaga	9,160	8,682	17,842	4,825	5,273	10,098	53	61	57
Nyandarua	9,470	8,907	18,377	6,039	6,561	12,600	64	74	69
Thika District	9,464	8,333	17,797	5,659	5,895	11,554	60	71	65
Machakos	18,731	17,652	36,383	12,223	12,968	25,191	65	73	69
Kitui	10,503	10,031	20,534	6,731	6,954	13,685	64	69	67
Meru Central	9,259	8,615	17,874	5,256	5,952	11,208	57	69	63
Embu	4,848	4,410	9,258	2,970	3,653	6,623	61	83	72
Mwingi	6,576	6,358	12,934	3,199	3,397	6,596	49	53	51
Mbeere	3,821	3,756	7,577	1,736	2,100	3,836	45	56	51
Kericho	11,381	10,990	22,371	6,035	5,749	11,784	53	52	53
Baringo	4,348	4,410	8,758	3,985	4,126	8,111	92	94	93
Nakuru	15,517	14,811	30,328	1,964	10,287	12,251	13	69	40
Laikipia	6,068	5,545	11,613	3,541	7,088	10,629	58	128	92

(continued)

Table 10 (continued)

District	1996 std 1 enrollment			2003 std 1 enrollment			completing std 8		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Turkana	5,490	4,238	9,728	1,367	741	2,108	25	17	22
Trans- Nzoia	3,095	2,922	6,017	5,656	5,639	11,295	183	193	188
Uasin Gishu	8,005	7,714	15,719	4,285	4,545	8,830	54	59	56
Keiyo	3,409	3,203	6,612	2,338	2,542	4,880	69	79	74
Marakwet	3,130	2,693	5,823	2,156	2,061	4,217	69	77	72
Koibatek	2,780	2,604	5,384	2,053	2,116	4,169	74	81	77
Bungoma	19,258	19,821	39,079	10,329	1,004	11,333	54	5	29
Busia	8,353	8,365	16,718	3,538	2,949	6,487	42	35	39
Vihiga	12,327	12,371	24,698	5,863	6,806	12,669	48	55	51

married off between the ages of 11-16 in order for the parents to earn dowry, while other dropout girls get involved in intimate relationships and finally become pregnant while still in school. In

Table 11

Retention in Primary School in Turkana District By Gender, 2006: Children Enrolled in a Higher Grade as a Percentage of Children Enrolled in the Years Below

	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade
Boys	6,108	4,450	3,797	3,311	2,566	2,233	2,291	1,815
Girls	5,265	3,448	3,120	2,417	1,875	1,580	1,523	995
Male 2006		72.90	85.00	87.00	77.45	87.00	102.00	79.20
Female 2006		65.45	90.45	77.5	77.6	84.30	96.40	65.30

addition, the study established that girls who conceived and had children often sought employment rather than continuing school. This was the case with three dropout students interviewed from St. Kevin's Secondary School as Nawesha illustrated:

Father Keven helped me with tuition to attend St. Kevin's secondary school and in my forum four (junior year of high school) I got pregnant with a baby. The father is a local NGO worker who told me that if I became his girl friend, that I will not have to worry about anything more. He told me that he would take care of me, buy me clothes and pay to perm for my hair. When I got pregnant, Fr. Kevin said I had to leave school so I did and now, the father does not want to help me. I have given birth and work at Turkwel bar as waiter. I make very little money sometimes only 1000 shillings per month. My parents are not here to assist me. They are in the bush with herds.

Nawesha's education opportunities as far as she is concerned are over as Kenya has no educational policies that allow young mothers to return to school. In fact, girls who become pregnant while in school are considered a bad example for the rest as they are supposed to wait until marriage to engage in intimate affairs. While Nawesha struggles to make ends meet working as a waiter, Akuruntu, a St. Kevin's sophomore, struggled to hide her pregnancy until the end of the quarter in June when school is no longer in session. She said:

I got pregnant in March and our school got out for long vacation in June. So I did not tell anyone of my pregnancy because our headmaster did not allow girls in that condition to continue school. I got sick so I could not attend school every day. Because of that, I was expelled because there were other students waiting for admissions to the school. Now my child is born and I work at Green Leaf bar to support myself and the child.

When asked about the father and whether she will return to school, Akuruntu added:

The father is from Kakuma and is a refugee from Sudan. I am from Kakuma and that is how we met. He has lived in the refugee camp for 6 years now and he will be returning back to Sudan. Because he did not pay dowry to my father, I cannot go with him and according to the Turkana traditions, a man must pay dowry in order to claim the child. I cannot return to school now because I need money to pay for fees and what I make is not enough to pay for everything my child and I need. It is very difficult to find sponsorship to return to school here in Turkana. Even NGOs do not support mothers going back to school.

While Akuruntu is concerned with the welfare of herself, the child and returning to school, Milly, a 26 year-old from a single mother with four children in Lodwar also dropped out of school due to pregnancy. The father of the children was a local NGO manager who later died of AIDS. Milly was about to receive her high school diploma when she dropped out of school.

She said:

Both girls were employed as waitresses in a local bar where each earned \$30-(Ksh 2,500) per month. Income earned from this sector went to support themselves and their children, as fathers were absent and did not provide for their children. While Kenya has laws that require the absent parent to pay child support on paper, the reality is that most parents can't afford to pay and the laws are not enforced.

While one can construct a simple shelter from available resources in Turkana, other necessary items such as food, firewood, and clothing are extremely expensive, as they all require fuel to transport to the District. Thus, the income women earn from working as waitresses is not sufficient to meet the needs of their families. When asked if they supplemented their income in any way, and how, all three girls explained that they supplemented their income by giving sexual

favors to male customers³. Poverty and lack of communal support were a few of the reasons women cited for such involvement in prostitution. As it is discussed in the proceedings pages, there is no doubt that this second generating income activity put these girls at risk of HIV/AIDs.

Education for the Disadvantaged

Turkana district, like other districts in Kenya is faced with the challenge of addressing the needs of handicapped students. As such, the study investigated the educational opportunities for disadvantaged children who were categorized as the poor, orphans, street children and the physically disabled. The study found that only three centers in Turkana District addressed the needs of these children. These included the Loyoo Unit for the Deaf, the Nadirkonyen Rehabilitation Center, and the Turkana Integrated Services for the Blind Boys⁴.

A number of factors were identified as hindering access to education for poor and disabled children. About 80% of the respondents interviewed suggested that inadequate schools and rehabilitation centers for the disadvantaged and street children was the main factor hindering access to education by disadvantaged children. Sixty percent of respondents further elaborated on the inadequacy of sensitization to families who have physically disabled children. A lack of recognition that disability is not inability also contributes to the inequality of education for these children.

I investigated the plight of the poor and disabled girls in Turkana and established that the percentage of girls catered to at Nadirkonyen Rehabilitation Center and at Loyoo Unit for the Deaf was very low compared to the number of boys as illustrated in Table 12.

³ Two participants of the study are employed at Green Leaf pub where I was exposed to the experiences that Turkana women undergo to make extra income.

⁴ All disadvantaged centers are located roughly 30-45 miles away from Lodwar, the capital city of Turkana district.

Table 12

Education Access for Disadvantaged Children in Nadirkonyen Children’s Center

Center	Boys	Girls	Total	% girls
Beneficiaries as of November 2006	645	229	874	36
In primary schools	93	66	159	71
In secondary schools	16	8	24	50
In colleges	3	1	4	33

Statistics for the Nadirkonyen Children Center revealed ambitious programs that favor girls at primary school level, but soon dwindles into very discriminative numbers against girls seeking higher education. These numbers further showed that the girls’ access to education was greatly hindered in Turkana District. In addition, the numbers reflect lack of development, comprehension, and neglect by both Turkana society and the government of poor and disabled children in the country and within the district. On the favoritism of girls attending early primary school, Mr. Jerlies, a Belgium missionary stated:

Turkana society tends to be very discriminatory towards girls and that is why we try to help them when they are under our care. We encourage them to attend school by providing them with equipment required to do well. We have sisters visiting us from Belgium and girls receive tutoring from them.

When asked to why the numbers of girls attending upper primary decrease, Mr. Jerlies stated:

The numbers decrease because our students once they reach upper primary school must attend schools outside our own. We don’t have standard 5-8 here (5-8 grades) because of this, they walk, meet people and sometimes wonder off and not return. We also live in a society where we have to respect the people and culture. So we can not, for example tell a man that they girl is not ready for marriage when she is 15 as that is a marriageable age here. Some of our girls have been married even without us knowing.

Transport and Communication Infrastructure

Turkana District is underdeveloped in terms of transportation and communication networks. The district was classified under Kenya's Northern Frontier District (NFD) and before independence in 1963 as a closed district where the Turkana people roamed with their livestock. During this time the district remained closed to traders, settlers and even missionaries. This was, unfortunately, also coupled with denial of basic services such as health, education and communication infrastructure.

With the absence of a road network, education providers find it difficult to reach and follow the mobile Turkana units as they move through the hilly areas of the district along international borders in search of pastures and water for their animals. The district currently boasts only one stretch 133.6 miles of good tarmac road from Lodwar to Lokichoggio. The other section, from Kapenguria to Lodwar, is in horrible condition and cannot be considered a functional road. Furthermore, the road from Kitale might as well not exist, as it is not a tarmac road, but rather a dirt road filled with potholes. As such, drivers create their own roads with the hopes that they will not get stuck. This presents safety concerns as Turkana and the West Pokot are constantly embattled. It is not uncommon for passengers to be bruised or even seriously injured while travelling on roads in Turkana. The inaccessibility of most areas has forced education providers to concentrate in areas they can reach, such as urban centers serving only the sedentary groups of people, while leaving those roaming in search for pastures unattended. This explains why there is low enrollment of children in peri-urban and rural areas. Students and teachers in these areas walk long distances to reach schools due to lack of any means of transport or even well-defined road networks.

Location of Schools and Sedentarization

Most boarding schools in Turkana district were located in urban centers or in areas where people have settled such as in irrigation schemes or by fishing camps near Lake Turkana. As such, schools tend to be established in these major towns, and in so doing, alienate the greater part of the nomadic population from accessing adequate educational facilities. Most students attending boarding schools, particularly as it is the case for primary schools, are children of civil servants, prominent business people, NGO's workers, and foreign refugee children, coming from Kakuma refugee camp, as well as children from other schools lacking infrastructure within the reach of the refugee camps.

Schools such as Erait academy, Lokori mixed, Morulem primary, Kalokol mixed, Kakuma mixed, and Kakuma arid zone enjoy boarding facilities and yet they are located in urban areas. Boarding facilities were more often for schools located in pastoralist traditional dry season grazing areas, such as Nanam, Lopiding, Arumrum, Kakong, Kalobeyei, Kangakipur, Kokuroi, Koyesa, Letea, Lokangae, Lorengi, Naipa, and Oropoi Lotere. There seems little question that the means of dissemination of the national curriculum within the education System is antagonistic towards nomadic culture. The national curriculum tends to alienate Nomadism as incompatible with development and modernization, and therefore bound to disappear. If such attitude is continuously propagated, then it may mean that there will never be any technical solutions for educational issues among pastoralists' communities.

Distance to School

Two concerns related to the distance of school in Turkana district. One was the concern of distance and the energy that children spend in covering miles to school often on empty

stomachs. The second concern is related to the apprehension parents hold about the sexual safety of their daughters⁵. Due to the nomadic nature of occupations that Turkana parents held, building schools far away from urban centers where parents could not access their children is an obvious disadvantage. Parents were dissuaded in such situations to allow their children to attend schools. Further, girls would not be available to assist with house duties as needed. Other alternatives were boarding schools which required parents to release their children to strangers whom they did not trust, according to parents. This was truer with girls and more so as girl neared puberty. High pregnancy rates in the district also make parents apprehensive.

Most established and well-equipped schools in the district were located in urban areas where pastoralists did not benefit much owing to the need for pastures for their animals, which were non-existent in urban centers. On average, the distance from one center to another is estimated at an average of 50Kms (31.1 miles). As a result, the distance made it extremely difficult for students to get to school. This situation is made worse by the fact that education is not a priority in the first place for pastoralist. Worse still, most existing schools within the proximity of pastoralists were day schools and parents often feared leaving their children behind without the surety of food and accommodation and security, especially for girls who were vulnerable targets for cattle raiders, where girls could be abducted, raped, and in some cases, killed if they resist.

⁵ Women, girls and children have often been the victims of consistent battle. Often rapped by the either group and sometimes, killed because they are caught at the wrong place and time. Parents, who value their girl child would rather protect her from such danger than have her walk miles school.

Physical Accessibility to Schools

At the time of conducting this study, there were fourteen secondary schools and one hundred and sixty seven (167) primary schools in Turkana district covering 77,000 sq kms (47,847.58 miles) with a population of half a million people. The total number of students in primary schools at the time stood 46,794 as compared to 1,038 primary school teachers, which brings the pupil teacher ratio to 46:1. About half of primary schools were located in areas that were difficult to access even by vehicles.

The long distances between schools prevent children from participating in the curriculum and extra curriculum activities. Table 13 refers to the establishment of secondary schools while Table 14 provides the actual distance between schools.

Table 13

Secondary Schools in Turkana District

S/No	Name of school	Year of establishment	Established by
1	Lodwar Boys High School	1969	Catholic Church
2	Turkana Girls Sec. School	1977	Catholic Church
3	Our Lady of Mercy Girls	1990	Catholic Church
4	Lokitaung Sec. School	1982	Salvation Army
5	Katilu Sec. School	1984	Catholic Church
6	Kakuma Boys Sec. School	1990	Catholic Church
7	Kakuma Girls Sec. School	1992	Catholic Church
8	St. Kevin Sec. School	1994	Catholic Church
9	AIC Kangitit Girls	1989	AIC church
10	RCEA Lokori Mission	2003	RCEA church
11	AGC Lokichar	2005	AGC Church
12	Moi High School Kalokol	2005	A.I.C Church
13	Trans Africa (Private)	2003	S.D.A. Church
14	Uhuru High School	2005	Public

Table 14

Actual Distances Between Secondary Schools in Turkana District

	Lodwar Boys High School	Turkana Girls Sec. School	Our Lady of Mercy Girls	Lokitaung Sec. School	Katilu Sec. School	Kakuma Boys Sec. School	St. Kevin Sec. School	AIC Kangitit Girls	RCEA Lokori Mission	AGC Lokichar	Moi High School Kalokol
Lodwar Boys High School	0	55	120	240	125	100	2	158	157	89	55
Turkana Girls Sec. School	55	0	175	295	180	155	57	213	212	144	110
Our Lady of Mercy Girls	120	175	0	200	245	20	120	278	277	109	175
Lokitaung Sec. School	240	295	200	0	365	180	240	398	397	329	195
Katilu Sec. School	125	180	245	365	0	225	125	104	103	36	180
Kakuma Boys Sec. School	100	155	20	180	225	0	100	258	257	189	155
St. Kevin Sec. School	2	57	120	240	125	100	0	158	157	89	55
AIC Kangitit Girls	158	213	278	398	104	258	158	0	1	68	113
RCEA Lokori Mission	157	212	277	397	103	257	157	1	0	67	112
AGC Lokichar	89	144	109	329	36	189	89	68	67	0	144
Moi High School Kalokol	55	110	175	195	180	155	55	113	112	144	0

It is clear that the distance between schools affects Turkana children's enrollment in school, especially when their lifestyle requires them to be on the move along with family members.

Secondary School Participation Rates for Turkana District

Table 15 shows a net average of 5% students in secondary schools in 10 focus air districts.

Table 15

Secondary School NER for Northern Districts for 2003 and 2007

District	2003			2007			% increase decrease
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Tana River	5.30	3.00	4.20	8.50	7.30	7.90	88.1
Marsabit	3.70	3.80	3.70	2.20	1.00	1.60	56.8
Isiolo	11.40	7.90	9.70	12.10	5.30	8.70	10.3
Moyale	3.50	4.60	4.10	7.90	2.30	5.10	24.4
Turkana	3.80	1.90	2.90	4.40	5.00	4.70	62.1
Samburu	8.90	5.50	7.20	11.90	9.20	10.50	45.8
Garissa	2.80	2.50	2.70	4.40	2.40	3.50	29.6
Wajir	2.10	1.90	2.00	5.30	3.60	4.50	125.0
Mandera	3.30	0.70	2.20	7.60	2.20	5.20	136.4
Ijara	2.80	2.50	2.70	4.40	2.40	3.50	29.6
Northern districts	4.80	3.43	4.14	6.89	4.10	5.52	33.3
Other pastoralist districts	12.01	12.01	11.99	22.31	19.29	20.77	73.2
National total	18.20	18.90	18.80	25.2	23.20	24.20	28.7

The best performing district is Samburu (10%). A downward trend was recorded in two northern districts, Marsabit and Isiolo. In comparison, other pastoralist districts have better secondary school participation (20.7%) which is much closer to the national average.

The districts with the highest secondary NER, Keiyo (55.5%), Bureti (52.5%), and Meru (46.8%), are all agricultural districts. It is such agricultural districts (Annex 1) that have also had the greatest expansion since 2003. In the next few years, secondary school enrolment is expected to increase. This is due to two main factors: (a) Tuition waiver. This is positively impacting day secondary schools as fee requirements are fully met; and (b) District creation. Newly created districts that do not have secondary schools within their boundary have been forced to start schools, otherwise primary school graduates will not be able to transit given that majority of the children are admitted to district secondary schools.

Unfortunately, almost all secondary schools in arid districts are full board. Parents must contribute money. While the tuition waiver positively impacts arid districts, it is not with similar intensity day secondary schools. Almost all secondary schools in the North are boarding. A boarding school subsidy would therefore register more impact.

Analysis of secondary school participation by gender suggests a mixed pattern. While there is a near gender parity nationally, boys have better NER in arid districts, while girls have a marginally better enrolment rate in agricultural districts. In northern districts, the gender gap widened in all districts, with exception of Tana River and Turkana. In 2007, the gap was widest in Isiolo (6.7%), Moyale (5.6%) and Mandera (5.4%), all in favour of boys. Unique though is the case of Turkana, where the NER for girls rapidly overtook that of boys in the 5 years. In this district, the NER for girls appreciated from 1.9% in 2003 to 5.0% in 2007. By 2007, near parity had been achieved in Turkana, Tana River, and Marsabit.

Low Retention and Survival Rates

Like in enrolment, arid districts lie way below the national average in terms of retention and survival rates. In the primary sector, arid districts recorded the high dropout rates in 2007, as indicated in Table 16. Other pastoral districts have remained constant and have better rates compared with the national average.

Two focus districts, Turkana (18.2%) and Tana River (15.1%) feature in the top ten districts countrywide with high dropout rates. The worst district is Kuria (18.4%) a semi arid district. In Turkana, 19.9% girls dropped out in 2007. This is the highest in the country, followed by Tana River (18.1%). The dropout rates have increased since 2003 in all provinces.

Table 16

Dropout Rates Per District in Kenya for 2003 and 2007

District	2003			2007		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Tana River						
Marsabit	3.5	3.1	3.3	12.8	18.1	15.2
Isiolo	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.2	9.6	5.6
Moyale	1.4	1.0	1.2	0.5	0.2	0.4
Turkana	0.7	0.5	0.6	2.6	2.7	2.7
Samburu	8.6	8.1	8.4	16.8	19.9	18.2
Garissa	3.7	3.9	3.8	6.9	6.6	6.8
Wajir	3.4	5.5	4.1	8.7	11.3	9.6
Mandera	3.7	5.7	4.3	1.9	2.2	2.0
Ijara	5.1	10.0	6.5	1.7	3.3	2.2
Arid total	3.3	4.1	3.5	5.6	7.9	6.6
Other pastoral districts	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.2	1.9
National	2.1	2.0	2.0	3.2	3.7	3.5

Government Support of Educational Facilities

Neglect by the government to develop education facilities was cited as one of the main factors leading to low levels of access to education in Turkana. Five sets of parents, 6 head masters, 4 teachers, and 8 students interviewed all explained that this scenario emanated from the colonial educational policies. Before and after independence, any Turkana who attempted to attain education could not succeed beyond fourth grade. Mr. and Mrs. Auku, parents of Okelo at Lodwar boys' secondary school explained:

I attend school and reached standard four (fourth grade) but could not go beyond that even when I had the desire to continue explained Mr. Auku. The same school my son attends today is the same school that I attend before it got handed over to the Kenyan Government by the "White" missionaries. We were told we didn't need to go beyond that and because they were providing education, we could not challenge that.

When asked what he did upon completing his fourth grade, Mr. Auku elaborated:

I worked for a family here in Lodwar when I was their guard. Mrs. Auku did not attend school, but was trained as a maid and cook for a "White" family at that time, living in Lodwar.

While Mr. and Mrs. Auku explained their experience with "White" missionaries in Turkana district, Mr. Lusongea, a Headmaster of Lodwar mixed primary school, stated his frustration of the government for neglecting to provide adequate resources for schools in the district.

I have many students enrolled, but not enough teachers, boarding facilities. We have written proposals to the government so that we are provided with more benches, more bedding and more buildings to accommodate our students, but they have not responded. They have never sent any officials from Nairobi to examine our situation here. I think if they did, perhaps they might understand much better. Parents here are not equipped with the resources to assist with the functioning of the school. However, if materials were provided, manpower would not be a problem. Many NGOs like World Vision have donated some money to construct a one room classroom. We told our students to ask their parents to contribute and the building was up in 2 weeks time.

Missionaries, it was said, recruited those who managed to reach this level, which was considered to be very high by the standards of that time. Turkana pastoralists were trained as colonial chiefs, home guards, and as catechists. They were required to conform to European code of dressing and culture in general. This scheme was intended to discourage the Turkana from pursuing education.

Travel bans were imposed and restricted to all Turkana males. Permits were issued for those who wished to enter or leave Turkana with specific expiration dates, after which arrests would be made for those with expired documents. Early missionaries also contributed to this trend as they collaborated with colonial governors to deny the Turkana access to education as a way of controlling, managing and even punishing them for resisting colonization. The Kenyan governments after independence have not done much to enhance access to education for the Turkana, particularly the Turkana girl child. Significant efforts have not been made in changing the attitude, perceptions and the stereotypes that were forced on pastoralists by colonial masters regarding education. Rather, policy planners, educators, and the government seem to retain an ineffective rationale for the Turkana pastoralist--the rationale that modern education is avoided by pastoralist groups because of its anti-pastoralism attitude. The government has viewed pastoralists as hostile people, ever fighting over cattle--migratory in nature--and with no strong sense for education as an economic undertaking.

Government policymakers have systematically neglected the arid and semi arid areas, while directing resources to the high potential areas in the country. Churches put up the few primary and secondary schools in the district, although the government provided teachers and took over the management of some of these schools. Overall, the respondents were of the view

that the government has not played a significant role in enabling the majority of Turkana people access to education, a situation that is even worse for the girls.

Boarding Facilities

The dynamic and flexible nature of nomadic lifestyle makes it difficult for pastoral children to attend day schools. As such, boarding schools seem to serve as a better alternative for nomadic children. However, the cost of managing boarding schools in Turkana district is not affable to parents. The Kenyan government had at one point maintained boarding schools in Turkana district, up until the introduction of cost-sharing through the structural adjustment programs. At that time the government revised its boarding school policy for nomadic areas while strengthening the capacity at the community level to take charge and invest in day schools, thus reducing government involvement and expenditure in boarding school sector.

As such, the study found that the current boarding schools in Turkana district have inadequate facilities, especially at the primary school level, which is considered a major constraint towards meeting the educational costs for Turkana children. For these children to be able to be retained in schools and enhance their chances of completing primary school, provisions for boarding facilities seem to be a key requirement. In group discussions held with parents, high school students, teachers, headmasters, and village elders, the issue of lack of boarding facilities was a core concern raised in discussions. Often, focused groups cited that schools classified as boarding were not well-equipped with materials that would enable students to succeed and compete adequately with students outside the district. Things such as tables, dining chairs, beds, sheets, and buildings themselves were insufficient. For example, in Lodwar Mixed (day and boarding) students ate breakfast, lunch, and dinner either standing or sitting on

dusty ground. As for sleeping, some students who were able to afford palm mats brought them to school, while the majority endured sleeping on dusty floors. A few schools in the district had worn mattresses for the children, where at least six students sorted by gender shared a bed.

The study noted that lack of lighting systems, water supply, and water storage facilities; inadequate sanitation services; insufficient furniture, library services, office accommodation for head teachers, housing for teachers, classrooms, and unfenced compounds were common. On the whole, studies such as challenges of implementing free primary education in Kenya and girls' and women's education in Kenya (UNESCO, 2005) point to the lack of learning facilities as having a great impact on students' performance. There is no doubt that lack of adequate education facilities impact students' abilities to perform well in Turkana district; therefore, these facilities are necessary if education standards are to improve for Turkana pastoralist students.

The majority of boarding schools in the district, such as Lokori Boarding School, Our Lady Girl's Boarding School in Kakuma, and Lokitaung do not have adequate lighting at night, as they use lantern lamps. In schools where some solar panels have been installed, as in the case of Lodwar Boy's Boarding School, students often crowd the few classrooms with solar panels, and only two classes are powered by solar energy. Sanitation services in rural and urban are in Turkana are insufficient. It was observed that these services were non-existent in rural areas, for both students and teachers. Most teachers, especially those in rural primary schools, were accommodated in semi-permanent structures and had to contend with the problems of water shortage, lack of proper lighting, and an overwhelming number of students. Often these conditions serve to demoralize teachers of Turkana children.

Constraints Towards Formal Schooling in Turkana

The study sought to establish the constraints on accessing formal schooling in Turkana District. The three categories of respondents--parents, students and the key educational informants--were asked to give a rating of the degree of influence of the factors identified. The results are illustrated in Table 17.

Table 17

Constraints Towards Formal Schooling in Turkana

Response	% parents	% students	% key informants
Neglect by government to develop education facilities	90	80	90
Increase in modern small arms and light weapons	85	82	80
Long distance to school	95	90	90
Ignorance	80	70	70
Underdeveloped communication infrastructure	90	90	90
Cultural conflict	95	92	90
Inadequate employment opportunities	80	70	75
Inadequate role models	95	90	95
Improper location of schools	100	97	95
Inadequate boarding facilities	100	95	95
Politicization of education and interference by political leaders	75	60	60
Inadequate sensitization on the importance of education	75	55	40
Rampant and chronic poverty at household levels	90	88	85
Lack of alternative source of livelihoods	85	80	70
Hostile environmental conditions	95	96	90
Vastness of the district and its remoteness	90	90	90

Turkana Pastoralists Hindrances to Formal Schooling

The respondents interviewed for this study were in agreement that the Turkana lifestyle greatly contributes to their inaccessibility to education. The majority (90%) of these non-schooled children come from nomadic backgrounds. The study further inquired into possible factors hindering the pastoralists' access to education, and the following responses were obtained:

1. Most grazing settlements in the district were located in areas far from established schools.
2. The migratory nature of Turkana people in response to droughts and famines implies that the children who were in school were forced to accompany their parents in search of pastures for the animals and food for human consumption.
3. Schools in the district were located far from one another.
4. The cultural expectation of children is largely anti-formal education. Children were brought up to undertake traditional activities such as livestock herding for boys and helping in domestic chores for girls.
5. Insecurity in the district has led to frequent migration to safer areas and even closure of schools, due to bandits who target schools in order to steal school equipment and food as well as rape girls and female teachers.
6. Low income levels which force parents willing to educate their children to fail because they cannot finance education.
7. Inadequate food in schools, which contributes to students dropping out of school when food stocks are low.
8. Resistance to change, whereby residents want to continue with their traditional ways of life.
9. Schooling is viewed as a foreign practice that would change the people, with unknown results.

Cultural Stereotypes and Girls' Access to Formal Schooling in Turkana

Turkana communities have a strong cultural value attached to livestock. Only those members who cannot be absorbed by pastoralist networks, due to successive droughts, insecurity, destitution, livestock diseases, and famine accept or embrace alternative cultures and livelihoods, such as fishing, agriculture, bee keeping, micro-enterprise, or education. Moreover, livestock determines the status of an individual, family, or clan in the society. To the Turkana, education does not determine one's status in society. Every effort is made to safeguard the survival of these animals and the continuity of the cultural values of Turkana society. Since Turkana children are part of the family's economic subsistence, boys are needed for the management of livestock and as future warriors to protect and safeguard the community against any form of aggression from other communities like the Pokot, Karamojong, Toposa, Dongiro and Merile. They are also considered as a source of wealth and social status. For this reason, at times of stress, young people are organized to carry out raids to reinforce the depleted stocks, while girls are protected for marriages that will bring more animals to the family. In addition, girls are designated domestic workers who perform tasks such as providing water for the animals and constructing shelters and structures for livestock.

This social organization leaves no time for formal education. On the contrary, the Turkana living in urban and peri-urban centers take education as an alternative investment, since they cannot keep livestock in urban areas. This explains the increased number of enrollment in urban centers such as Lokichoggio, Kakuma, Lodwar, Kainuk, Kalokol, Katilu, Lokichar, Lokori and Nakwamoru. Several factors, mostly based on these notions, were cited as hindering Turkana girls' access to formal schooling in Turkana District:

1. Many girls were married off at a young age in order for the parents to earn dowry

2. Due to inadequate guidance and care, some school-age going girls get involved in intimate relationships and become pregnant while in school, forcing them to drop out.
3. High poverty levels that force families to opt to release their daughters into wage labor to earn income for the family.
4. A lack of confidence in a girls' ability to succeed in education is often culturally inculcated in the minds of girls. Girls who are weak in class work accept defeat early and drop out of school,.
5. Members of the community associate education with loose morals for girls, as they do not get married through the traditionally accepted channels. Many of the nomadic pastoralists deny their girls access to education in the process of protecting them from the risk of not getting married early and earning a dowry for the parents.
6. Most schools, especially outside urban centers, lack enough role models in terms of female teachers and head teachers. Most of these schools have few female Turkana teachers. In many schools, the majority of female teachers are either from other Kenyan communities or nuns from the Catholic Church.

Sexual Harassment, Prevalence and Impact of HIV/AIDS in Schools

In general, social and economic constraints on women obtaining education in Africa are the subject of much concern. The issue of sexual violence and harassment has been largely neglected. Recently, sexual harassment in educational institutions around the world has become increasingly discussed. St. Kizito, a Catholic secondary school in Meru, Nairobi, Kenya is a site where a large-scale assault took place. In July 1991, 75 girls were raped and 19 schoolgirls died at the hands of their male schoolmates (Wallace & March, 1991). Girls in Turkana schools are often exempt from making complaints of sexual harassment, since males claim that behavior such as unsolicited and unwelcome touching is not harassment. The study found that such behavior was considered “complimentary” as a local World Vision worker explained:

Raping a girl who has refused to give herself to you is considered “destroying property”⁶ in Turkana society . . . once this happens, the parents have no choice but to force the girl to marry you.

⁶ The term “destroying property” refers to the act of raping a woman and paying less dowry to her parents.

A number of female students and primary school teachers concur with this notion. Hence, some forms of sexual harassment in Turkana district have been normalized through culture and socialization.

In both primary and secondary schools in Turkana--in spite of rampant sexual harassment--very few cases of assault are reported. Even if they are reported, women and girls are not heard and often time the blame is shifted upon them by the village elder or chief. Interviews conducted at Lodwar Boys Secondary School⁷ in Lodwar, Turkana, found that boys often used physical force, threats and teasing to silence girls from the St. Kevin's School located three miles away. Male teachers and local NGO workers also preyed on their female students, with many girls becoming pregnant and dropping out of school.

Another observation of the study was the increase in sexual abuse of young girls of 9-12 years of age by older, semi-educated men who believed that sleeping with a younger girl prevents HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS has been identified as one of the factors that has had serious impact on the delivery of services within the education sector in Turkana district. In an interview with the Turkana Medical Officer of Health (MOH), the study found that the information on HIV/AIDS for the population was absent. No data was available on the prevalence of HIV/AIDS among students and teachers. Moreover, the little available information was general in nature. The study established that:

1. Most affected areas in the district were the townships along the Kitale-Lodwar-Lokichoggio road and Kalokol fishing center on the shore of Lake Turkana.
2. An increasing number of people were getting infected with the disease. In 2000, HIV/AIDS related deaths in Lodwar District Hospital were 328. This number has continued to rise.

⁷ Lodwar boys secondary school is the oldest secondary school in Turkana, established by the Catholic Church in 1969

3. Thirty three percent of bed occupants in Lodwar District Hospital were HIV/AIDS victims.
4. The impact of HIV/AIDS is manifested through increasing number of orphans, rising medical bills, and the loss of energetic family breadwinners.

Security and Modern Small Arms and Light Weapons

Turkana District is characterized by conflict based on resources and cattle raids. The Turkana pastoralists live under constant fear of attack from their neighbors, the Pokot, and cross border raids from Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan. Consequently, the people have resorted to the acquisition and use of deadly weapons to defend their livestock, territory and resources. In the process, many people have been killed or displaced from their homes.

The impact of such displacements, disruption of settlements, and eventual migrations has led to loss of education opportunities for thousands of Turkana pastoralist children. In areas bordering West Pokot, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, education services have been disrupted within existing schools which have either closed or are operating at very low enrollment. Schools such as Nanam, Arumrum, Kakonge, Koyesa, Letea, Lokiriama, Lokwamosing, Loreng, Lorengippi, Naipa, Nakukulas, and Oropoi have been hit by low enrollment, recording an average of 55 students per school. Geographically, the areas mentioned above were heavily concentrated by pastoralists as dry season grazing areas throughout the year; many children are therefore unable to attend school.

When asked about the source of arms, focused groups, village elders, men, and young men, as well as guards responded that arms in Turkana mainly came from Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia. It was established that those arms in the hands of Turkana home guards also played a role in causing insecurity in the district, which had a far reaching impact on education. In the

remote pastoralist areas, education is completely non-existent, as people are constantly on the move for fear of attacks and in search of pasture and water for their livestock.

Girls, who are therefore forced to trek for long distances to go to school, become vulnerable to sexual abuse and defilement. Often times these girls are victims of bandits who attack and kill them so as to divert the attention of their brothers and parents from pursuing the offenders. These cases often take too long to be reported to relevant authorities, due to poor communication facilities.

Political Interference of Formal Schooling

The pastoralist areas in Kenya found in the arid and semi arid lands are considered to be infertile, remote, poor, and inaccessible, with low population density, are kept out of the main decision-making process when it comes to the apportioning of resources. The argument is that these areas with their low population have little impact in national politics where numbers count. Areas such as Turkana have systematically been neglected when providing education facilities. Hence, the district was considered closed during colonialism and residents had to carry a detailed passbook describing their agenda if they were to travel outside the district. The main education providers in Turkana are the Catholic Church and NGO's such as World Vision (WV), OXFAM, CCF and other churches like Africa Inland Church (AIC) and Reformed Church of East Africa (RCEA). However, the government has been instrumental in providing teachers to primary and secondary schools, though the numbers are far from being adequate at the primary school level. Political leaders have been identified as frustrating efforts of school managers in the district. With the introduction of school bursaries for students, provided by the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) under the chairmanship of the member of Parliament for the particular

district, politics have found a place in schools. These new policies require head teachers, especially secondary school headmasters, to seek special approval before making major developmental decisions and to support of members of parliament, thus removing their autonomy in school management. In normal circumstances, the school headmaster--along with his assistant head, teachers and sometime parents--makes all decisions affecting a school. In reality, the school is expected to forward the decisions to the appropriate member of Parliament for suggestions and recommendations.

Employment Opportunities

Due to the high level of illiteracy among the local residents, many are unable to find meaningful employment in the government, private sector and NGOs. In places like Lodwar Town, Kakuma, and Lokichoggio, where many international organizations and U.N. bodies serving Southern Sudan are centered, the locals cannot find jobs because of their lack of technical skills. In addition, they do not know how they can compete effectively for job opportunities with other immigrant groups, such as Sudanese, Somalis, or other ethnic groups from Kenya. This situation has been identified as being a major cause of tension in Kakuma Refugee Camp and in Lokichoggio. Turkana who go to these camps to seek for employment often end up being employed as watchmen, laundry workers, housekeepers, catering services and cooks. These jobs are generally low paying. Turkana pastoralists do not consider technical skills as part of long-term human development. They view education in the short-term where gains have to be realized immediately upon completion of education.

Role Models

Girls who participated in this study echoed the issue of inadequate role models. They argued that most of educated Turkana from the rural areas do not return to the district to serve as leading examples to be emulated and admired by others, but instead disappear into the urban areas, where a better life is characterized by piped water, electricity, better housing, and good medical facilities. The girls further observed that the small number of local female teachers do not motivate girls to work hard to attain education.

The study established that in most rural schools the representation of female teachers was absent. An example of some of the established schools (as indicated in Table 18) from the District Education Office further illustrates the situation.

The sample of the well-known and well-established schools show that skewed distribution of teachers in favor of males exists in the district. The scenario is worse for many smaller schools, some of which have only one teacher. Few female teachers in remote schools were to be able to greatly impact the attitude of girls and parents towards education.

Advocacy for Girls

The existence of women teachers' activism and community mobilization for gender equity in education in Turkana District has very little impact or does not exist at all. Despite the fact that organizations like Oxfam concentrate on gender education equality, and interview with the headmaster at Lokitaung Secondary School revealed serious gender disparity against the girl students. According to the headmaster, the school goes from Form 1 to Form 4. It is a mixed boarding school with both boys and girls totaling to 228 and 82 respectively. There were 14 male teachers and only 1 female teacher at the school.

Table 18

Female and Male Count in Sampled Primary Schools in Order of Schools Size

Name of primary school	Total # of students	Students		Teachers	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
1 Kanamkemer Primary Mixed (urban)	1,752	756	996	10	4
2 Kawalase primary school mixed (town)	798	356	442	9	5
3 A I C Lokichogio mixed boarding school	750	212	538	2	6
4 Lokichar mixed primary school (urban)	723	218	505	7	7
5 Kakuma Arid zone Primary Mixed (urban)	719	265	454	7	6
6 Kainuk mixed primary (town)	703	266	437	3	11
7 Lokori primary school mixed (town)	657	201	456	5	7
8 Mirulem Primary Mixed	632	278	354	1	8
9 Lokitang mixed primary	515	136	379	1	6
10 Lodwar girls primary day (major town)	460	460	0	9	5
11 Nakwamoru primary school mixed	436	165	271	0	7
12 Lorugum mixed primary school	410	186	224	5	3
13 Namoruputh primary school mixed boarding	406	176	230	0	6
14 Lowarengak Boys Primary School	400	0	400	3	5
15 Lokichar girls primary school mixed day	388	378	10	5	4
16 A I C Lopidign primary school day school	359	119	240	1	6
17 Kapedo mixed primary school	314	102	212	2	5
18 Lotubae primary mixed day	308	136	172	1	5
19 Koputir primary mixed-day (market-mini urban)	304	102	202	3	5
20 Kapelibok Primary Mixed	303	127	176	0	7
21 Loarenlak Girls	300	300	0	4	2
22 Loyapat Primary School Mixed	295	141	154	0	6
23 Elelea primary school mixed	293	106	187	0	7
24 Natole Primary school Mixed day school	293	134	159	0	8
25 Kalemuyang primary school mixed boarding	281	104	177	2	4

(continued)

Table 18 (continued)

Name of primary school	Total # of students	Students		Teachers	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
26 Lomelo Primary School Mixed	278	85	193	3	3
27 Napeillim primary mixed-boarding	264	98	166	0	7
28 St. Mathew's Nadome primary school mixed day school	249	75	174	0	2
29 Kospir primary school mixed boarding	231	107	124	0	6
30 AIC Loper Primary Mixed (Boarding)	218	77	141	0	6
31 Kaeris Primary Mixed	217	82	135	1	5
32 Turkana integrated girls boarding	210	184	26	4	10
33 Locheremoit mixed day school (town)	204	93	111	0	7
34 Nabulon girls primary day school for girls	193	193	0	7	5
35 Namadak Kalimapus primary school boarding mixed	191	72	119	0	6
36 Kapedo Girls Primary	176	176	0	0	4
37 Kainuk Girls Primary School	168	168	0	2	5
38 A I C Lokichoggio girls primary school day	164	164	0	2	4
39 Moruese primary school	157	67	90	0	2
40 St. Luke Nakururum Primary Mixed	156	27	129	0	2
41 Napeikar Primary school mixed day	140	58	82	0	3
42 Kakimat Primary Mixed	133	56	77	0	2
43 Kangatoha primary school mixed day and boarding	132	39	93	0	6
44 Loreng Primary Mixed	125	45	80	0	3
45 Nagis Primary School Mixed	117	64	53	1	1
46 Kalomegur mixed day school	107	57	50	1	1
47 Lokangag Primary Mixed	94	42	52	0	1
48 A I C Nawam primary school mixed day school	89	52	37	0	2
49 Nawoyaregae mixed day	87	32	55	0	1
50 Naremit Primary school mixed day	78	45	33	0	2
51 Natagilae Primary School Mixed	78	45	33	0	2

(continued)

Table 18 (continued)

Name of primary school	Total # of students	Students		Teachers	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
52 Kapua primary school mixed day school	69	34	35	0	3
53 Kodopa primary school mixed day	67	33	34	0	2
54 Logogo Primary Mixed	50	28	22	1	1
55 Nakitofkonon primary mixed day school	42	8	34	0	2
Totals	17,283	7,730	9,550	102	251
Total number of students/teachers in random schools	17,283				353
Female percentage of total		45%		29%	
Male percentage of total			55%		71%

Source: Compiled from field data

As mentioned earlier, the low enrollment of female students is frequently attributed to cultural practices of early marriage. In the previous year, three girls dropped out of school for marriage. Even when girls refuse the marriage proposal, the village elders can become involved and force the girls into marriage. In some cases, although very rare, girls may seek special permission from the village chief to delay or be given exemption from marriage until they finish their education. However, often times their requests are rejected and the girls are told that they must abide by their parents requests.

There is a need to improve physical facilities such as school latrines and dormitories in order to provide for sanitary towels to girls who have reached puberty. Teachers in the Turkana district are mostly male, with less women being recruited each year. Hence, there exist few role models as teachers that girls can emulate. Campaigns to sensitize parents to the importance of girls' education are minimal and seem to only be mention among the educated.

The Case of Lodwar Primary School

Lodwar Primary School, situated in the headquarters of Turkana District, is the largest and oldest school with 2,459 students. The situation of the girl child, who constitutes 55% of the total student population, is difficult given the fact that the primary school is supposed to be a model school for the entire district. First the study found that the increased percentage of girls in school was due to the availability boarding facilities for girls, even though the institution is largely a day school. According to the headmaster, four girls sleep per bed, with many still sleeping outside the dormitory, as the room is not adequate to accommodate all girl students. This poses challenges of health and safety precautions. Preparedness is seriously breached due to lack of funds. Consequently, this study found that the security of girls was compromised through lack of attention to plans to ensure their safety needs. The dormitory is one big hall room full of congested beds with, in actuality, up to six girls sleeping on one bed.

The school has 36 teachers, of which 19 are women and 18 men, and is the only institution in the district with more female teachers. It bucks the trend of most other urban primary schools, where female teachers constitute less than their male counterparts. Schools like Kanamkemer mixed, Kawalase primary, Kakuma Arid Zone, Lodwar Girls and Lokichar Girls have more female teachers, most of whom are married to civil servants in respective towns due to their abilities. Because of their status, these female teachers are deployed to more favorable and accessible centers.

Since the free primary education initiative of 2003, girls' enrollment has increased significantly, from 1,110 to 1,349. Education officials consider the 239 girl increase as still very low and attribute this to factors such as poverty and lack of employment that generate gaps and disparities for the otherwise free primary education. Demand for uniforms and lack of food in

homes are formidable hindrances to educational access. According to the schools headmasters, the government is responsible for providing food to the schools; however, parents are expected to buy uniforms, construct schools with available materials, and provide for other basic requirements.

In some isolated cases, Turkana mothers responded well to free primary education. This illustrates that some attempt by relevant authorities to create awareness of importance of education among the pastoralist communities is perhaps bearing fruit.

At any given day or time, any student can come and enroll. As such, Turkana children can arrive at any time of the year, which is good because of their nomadic lifestyle. When this is the case, the students are interviewed and then placed into an appropriate class. Out of 33 girl students interviewed at Lodwar Mixed, about 65% agreed that an opportunity to free primary education benefited them.

Still, girl students drop out of school more frequently based on parental needs. Often, the girl is called back home for marriage. There are those who see the lack of self-reliance that exists among Turkana people as due to their refusal to accept education. Hence, many have become extensively reliant on relief as a way out of poverty.

Mobile Pastoralist Schools in Turkana District

Mobile pastoralist schools in Turkana district were adopted from an example that was implemented by the Ugandan government authority for mobile schools. My study found that mobile school teachers were generally eighth grade dropouts and serve as volunteers with a stipend of 4,000 ksh per month, depending on the exchange rate. Students are taught mathematics and Kiswahili with Turkana students being taught in their own language of

Kiturkana. This program began in 2004 with five schools, and in 2006 there were 10 schools. According to the Ministry of Education (MoE), mobile schools may run from ECD to third grade. Thereafter, students are supposed to transit to ordinary primary schools.

Though early policy documents offer mobile schools as an alternative schooling mode for enhancing school access in ASAL, until recently, the government did not make evident efforts to promote this facility. The mobile school system attempts to adapt to the socio economic lifestyle of nomadic people. Mobile schools have been initiated by a variety of groups (e.g., OXFAM GB, Aga Khan Foundation, ALRMP, the Catholic Church) and local communities. There is evidence of collaborative effort to promote these schools. For example, ALRMP supported a number of community schools before handing them over to the MoE. One example of the Mobile school in Turkana District was the Alternative Basic Education in Turkana (ABET). Established in June 2004, ABET, which borrowed heavily from the Karamoja's ABEK, tailors its education provision to suit the nomadic lifestyle of the people. Initially, four ABET schools were founded by OXFAM GB. The reception of the schools was very encouraging, especially among girls. The teachers, most of whom are school dropouts, are provided token payments by board comprising OXFAM GB, the Catholic Church and the pastoralist community. The church further sustains the school feeding programme. Linkages with primary school are sought as the head teacher acts as coordinator of the schools. The ABET programme is offered in two sessions in the morning and evening. The key issues bedeviling ABET are teacher quality, lack of creative learning methodologies and a loosely followed curriculum. Today, the Ministry of Education not only recognizes the schools, but supports those who meet the requirement with annual budgetary allocations.

The Kenya Ministry of Education does not have up to date records of mobile schools. A key complaint by the Non Formal Education Officer situated in the head office is that district education officers only make returns for public schools and mostly ignore mobile schools. The vast distance, weak administrative systems, lack of transport makes it difficult to monitor the actual number of schools. Some mobile schools have not met the minimum requirements put forth before benefiting from funding. According to an MoE brief (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2009), there are 51 funded mobile schools scattered over nine ASAL districts. The schools have a total enrolment of ,4437 (1,833 boys and 2,604 girls). About 60% are in Turkana district, while the rest are distributed in eight other arid districts. Table 19 illustrates this. In the fiscal year 2007/2008, these schools received Ministry’s funding amounting to Kenya Shillings 26,575,091. In this fiscal year (2008/2009), 30 mobile schools have already been identified for funding (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2009).

Table 19

MoE Funded Mobile Schools by District

District	# of schools	Girls	Boys	Total	%
Wajir	8	124	160	284	6.40
Ijara	7	104	173	277	6.20
Garissa	5	143	198	341	7.69
Moyale	3	37	48	85	1.92
Turkana	15	1796	845	2641	59.52
Isiolo	2	63	68	131	2.95
Marsabit	4	63	64	127	2.86
Tana River	2	80	120	200	4.51
Total	51	2,604	1,833	4,437	100.00

Source: Kenya Ministry of Education Brief on Mobile Schools, March 2009

One of the major challenges of mobile schools is that they are not transitional schools; students from mobile schools must transfer into formal schools. This requirement, which was

put in place as a way of uniting the program with modern education, was design by the Arid Lands Organization, a department of the government. Currently, Turkana children have not been pressured to join formal schooling in urban centers as such policies have not been implemented. According to OXFAM personnel, 60% of interior students are out of school due to the harsh environment in which they live, which requires students' parents to be on constant move.

Teachers and Motivation

The study concluded that teachers in the interior often desire to move to towns or transfer to other districts with less harsh climatic conditions. A feeling of isolation and lack of teaching resources were some of the reasons for low motivation to remain. A high level of absenteeism among teachers is a lamentation among educational administrators. Consequently, teachers travel long distances on open lorries and overloaded pickups for purchases of essential commodities. It was also expressed by administrators that lack of motivation inhibits teachers' performance and high levels of absenteeism promote student dropout in schools.

Educational Link to Nomadic Cultural Practice

In Turkana district, only minimum educational practices that specifically address social institutions and poverty among the nomads exist. The existing national educational system does not allow the nomadic pastoralists to harmonize their livelihoods. Hence, the Turkana tend to stick to their traditions and force their children to abandon school for traditional practices like herding and early marriages. Although the government constantly makes changes that address students from across the country, few of these changes are developed to specifically address

students from the nomadic societies. For example, having books with pictures of people putting on attire characteristic of the nomadic life are difficult to find.

Conclusion

This chapter presented findings of the study and has sought to demonstrate that access to education by girls and women in Turkana District is affected by a combination of many difficult factors. The study results show that differences in culture, poverty, environment, insecurity and bad government policies are responsible for lack of access for girls and women to education in Turkana district. Rural Turkana women have more problems compared to those in urban areas and even compared to African rural female children in general. Resources such as adequate water and sanitation are enjoyed by the rural African girl child but are not enjoyed by Turkana girls. In addition, the data from this study indicates that girls and women do not have role models because there are no women in leadership positions in Turkana district, as all positions are held by elder and middle-aged Turkana men. Turkana students need schools and instruction that incorporate their cultural values and traditions. Modern education alone is not adequate, as it requires the Turkana to abandon their lifestyles. As such, establishing education that is consistent with the environment of pastoralists will benefit them greatly.

Generally, despite improvements in gender equity in all four study areas, and indeed throughout East Africa, much still has to be done in such areas as fair representation in decision-making, reduction of violence against women (including female genital mutilation), provision of education and ownership of assets.

Chapter 6

Conclusion And Recommendations

The Ominde Report was the first educational document for independent Kenya. Ominde educational policy recommendations set the path for formal Western education in Kenya. Emerging educational policies were recommended to put education in the service of Kenyans and to afford academic educational opportunities denied them in the colonial African system. The Gachathi Report examined the impact of the educational policies implemented at independence on national development. The Mackay Report is Kenya's third educational policy recommendation report. It examined the educational system with a specific mandate of laying policy directions for the establishment of a second university after Nairobi University. Following the Mackay Report was the Wanjigi Report, which examined education's role in the quest for solutions to the unemployment problem in Kenya. The Wanjigi Report endorsed the Mackay Report's recommendations of restructuring the entire educational system as a strategy for combating unemployment. The Kamunge Report reviewed the national education and training for the next decade and beyond. Kenya's latest policy document is the Ndegwa Report, which addresses unemployment in Kenya and lastly, the sessional paper of 2005 analyzes the current education for Kenyan population and makes recommendations.

Conclusions based on the findings from the data analysis presented in the previous chapter are: Turkana female access to formal schooling was greatly hindered by several factors related to socio-economic factors tied to availability of educational facilities, environmental, political and cultural constraints, and poor advocacy for female education in Turkana District. Consequently, there is poor retention of girls in schools.

On the whole, Kenyan education programs appear to oppose nomadic culture at all levels of its principle, including goals, explanatory paradigms, solutions, policies, implementation, and approach to evaluation (Kratli, 2001). Current education goals in Kenya are broad and unspecified and with regards to nomadic education, therefore, there is a need for developing adequate educational policies that address nomads' educational needs, in particular, pastoralist girls and women. In addition, changes in the attitudes, and a broader view and focus on goals need to be implemented, if pastoralists are going to succeed in education. Kenyan educational policies should seek to look beyond the classroom when dealing with nomadic populations, especially Turkana women and girls. The policies should look at education as a broad phenomenon within a particular context. This will offer the important advantage of including a field of vision, situations, and dimensions that to date have been largely overlooked, but that appear to influence both the ways in which education is received and its potential for fighting poverty and health.

What is demonstrated by the findings is that nomadic education should be flexible, multifaceted and focused enough to target specific structural problems, such as social and economic marginalization, lack of political representation, and issues related to Kenyan education coping and interacting successfully with the new challenges raised by globalization. The literature demonstrates that Kenya's educational policies, coupled with socio-economic, socio-culture and the school environment are the major constraints to Turkana girls' education. Therefore, attention should be focused on the following points for a deeper understanding and forging a better response to pastoralist education demand.

The demand for female education is the lowest in rural and marginal areas such as Turkana district, where poverty is most pronounced and opportunities for income-generating

activities are very few. There is a need to engage seriously with the root causes of poor participation of girls in Turkana schools. Thus, when identified, the problems should systematically be investigated, documented, addressed and lastly, policies drawn up, which can then be implemented effectively according to need. This must be carried out in collaboration with the local communities of Turkana and should incorporate all those concerned with pastoralist education, including the Kenyan government, NGOs, teachers, parents and students. On the other hand, cultural institutions and practices that hinder the potential for formal female education need further analysis, preferably with Turkana communities, in order to design well the responsive interventions in which Turkana girls will participate.

Objective One: Level of Access and Retention

The first objective of the study sought to determine the level of access and retention to formal schooling among Turkana pastoralist women. The following conclusions were made based on data collected and analysis of literature and educational documents.

Access to formal schooling. As previously stated, the majority of Turkana women, especially girls have limited access to modern education. The study found that even though the total population in Turkana district approximately has a population ratio of 1:1 in the number of males to females, statistics in Turkana education sectors reveal major gender disparities. Men dominate community leadership, the teaching profession, and enrollment in upper primary and secondary schools. Moreover, the level of access to formal schooling was very low, especially in rural areas, as compared to urban centers that were better served with both primary and secondary schools. Also linked to access to education is the fact that for most pastoralist parents, education for their children is not a priority, especially for the girls.

Drop out and retention in formal schooling. A large percentage of children who join schools usually drop out before reaching standard eight due to lack of support from their parents, who are unwilling to invest in education, even those are from well-to-do pastoralists families. Hence, it is not surprising that some of those who manage to join secondary schools or colleges also drop out due to lack of financial support. In terms of educational provision and participation, the statistics for access, retention, completion and achievement remain low for both boys and girls in the regions, but worse for girls.

Analysis of secondary data at the District Education Office revealed that girl child retention and completion rates in the district are very low especially at the secondary school level. Statistics show that out of 38,600 girls eligible for primary school education in 2002, 32,000 were in school. The secondary school-going age children were about 14,500 the same year, but only 937 were in school. The percentage of primary and secondary schools enrollments were approximately 83% and 6% respectively.

For most educational zones, the ratio of girls to that of boys is 1:1 in the lower primary. However, data for the upper classes revealed higher dropout rates for girls than for boys. The Ministry of Education statistics of 2003 of those completing standard eight in Turkana District and who were in standard one in 1996 is 24.9% for boys and 17.5% for girls. This is the case, although, more females complete standard eight than males in several parts of the country, especially those that seems to enjoy governmental support and funding for gender awareness programs.

Poor educational achievement in the region of Turkana is also attributed to poor school facilities, traditional nomadic lifestyle, reduced awareness of the need for education (lack of

perceived social relevance), and general issues related to lack of economic resources and public infrastructure within the Turkana region.

Objective Two: Factors That Impact Access

Based on the second objective of the study focused on how socio-economic and availability of educational facilities impact on access to formal schooling among women in Turkana District. The following conclusion were derived from the multiple sources.

Socio-economic factors. The Turkana community has very strong cultural values attached to livestock. Only those that cannot be absorbed by pastoralist networks through successive droughts, insecurity, destitution, livestock diseases and famine, accept or embrace other alternative livelihoods, such as fishing, agriculture, bee keeping, micro-enterprise and education in order to sustain their families.

It was also found that many girls drop out due to diverse domestic and traditional reasons. Many girls are married off at a tender age in order for the parents to earn a dowry and others get involved in intimate relationships and become pregnant while in school. The study also established that some of the girls opt for wage labor to earn income for their family due to increasing poverty.

According to 80% of the respondents, inadequate schools and rehabilitation centers for poor, disabled, and street children were a major factor hindering access to education for impoverished children. Inadequate sensitization of families who have physically disabled children to the fact that disability is not inability was found to be very much needed in the region.

The inaccessibility of most of the areas has forced education providers to concentrate in areas they can only afford to reach such as urban centers serving only the sedentary group of people, leaving the rest unattended. Most of the boarding schools in the district are located in urban centers or in areas where people have settled by irrigation areas and fishing camps near Lake Turkana. Schools in the district tend to be established in these major towns, alienating the greater part of the nomadic population from adequate educational facilities.

More importantly, it was observed that sanitation services were insufficient in urban schools, but were non-existent in some of the rural schools thus greatly impacting the female learners who have unmet sanitary needs.

Objective Three: Environmental and Political Constraints

The third objective of the study sought to access what environmental, political and cultural constraints exist that discourage female access to formal schooling in Turkana District. Again, based on the data collected and the accompanying analysis of documents, the following conclusions emerged.

Cultural constraints. Cultural norms that favor boys over girls and economic hardships faced by many families in Turkana District also negatively influence access, retention and achievement in formal schooling among girls and women. Often times it is the girl child who remains at home to help parents in domestic responsibilities while the male child is sent to school. There is an overwhelming impact on girls and women in districts whose cultural practices discriminate against gender equality in access to formal schooling. This situation also contributes to a much higher incidence of poverty in female-headed households.

Often members of the Turkana community associate education with loose morals when girls do not get married through the traditionally accepted channels. Many of the nomadic pastoralists deny their girls access to education to “protect” them from the risk of not getting married early and earning a dowry for the parents. Parents fear that when their daughters attend school, they will be influenced by modernism and decide to marry outside their societies. The distance between school and pastoralist homes also contributes equally to deterring a pastoralist girl’s education, due to her parents and community. Parents often conclude that the distance to school exposes their daughters to danger, particularly sexual assault, which would damage the potential of the daughter to bring a healthy dowry to the family.

An inadequate number of role models, in terms of female teachers and head teachers, play a key role in the declining access to education. Most of these schools have scarcely any female Turkana teachers. In many schools, the few female teachers were either from other Kenyan communities or the nuns from the Catholic Church. There was only one female head teacher in a secondary school, heading Our Lady of Mercy Girls Secondary School in Kakuma.

The pastoral community of Turkana is generally viewed as a hostile people, ever fighting over cattle pastures, migratory in nature, and with no strong sense for education as an economic or social undertaking. Moreover, government policy makers have systematically neglected the arid and semi arid areas, while directing resources to the high potential areas in the country. Furthermore, resistance to change is also considered a setback, since residents want to continue with their traditional ways of life.

Many parents in the district, particularly fathers, teachers, and to some extent, women themselves have lower expectations of female students. Women students are frequently treated differently in the classrooms, as well as at home. Due to inadequate guidance and counseling,

some school-going girls get involved in intimate relationships and become pregnant while in school. The low status and unequal position of women has serious negative implications on the life conditions for their families and results in increased vulnerability to the girl child. Women continue to be underrepresented as leaders and in policy and decision making forums such as parliament.

Mobile life-styles in order to balance grazing requirements for their herds also lock out these populations from access to formal schooling. Consequently the system of education is generally inappropriate in meeting the educational needs of nomadic populations.

Environmental issues. Inadequate boarding facilities, especially at the primary school level, are a major constraint towards offering affordable educational costs for Turkana children. Furthermore the schools classified as boarding schools are poorly equipped. Facilities such as tables and dining chairs are insufficient and children eat their food in open places, while standing. The study also noted lack of adequate lighting, lack of water supply, lack of water storage facilities, inadequate sanitation services, insufficient furniture, no library services, poor accommodation for head teachers and teachers, unfenced compounds, inadequate classrooms and lack of adequate teacher housing as environmental constraints.

Most grazing settlements in the district were located in areas very far away from established schools. The migratory nature of Turkana people in response to droughts and famines implies that the children who were in school were forced to accompany their parents in search of pastures for the animals and food for human consumption. Schools in the district were also located far from one another.

On average, the distance from one center to another is 50Kms. This makes it extremely difficult for children to get to school. Most of the existing schools within the proximity of

pastoralists were over a day's walk away, and people fear leaving their children behind without the surety of food and accommodations and general security, especially for the girls who could be targeted by cattle raiders, abducted, raped and even killed if they show signs of resistance. Insecurity in the district has led to frequent migration to safer areas and even closure of schools, if there are fears that bandits will attack in search of food, equipment, and women and girls to assault. As such, even parents willing to educate their children can fail because they do not trust the schools to protect their children or simply cannot finance educational services that would maintain their children's safety. Moreover, attachment of Turkana people to cattle-raiding expeditions also creates instability and heightened insecurity that greatly impacts on the girl child. As a consequence, remote pastoralist areas in Kenya in the arid and semi arid lands considered to be infertile, poor, dangerous and inaccessible, and are therefore often kept out of main policy decision making, particularly when it comes to the apportioning the educational resources of the nation.

An increasing number of Turkana are becoming infected with HIV/AIDS. In 2000, deaths attributed to the disease in Lodwar District Hospital numbered 314,328. This number has continued to rise, with 33% of patients admitted to Lodwar District Hospital being diagnosed with HIV/AIDS. The impact of HIV/AIDS is manifested through increasing number of orphans, rising medical costs, and the loss of family income. Sickness, domestic chores, and hunger brought by droughts that are prevalent in the region also contribute formidable challenges that take a great toll on efforts to improve female access to education.

Turkana district is also characterized by conflict based on resources and cattle raids. The Turkana live under constant fear of attacks from neighboring groups out of Uganda, Ethiopia, and Sudan. Consequently, the Turkana have resorted to the acquisition and use of deadly

weapons to defend their livestock, territory, and resources. In the process, many people have been killed or displaced from their original homes.

Political and policy issues. Establishment of the very scarce educational facilities has followed the paternalistic order of the colonial government. Before and after independence, Turkana who attempted to go to school could not go beyond standard four. White missionaries recruited those who managed to be successful as colonial chiefs, home guards and as catechists. They were required to assimilate to a European code of dressing and cultural modes of behavior, if there were to maintain a livelihood.

Inadequate food in schools also causes some Turkana children to drop out of school when food stocks are low in the region. High poverty levels also force families to opt that their daughters enter the wage labor market to earn income for the family, rather than remaining in school.

Political leaders have been identified as frustrating efforts of school managers in the district. With the introduction of school bursaries for students, provided by the constituency development fund (CDF) under the chairmanship of the members of Parliament, the politics of schooling has intensified. Consequently, secondary school officials may not make any major decisions, without first the approval and support of the members of parliament, stripping schools of autonomy to meet the actual needs of Turkana students.

Pastoralist women in Turkana of northern Kenya are treated differently when it comes to accessing social services geared towards economic empowerment. This exclusion creates gendered disparities with women facing more marginalization in the social, economic, and political sectors. Along the same line, the cost sharing-policies, which require Turkana students to buy uniforms and feed themselves, create serious obstacles for many pastoralist to access

formal schooling, especially for children from very poor families. The policies severely hinder girls and women from accessing formal schooling.

Furthermore, methodology of dissemination of the national curriculum within the education system is antagonistic to nomadic culture. It tends to alienate nomadism as incompatible with development and modernization, and therefore destined to disappear.

Objective Four: Advocacy for Girl's Education

Finally, the fourth objective of the study was to examine advocacy for women's education in Turkana District. Based on the data collected and the analysis of historical documents on schooling in Turkana, the following conclusions were made.

Female role models. Most of educated Turkana from the rural areas do not return home to serve as leading examples to be emulated and admired by others but disappear in to the urban areas where life is characterized as better due to modern amenities. Furthermore, the small number of local female teachers does not motivate girls to work hard in school or even believe that they are capable of academic success. In addition, there is a highly skewed distribution of teachers in favor of males in the region. Very few female teachers are to be found in remote schools. This scenario greatly reinforces traditional attitudes that prevent girls from being educated in the Turkana District. Consequently, the existence of activism by women teachers or community advocacy and mobilization for gender equity in the Turkana District is almost non-existent.

Recommendations

There is a need to address the problems of girl-child education in order to enhance their access, retention, participation and performance. As such, there is a need to re-examine all Kenyan educational policies, such as the policies for universal free education, expansion of education, cost-sharing, open admission policies, quota systems and the policy tied to school dropouts. The problems facing the education of girls and women are complex and interrelated. Poverty, pregnancy, sexual harassment, HIV/AIDS, and cultural practices are only part of a much larger problem facing Turkana pastoralists in general, and Turkana girls and women more specifically. Because of the inter-relatedness of these issues, they can only be tackled by the use of a multifaceted strategy that matches each set of constraints with corresponding interventions. No African government has the capacity to address all these constraints alone. Thus, the implementation of education to nomadic groups on the continent calls for partnerships between government agencies and officials, NGOs, schools, the community, parents and teachers.

National government. The Kenyan government needs to be able to foster economic growth that benefits the nomadic communities such as the Turkana pastoralists of northern Kenya. This should be done by means of lowering the direct cost of schooling by establishing bursary schemes, fee waivers or reduced fees for girls, and the supplying of free textbooks. Furthermore, the government can contribute more effectively to better outcomes by lowering the opportunity cost of schooling. This would entail establishing flexible school hours, childcare facilities nearby the schools, and time-saving and energy-saving devices (UNICEF, 1992). It must strive at the policy level to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination within learning contexts, including the curriculum, textbooks, classroom interactions, the use of space, and the distribution of educational resources. Schools that are far from home environments discourage

nomadic parents from sending their daughters to school. As such, there is a need to expand and bring schools closer to nomadic communities. The next step is to provide culturally appropriate facilities and schools that integrate cultural norms of nomads. In addition, the number of women teachers in girls' schools should be increased, so as to provide role models for both the girls and women of the Turkana communities.

Government education policies must be translated into practical terms, in order to enhance and sustain the momentum gained in the elimination of disparities by gender in basic education. Appropriate targeting in all basic education programs with appropriate support of the nomadic pastoralists' should be put in place. There should be deliberate monitoring and follow-up of school dropouts, with particular reference to adolescent mothers. An immediate policy towards facilitating the conditions of young mothers and to support re-entry into the educational system should be enacted. Finally, the creation of comprehensive data on the situation of the girl child in Kenya, with particular reference to nomadic girl children, school dropouts, adolescent mothers, and the promotion of the use of such data for future planning, is necessary to improve the educational conditions and opportunities for Turkana girls and women in the region.

The government and international development agencies, NGOs and private sector need to support community-driven development strategies in promoting education. Developing local organizational capacity requires facilitators who work with the poor to inform them about educational programs and to enhance suitable programs such as mobile schools. Partnership between NGOs and organizations tied to civil society can play key roles in empowering women in the district for more access and retention in schools. To curb gender inequalities in access to formal schooling, more open educational expectations related to gender roles will need to be internalized, by both women and men. Since the lives of men and women are intertwined,

changing women's lives means changing men's internalized norms about women and their behavior towards them as well. To accomplish this more, parents and teachers should play an active and collaborative role in guiding and counseling girls in order to get them to remain in school. This will also reduce cases of school pregnancies and dropouts due to early marriage.

More schools may need to convert into boarding schools so that they can retain Turkana children when they enroll school. Those schools, especially in the rural areas, should be considered for conversion in order to support more fully the education of children from the nomadic families. In addition to the free primary education, girls who come from poor backgrounds need more attention in terms of school uniforms, general clothing, and other needs. The church and non-governmental organizations can go an extra mile to provide many of these needs to Turkana girls. As mentioned by many of the girls and women interviewed, provision of sanitary facilities should be considered a priority in all schools.

The Divisional Education Officers need to be beefed-up in terms of personnel and resources to enable them to effectively supervise educational services at the grassroots level. The government and donor agencies should provide motorbikes, fuel, and workable office space to all the divisional officers, for example, to enable them to work effectively. The very interior parts of the district should be made accessible through roads and other essential social services.

Recommendation related to mobile schools. Mobile school provisions present more exciting possibilities for educational provision in Turkana district and other pastoralist areas of Kenya. However, certain issues need to be addressed through government intervention to make this mode of educational provision more effective. These schools still operate outside the Education Act. Action from NGOs and individuals is pushed for from the “outside” and this has

implications on the endurance and eventual sustainability of non-traditional school provisions. The effect of migration on mobile schools warrants deeper consideration because the “mobile” nature of the school was supposed to be the solution. While the migration routes are standard, families can opt to move in different directions making follow up difficult. For learning in mobile schools to succeed, it needs to be devolved from the physical presence of the teacher. The concept of self learning, aided by the radio and other electronic forms also need to be promoted. The government and non-governmental organizations should work on the practicability and the implementation of mobile schools education. These mobile schools would be feeder centers for nomadic boarding schools that would be strategically located to satisfactorily serve the needs of the nomadic people of Turkana. More importantly, studies should be conducted of the migration routes and patterns of the nomads so as to build schools in strategic positions.

Recommendation for teenage Turkana mothers. In Kenya, the new education policy is that young girls who get pregnant in school should be readmitted back after they give birth. This policy is supposed to be enforced by District Education officers and officers from the provincial administration on the ground. The government should ensure that the policy is enforced even in the Remote arid areas of Turkana through constant supervision and timely reporting of the incidences.

Recommendation for boarding schools. Mobile schools and boarding schools have been the main modes through which education provision in Kenya has been extended to Turkana district and other pastoralist communities. The Ministry of Education perceives these schools as complementary. Mobile schools offer educational opportunities to class three, and thereafter, children are supposed to transit to boarding schools. The ideal school solution would however

be one that allows children to grow up within their homes and families and receive an education. However because of low population densities, it may not be cost effective to constitute a normal school.

There would be problems posting teachers to such a school due to staffing norms that calculate teachers on the basis of pupil numbers. The answer to having a community school, for sparse populations, would therefore lie in constituting an entirely different form of provision in which one teacher teaches across different grade levels. Such a provision is not available in Kenya. The trend that is likely to be followed to enhance school access in Turkana and other pastoralist districts is the expansion of boarding schools and mobile schools. Comparatively, the boarding school option is the easiest to manage. These schools are recognized in the Education Act and as mainstream institutions, planning and expanding them do not require extra energy; teachers do not need retraining. There is higher valuation for formal schooling and more active support from parents. Increasing droughts, availability of food--all contribute to make boarding schools more appealing.

Lasting solutions must be sought to curb insecurity within the region, in order to prevent disruption of educational opportunities, particularly for Turkana girls and women. As peace is restored to different areas, closed schools should be immediately reopened.

Awareness and sensitization of the local community on the importance of all categories of education should be developed through greater interaction and dialogue with Turkana families. The government, donors, and religious bodies should team up, by organizing community seminars, workshops, and *barazas*⁸ to disseminate information about schooling and gender equity in education. The facilitators of these seminars, workshops, and *barazas* should be

⁸ In Ki-Turkana, this refers to educational programs or community forums.

members of local communities who are knowledgeable in matters of education and those who are respected as role models by the community.

Frequent meetings of all stakeholders in service positions should be arranged to review the gender needs regarding access to formal schooling. For example, a group to lobby or champion educational and social needs of girls and women in the district can be established.

Schools. Schools in Turkana must develop strategies to encourage girls to fully participate within classroom and school activities. They should prevent any form of sexual harassment or use of words, gestures or actions that demean the dignity of schoolgirls. Girls are more motivated to learn and to persist in education if they are treated well, and if leadership and teaching methods are of high quality and of relevance to them. In addition, schools should develop recruitment strategies and procedures that give priority to females in the Turkana district and look after the welfare of teachers by paying attention to their needs related to professional development, labor conditions, and housing.

Adequate non-formal education centers should be established and fully supported by the government. This will help those who cannot participate in formal education to develop basic literacy skills. Similarly, empowerment, security and educational opportunities must all be expanded at the local level. Without physical, psychological and economic security participation, female empowerment is not meaningful. Hence, grounded strategies for rural expansion of educational facilities in Turkana District are imperative, if educational conditions for Turkana girls and women are to transform in Kenya.

Summary of recommendations. There is a need to develop specific educational policies targeting the education of nomadic pastoralists, in particular, Turkana nomads who suffer the most marginalization due to the harsh environment they inhabit and a lack of natural

resources that would pique the interest of government officials. As such, educational policies are needed that will articulate relevant strategies, curriculum, language, delivery mode, teacher training, accreditation, teacher remuneration and motivation for Turkana pastoralists, in order to combat poverty, disease, and improve political representation.

Models of provision should include a mixture of different models of delivery which would include fixed and mobile schools, a model for early childhood education, school meal programs, and boarding schools. Models involving ECE centers and day meal programs in primary schools have been shown to function effectively in other pastoralist districts in Kenya, such as the Kajiado District. Therefore, educational provisions in Kajiado district should be studied in more detail, as it appears most successful and sustainable, with a high potential for replication in other nomadic pastoralist districts, such as Turkana. These models, coupled with a flexible timetable and annual calendar that is appropriate to the Turkana nomadic lifestyle would benefit Turkana children and would increase the possibility that girls and women might be better integrated into the system of schooling.

There is a need to employ intersectional integrated approaches in the provision of education for nomads. This education should be combined with different services such as water, rural development, agriculture, animal husbandry, health, nutrition and sanitation. A few NGOs operating in Turkana, such as Semi Arid Rural Development Programs (SARDEP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), have adapted this approach in urban centers and have been successful in improving educational participation. The providing of water is particularly important, as are other integrated projects for creating a supportive educational environment, especially for girls, by Kenya's Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) and partner organizations such as Forum for African Women Educationalist Kenya

(FAWEK), which can address many of the previously discussed issues associated with poor participation of pastoralist girls and women in education.

Affordable and compulsory education is what pastoralists such as Turkana nomads lack, and this was frequently mentioned during my study. The ever-rising school fees and school requirements for pastoral parents make it difficult for pastoralists to afford the education of more than one child in school and thus, girls are left out of formal schooling. Kenya, as a matter of policy, has 8 years of compulsory elementary education which it claims to be “free.” However, when parents are required to provide to the education infrastructure, such as building schools, providing textbooks and furniture, paying for Parents and Teacher Association, buying school uniforms and writing materials, nomadic parents are then left wondering what exactly is free in regard to education. These are requirements parents must meet in order for their children to attend school, and pastoralists such as the Turkana are not, generally, in any condition to meet these demands. Parental costs add up to 2-3 times more than the actual cost of tuition. The Kenyan government only trains, pays and provides teachers. These “unofficial” costs are often viewed as an unnecessary and unaffordable to nomadic parents, and this negative affects the enrollment of girls. As such, it is only fair that the Kenyan government eliminates cost sharing in the Turkana district and implements affirmative action policies for parents and children of pastoralists.

Few boarding schools exist in Turkana district, and if they do, they are generally in poor condition. Therefore, there is a great need to rehabilitate the physical facilities and upgrade accommodations with basic equipment and supplies. Further, female teachers should be posted in primary and secondary schools in Turkana, as they serve as role models for Turkana girls and

women. The issue of security in the district in general needs to be addressed, as this also is a major contributor to parents not sending their girl children to schools.

Community mobilization and empowerment is another step towards improving governance and management of primary schools, which would advance the quality of education in the district. This will intensify the demand for education, permitting it to grow in areas where access to education is currently scarce. Turkana parents, along with school board members should be empowered through capacity building to see themselves as stakeholders and managers of their children's schools. My study found that active community involvement by women in school management in Turkana district was nonexistent. As such, there is a need for gender sensitization workshops, seminars and discussions involving teachers, parents and opinion leaders in the district, on the need for gender parity in schools and in Turkana society. Sensitization of the community to the ravages of HIV/AIDS is also important in order for the community to arrest the spread of the epidemic.

Since other educational programs such as the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja has successfully worked for Karamoja pastoralist in Uganda, the model used could be adapted for the Turkana district. The successful programs that have worked for Karamoja have included boarding schools, especially those with rescue centers for girls. Mobile schools in Karamoja have been successful as well. In addition, the Kenyan government should provide the Turkana pastoralist communities with tools needed for such programs to function properly.

Last but not least, the study on Turkana nomads and access to education found that school meal programs provided by the Government of Kenya have been successful in areas such as Kamuma and Katilu (Table 20). This program has succeeded in increasing access and retention in education among pastoralist children. This program should be spread to other parts

of the district. It would serve well the girl child in the district of Turkana, especially those located outside the urbanized centers such as Lodwar to implement affirmative systems.

Table 20

Action Plan for Improving Turkana Girls' Access to Education in Turkana District, Kenya

Year	Action	Implementer	Target
1	Author to plan	TWDP and Author	Establish secretariat and organize future action plan
1	Establish secretariat	TWDP and new management team from Turkana district	Establish groundwork for community conference
2	Plan for community meeting	Secretariat	Organize meeting of stakeholders
2	Conference of stakeholders	Secretariat	Mobilize resources and fund feasibility study for pilot project
2	Midyear conference	Secretariat	Examine the feasibility and manner of running pilot project
2	Annual meeting of stakeholders	Secretariat	Examine report of working committee on pilot project
3	Annual meeting of stakeholders	Secretariat	Set target numbers of girls' enrollment, and retention for the year and thereafter for every other year

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Appendix A

Ministry of Educational Officials

Ministry of Education officials

1. What are Kenya's educational policies for pastoralists? How do they differ from those for sedentary tribes?
2. What components of education do they address? For example primary school, required uniforms, school fees, food, etc?
3. What exactly are the objectives of educational policies for Turkana?
4. It has been a priority for African countries to close the gender gap in education. How will Kenya achieve this goal? What does this mean for pastoralist women, specifically Turkana of northern Kenya, as they inhabit a harsh environment?
5. What are the trends in access and participation rates of women in formal schooling in Kenya? What trends and policies influence the education of women among pastoralist communities in Kenya?
6. What are some of the historical policies that have guided the provision of education among pastoralist communities in Kenya? Specifically how have these policies changed since self-rule?
7. Are there specific policies for each pastoralist community in Kenya? For example the Maasai, Samburu, Pokot, and Turkana? If so, how are these determined and by whom? Are pastoralist members involved in drafting policies that impact their schooling and educational outcome?
8. In your opinion, do pastoralists want to acquire a modern education? And does it suite their lifestyle?
9. Do pastoralists have a representative in the Ministry of Education who speaks on their behalf?
10. What is the process of recruiting teachers to teach in pastoralist schools? Are many of these teachers pastoralists? What percentage are women?
11. How do you think the educational situation of pastoralists and women can be improved in Kenya?

Appendix B

Head Masters

Headmasters

1. How long have you served as a headmaster in Lodwar? Were you born and raised in this community? If so, were you a student in this school? If yes, what was that like? Were there more or fewer students?
2. Were your parents involved in your education? Was one parent more involved than the other?
3. Please compare your experiences as a student to those of students in your school today.
4. Tell me about your training as headmaster. Where did you receive your training? And for how long?
5. By what criteria were you admitted to the program? Were school fees involved? How did you afford this?
6. Why did you choose to train as a headmaster?
7. Why headmaster in Lodwar?
8. Did you work elsewhere before coming to Lodwar? If so, please compare the two communities and schools.
9. What kind of student population do you serve? Are the students mainly from the Turkana ethnic group or are they mixed with students from the settled communities as well?
10. Your school runs from what form (level)? If kindergarten to standard eight, students wishing to continue to form one and beyond go where?
11. What is the admissions process for students in your school? How are admissions decisions made? By whom? And based on what criteria?
12. How many students are admitted yearly and what determines this number?
13. Do you admit a certain ratio of girls and boys? If yes, why?
14. How many students do you have overall in the school? And how many students are in each classroom?
15. Are more students enrolled during a certain season of the year? If yes, what do you think are some the factors at play here?
16. What subjects are taught in nomadic schools? In what language?
17. What are some of the tribal altitudes affecting girls access and enrollment in schools?
18. What are the trends in access and participation rates of women in formal schooling among the Turkana and how do they compare with national trends in Kenya?
19. What schooling opportunities exist for women among the Turkana? How do you believe these women feel about those opportunities?

Appendix C

Parents in Lodwar

Parents in Lodwar

1. What is your marital status?
Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____ Separated _____
2. If married, for how long?
3. How many children do you have? _____Boys _____Girls
4. Do you have any experience with formal education? _____Yes _____No
5. If yes, where did you attend school and for how long? How did you teach?
6. If no, please explain why not _____
7. Who were your teachers and what were they like? _____
8. What are some of the subjects that were taught in your school? English, Swahili, mathematics, agriculture, geography, writing, earth science, natural science others, please elaborate _____
9. Do your children attend school? How many hours do they attend? _____
10. What kind of school do they attend?
_____ Mobile
_____ Have tutor
_____ Hoarding school
_____ None of the above?
11. Are there school fees involved in sending your children to school?
_____Yes _____ No
12. If yes, would you please share how much you pay for each child?
_____Kshl
13. How about uniforms, are students required to have them?
_____Yes _____ No
14. How do you afford them? _____
15. Do your children help take herds to the grazing areas? Girls and boys?
16. Does this depend on any season?
_____ Dry _____ Rainy
17. How does this affect their schooling? During this season, are teachers, tutors, provided? Who makes a decision for them to come along? _____ headmasters _____ the local school administrator, _____ or the government in charge of school policies in Nairobi
18. What do you hope that your children get out of formal schooling? Why?

Women

1. What are attitudes held about education for Turkana girls and women?
2. How important is formal schooling for Turkana women and girls? What level of education is more valued and why?
3. Who speaks for the Turkana women and girls with regards to education? Is there a Turkana woman from this community representing you within the Kenyan

government? If no, why? And, if yes, what is her responsibility to you as women in this community with regards to education?

4. What structures woman's schooling opportunities in Turkana community?
5. What are the attitudes held by girls' fathers with regards to their education?
6. Please tell me about traditional education for Turkana women. What does a girl need to learn to become a good Turkana woman? How will she learn it?

Appendix D

Teachers

Teachers

1. State _____, School _____, Location _____, Teacher's qualification _____, Age _____, teaching experience _____, ethnic group _____, rank (Supervisor, Headmaster, Class teachers) Marriage status: Single _____ Divorced _____ Separated _____
2. Do you have any children? How many and do they attend school? In your class? _____
3. How long have you taught in this school? _____
4. Where were you teaching before coming to this school in Lodwar? And why here? _____
5. What are the most noteworthy differences between your former school and this? _____
6. I prefer/do not prefer teaching in nomadic school _____
7. State some of the reasons for your preference/ no preference for teaching in Lodwar _____
8. What standard do you teach, what subject and how many students are in your class?
9. Are there more boys enrolled in your class than girls? What is your opinion of the high/low enrollment? What do you think cause this trend in the enrollment?
10. Which of these methodologies do you use in teaching your class?
 - a. lecture
 - b. group work
 - c. demonstration
 - d. field trip
 - e. learning by doing (activities method)
 - f. observation
 - g. team teaching
 - h. other?
11. Which of the above methodologies do you think your class responds to most? _____
12. Which of the following teaching aids do you use most?
 - a. flash cards
 - b. charts
 - c. models
 - d. maps
 - e. wall globes
 - f. others?
13. Which of these facilities do you have in your schools?
 - a. toilet
 - b. drinking water fountain
 - c. first aid box

- d. staff room
 - e. games facilities
 - f. classroom (if no classroom, where does your class meet for lessons?)
-
14. Which of these materials and equipment do you have in your school?
- a. uniforms
 - b. desks and tables
 - c. exercises books
 - d. text books
 - e. others, please explain _____
15. Please estimate the average distance students come to school. What is the longest commute you are aware of?
16. In your view, what structures women's school opportunities among the Turkana pastoralists?
17. What are the trends in access and participation rates of women in formal schooling among Turkana and how do they compare with national trends in Kenya?
18. What trends and policies do you believe influence the education of women within pastoralist communities in Kenya? How about for Turkana women and girls?

Appendix E

Village Elders

Village Elders

1. How long have you held the title of Village elder?
2. Can both male and female become village elders? If no, why not? If yes, are the responsibilities the same for both genders? If no, how do they differ and why?
3. Would you please share the process of becoming a village elder? For how many terms does one serve?
4. What is your marital status? (married, divorced, separated, widowed, multiple spouses)
5. What are some of your responsibilities as head of the village?
6. Did you grow up in this village or did you move from another village? If yes, where and why did you move?
7. Do Turkana as a community want formal schooling for their children? If yes, what do they see the purpose of this education to be? If no, how will the Turkana be integrated into Kenyan economy? Is English worth learning, in your opinion?
8. What are some of the requirements for trading your livestock? For example, must you immunize your herds in order to sell them?
9. Where there schools specifically for Turkana children?
10. Do you have experience with formal schooling? If yes, up to what level? If no, why?
11. How many schools are in this region?
Primary _____ Secondary _____ Colleges _____
12. Whose children do they serve? And are there fees involved?
13. Uniforms? Are parents required to buy chalk for example, text books, pencils etc? How do they afford it?
14. In your opinion as a village elder, do you think it is worth it to equip Turkana girls with formal education? If yes, primary, secondary, university or both? And why? And why?
15. What are some of your perceptions about Turkana women acquiring education? What do you hope they will use this schooling for?
16. What about the boys? How important is the education to them?
17. Does the government provide school infrastructure? For example, schools, teachers, the curriculum, text books, uniforms
18. What are Turkana as a community responsible for when it comes to providing education to their children?
19. What is the responsibility of the parents?
20. What are the conditions of schools here? What is available? What is missing?
21. Who speaks for your population with regards to education, dispensaries, clean water etc? To whom? Are your voices often heard? If yes, are your request met? If no, what do you do as a community to be heard? Why do you think you are not listened to?

22. What are some of the governmental policies on pastoralist education? Does the government have specific policies for Turkana nomads? Turkana women in particular?
23. Please tell me about traditional Turkana education. How does your community prepare boys and girls for initiation? Have these traditions been changed in modern times?
24. What do you want for your grandchildren's grandchildren? What needs to happen for your dreams to be realized?