UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

A Study on Distribution of Domestic Tasks and its Influence on Children's
Performance in Schools
(Maasai Pastoral Community: Mashuru Division, Kajiado District)

A Study Submitted to the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi in Partial Fulfilment for the Requirement of the Post-Graduate Diploma in Gender & Development Studies

By Samuel Obara

Supervised By

Dr. Ruth Kibiti



DATE: August 2002

WAIVERSITY OF MAIRUSE

DECLARATION

This study is as a result of independent investigation. Where it is indebted to the work of others, they are duly acknowledged.

I hereby declare that this study has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other institution for academic qualification.

aban. 10"1/09/2002.

Student's Signature Date

fafile 28/10/02

Supervisor's Signature Date

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the Maasai Pastrolist Children, who are learning in difficult environment, and by nature of their circumstance, they may not find time to read findings in this study even if afforded the opportunity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A number of people (colleagues and friends) and institutions assisted me during the initiation and research period of this study. Whereas it may not be possible to list all of them by name, I wish to sincerely appreciate their support and hope that findings in this study, other than improving on the body of scholars, will go along way in serving as a needs analysis tool for agencies interested in responding to the needs of underserved children among the pastoral Maasai.

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ACRONYMS

AIC - African Inland Church

AIDS - Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

AMREF - African Medical and Research Foundation

ARI - Acute Respiratory Infections

ASAL - Arid and Semi Arid Lands

FAWE - Forum for African Women Educationists

FGD - Focus Group Discussions

GOK - Government of Kenya

HIV - Human Immune-Virus

MAAP - Maasai AIDS Awareness Programme

NEP - North Eastern Province

PHASE - Personal Hygiene and Sanitation Education

UN - United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Education, Social, Cultural Organisation

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In the study, the following terms are used as defined below,

Moranhood:

The stage (age group) where Masaai boys after undergoing circumcision are initiated into community defence system and charged with the security of the community and livestock.

Boma/manyatta:

Enclosure with several house units with defined leadership.

Dropout:

Children abandoning school before completing primary education cycle.

Cohort:

Members who enrol at the basic grade or one grade together.

House:

Usually consists of a person /group of persons who live together in the same dwelling units, have common house keeping arrangements and are answerable to the same household head (Census 1999 definition).

Matatus:

Vehicles used for public transport in Kenya.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to establish the relationship between domestic chores allocated to children and school performance vis-avis child well being.

The Study embraced quantitative and qualitative (including gender analysis tools) research methods. The setting was Mashuru division – Kajiado district.

Results: 80% felt that domestic chores interferes with their academic work, 68% felt that girls are allocated more duties than boys, 41% felt that boys naturally work harder than girls.

Findings also indicate a high academic dropout rate by girls than boys especially in classes five and six. This was associated to preference for early marriage of girls by the community, sickness and lack of motivation/mentors. Seasons when classes are missed most were during the dry season. Associated factors were fending for livestock and seasonal migration in search of livestock pasture.

The study also identified disparities between subjects taught by male and female teachers and has made a recommendation for further research.

In summary, this study has established that domestic chores affect children's academic performance, child well being and future career choices.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

Distribution of domestic tasks varies from society to society. Factors influencing distribution of duties include: community values, economic needs and social setting. Allocation of duties to children is generally taken as part of skills training and development in most African societies. Duties increase after initiation. For boys, this is a transition stage to adulthood (fatherhood) and for girls is a stage for preparation for married life (motherhood). Several studies have been done by feminist scholars, among them Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE), on the socialization of boys and girls, The Education of Girls and Women in Africa, education policies, and harmful cultural practices, among others. However, no study has been done on distribution of domestic chores among school going children and how this affects their growth, development and performance in schools.

Today, it is true that millions of children lead safer, healthier, and fuller lives than they did a decade ago- before the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. However, despite significant progress over the past decade, the United Nations estimates that nearly 900 million adults remain functionally illiterate in developing countries and 113million children, two thirds of them girls, have never seen the inside of a school and more than 20% of primary school aged children in developing countries are not in school (UNICEF, 2000). According to 1999 State of the World's Children, a UNICEF publication, more than 10 million children under 15 years have

lost their mothers to HIV/AIDS hence increasing domestic chores for affected children. Lack of basic education is at the root of poverty, sickness and conflict.

Illiteracy prevents people from realizing their full potential as productive members of society and hampers them from learning about ways to improve their health, including undermining efforts to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS (Save The Children 2001, 1).

While high quality basic education is important for every one, studies show that girls who are educated marry later, have fewer children and are better able to care for their families. They can also earn 20% more (Ibid).

The government of Kenya (GOK) recognizes the importance of education both as one of the measures of the quality of life led by Kenyans and as a means of improving that quality (GOK 1992). It is estimated that nationally, about 30% of Kenyan children aged between three and six years attend early childhood education institutions in both government and private institutions. In 1992, it was estimated that by 2000, Kenya would achieve the 100% mark of primary school age children access to education (GOK 1992). Unfortunately, this is not the case. For example, while 1005% access has already been attained in many settled districts, access in some nomadic districts such as Wajir is estimated at around 10% (Ibid). At class one in primary schools, the ratio of boys to girls is one to one, implying that there is equal participation. However, by the time a given cohort is beginning university education, the rate of participation has greatly changed and the ratio of boys to girls is about three to one respectively. This situation suggests an extremely high drop out rate of girls relative to boys. High dropout rates for girls stem from many causes, including lack of fees, family poverty. family priorities, schoolgirls pregnancies, early marriages, lack of interest and indiscipline.

This study will investigate on the relationship between children's domestic chores visa avis child well-being and performance in school.

1.2 Problem Statement.

The general attitude of the Maasai towards investing in education is generally lukewarm. The Maasai men spend a lot of times out of the homes with their livestock, which leaves the women with the responsibility of taking care of the home, children and the elderly. In order to bear with the heavy load, the women share chores with girl children leading to school dropouts. Further, it implies that when a girl child falls sick, it may take longer for the mother to seek for healthcare and this often complicates the management of the condition.

The Maasai women have low status within the traditional setup. 'Many parents are not serious about taking their female children to school. When boys are sent home because of lack of uniforms or books, unlike the girls, most parents make efforts to get them what is required to get them back to school. Most parents instead marry off their daughters whenever they are send home" (Maasai Aids Awareness Program [MAAP] 2002). Female circumcision coupled with early marriage implies that girls are married at an early age, become mothers earlier and suffer consequences of early childbirth. This problem becomes more complex if the girls do not know how to care for their own bodies, they are malnourished and lack knowledge on nutrition. Moreover, this is worsened by the powerlessness of women as they are not involved in decision-making and neither do they own family resources.

Kajiado district as a whole has 452 pre-primary schools, 189 primary schools, 23 secondary schools, 6 youth polytechnics and 1 institute. Mashuru division has 48 pre-primary schools with an enrolment of 1660 pupils accounting for 25% of the 189 primary schools in the district with an estimate population of 6799 students (Kajiado District Education Office).

It is important to note that all educational facilities are under utilized in the division though the district has a general low school enrolment, which stands at around 65% mainly due to cultural attitudes. It is also noted that drop out rates are high especially for the girls. It is also notable that most of the girls who happen to go to school drop out in standards five and six and are married off at an early age. Moreover Kajiado district has a poor performance in national examinations (DEO's office Kajiado). The study will seek to identify the relationship between domestic chores and these identified problems.

Table 1: Enrolment Statistics for Kajiado district

No.	Name of Division	Girls	Boys	Grand Total
1.	Loitokitok Division	7.807	8,839	16,646
2.	Namanga Division	2,026	3,100	5,126
3.	Magadi Division	921	1,817	2,738
4.	Ngong Division	7,554	7,912	15,466
5.	Isenya Division	2,355	2,356	4,711
6.	Central Division	2,912	4,107	7,019
7.	Mashuru Division	3,144	3,655	6,799
	Total	26,719	31,786	58,505

Source: District Education Office - Kajiado - 2002

1.3 Research Questions

This study shall be guided by the following research questions:

• What are the influencing factors in allocation of duties to boy/girl child?

- What is the relationship between domestic tasks and future career choices?
- What is the relationship between domestic tasks and school performance?
- What is the relationship between domestic tasks and child well being?
- How does domestic tasks initiated at early childhood contribute to gender sexual labour exploitation later in adult life (See appendix 8)?
- Are girls allocated more domestic tasks than boys?

1.4 Hypotheses

- Girls are allocated more domestic tasks than boys and this interferes with their study
- Heavy domestic burdens affect child well being and successful learning.

1.5 Objectives

Several objectives guided this study.

1.5.1 Broad Objective

The study set out to determine factors influencing distribution of domestic tasks to boys/girls and relationship between these tasks and school performance visa avis good health.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

The following were the specific objectives:

- 1. To determine the relationship between domestic tasks and school performance.
- To identify relationship between domestic tasks and child well being/ physical development.
- 3.To establish relationship between domestic tasks performed by boys / girls and exposure to career choices.

1.6 Significance of Study

This study will endeavor to analyze the relationship between domestic chores at home and school performance. It will also provide data and recommendations for policy makers, development agencies and researchers in an effort to mitigate the prevailing conditions and stimulate interest for further research and interventions.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study will focus on the children 6 – 20 years. The choice of the age group is based on the understanding that these are within the school going bracket in the area. The age bracket also covers adolescents and post adolescents, an average stage at which most young people are initiated into adult life among the Maasai community. Around this stage also, there is increased allocation of household chores especially for girls and the boys are more involved in *Moran hood*.

This study will not collect data from secondary and boarding schools in the area for the corresponding age group. The study will also not collect data from other areas to make a comparative analysis. This is because of time and resource constraints.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study and literature review is guided by Harvard Theoretical Frame work.

Subsequently, analysis and documentation is in accordance with the principles of the framework. This section reviews existing global literature on child socialization and examines the relationship between culture and duty allocation, culture and psychology theories on gender masculine and femininity, children and school constrains especially in developing countries and concludes by looking at emerging shifts in child allocation of duties among Maasai pastoral community. Issues of prominence in the preview include:

- Culture, personality and duty allocation
- Psycho/social gender theories
- Gender dimension on health and education
- Socio-economic organization and gender perceptions among the Maasai
- The concept of masculinity and femininity among Maasai child socialization.

2.1.1 Education Policy in Kenya

In Kenya, the current education system is referred to as 8:4:4; meaning eight years at primary (ages 6-13), four at secondary (age 14-17) and four in higher education. In addition, national policy promotes pre-primary or early childhood education and

development for 3-5 years olds. There is commitment at policy level to the promotion of Education for all, (EFA principle) as an internal and domestic commitment; pledged at Jomtien -Thailand in 1990 and reaffirmed in Dakar, Senegal (Year 2000).

The Children Bill (GOK 1998) defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child identifies the following as prerequisites for child survival: Right to good shelter, education, health care, security, food and recreation (UN – convention on the Rights of the Child).

GOK Report on the Rights of the child (1998A) outlines objectives of primary education as:

- Enabling the child to acquire literacy, numeracy and manipulative skills
- Development of self-expression, self-discipline, self-reliance and utilization of mental faculties to develop desirable social values and attitudes.
- Creating an understanding of the immediate environment and the wider world
- Encouraging children to appreciate their own and other people's cultural heritage.

Kenya is a member of the United Nations Assembly Resolution 51/186, committing herself to universal primary education to all school going age children (GOK 2001).

However, FAWE Report (1996), reveals that over 26 million of African girls, most of whom reside in the rural areas, are out of school, either having never enrolled or having dropped out of the education system.

In Kenya, FAWE Report says that, of all the girls who enroll in standard one, only 34% complete class eight as compared to 70% for boys.

GOK Report (2000) shows increased completion of primary school education from a national average of 43.2% (boys 45.7%, girls 40.5%) in 1990 to 47.7% in 1999, with a near gender balance. The transition rate from primary to secondary has however declined sharply from 44.6% in 1991 to 39.9% in 1999. Repetition rates undermine prospects of improving completion rates. According to 1998 data, 61% of standard six pupils had repeated at least once and 23% had repeated twice or more. Repetition is against Government policy but is actively encouraged at school and district due to levels to the publication of league tables based on mean scores in the Kenya certificate in primary education examination.

Attendance rates are affected by health factors, including the impact of HIV/AIDS and other diseases as well as ability to pay school levies – (GOK 2001).

2.1.2 Causes of Girls' Poor Achievement

FAWE (1996) lists four factors for poor girl child school performance (achievement) in sub-Saharan African. These four have the greatest effect on the achievements girls make in school. These are:

The persistent apprehension, fears, myths and ambivalence, on the part of the
parents, teachers, children and society at large, towards female education, its cost
effectiveness and the value of keeping girls in school.

- The poor quality of the teaching/learning environment, particularly in the rural areas, under which the majority of the children in the region are expected to gain an education, but from which most children, particularly girls, emerge as repeaters, dropouts and failures.
- The high level of wastage in the education system and the consequent inefficiency discourages parents, teachers and students.
- The low level of girls perception of their status and role in society, their academic
 potential, and the value and significant benefits of remaining in school and
 attaining the highest level possible.

The FAWE study (1996) also shows factors for high school drop out (causes of poor attainment) as:

- Deferred entry of girls into the school system
- Lack of places and appropriate facilities
- Family poverty
- Negative social practices and attitudes such as early marriages and initiation rites
- School-girl pregnancy
- Irrelevant and rigid school curriculum
- Competing demands on girls' time
- A gender unfriendly classroom culture
- Limited prospects in the labour market
- Lack of security both in and outside the school

Though gender differences in enrolment and completion rates in both pre-primary, primary and secondary have been radically reduced over the last decade. The GOK commitment and the support of its partners have narrowed the difference from 7.8% to 0.5% in primary, and from 11% to 2.5% in secondary between 1989 and 1998.

However, the national picture masks great differences between provinces. In the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) like Garissa, girl enrolment at primary may be as low as 14%. In areas of high rainfall and good agriculture, such as Meru, participation rates for boys are lower than for girls. Cultural practices, related to dowry price, beading (engagement), early marriages and child birth, as well as distance to school, water carrying and lack of security at school, etc. conspire to keep girls out of school in the nomadic and semi nomadic areas as evidenced by some of the excerpts from the children:

"Our parents force some girls to get married when they are still very young" Selina Pedo; 12 year girl, Turkana District

"Girls are human beings and so they are entitled to education like boys" Jose 13 year. Boy, Malindi District.

Preliminary data for the year 2000 suggests that the gender gap is starting to widen again at the primary and secondary levels in the drought affected areas, as parents choose to invest their depleted resources into the education of boys. Gender disparities are also reinforced by the lack of adequate water and sanitation facilities, and of classroom space. Sanitation affects girls' enrolment more than that of boys. Some schools in Wajir for example have toilets for boys and male staff but none for

girls and female staff. The national pupil toilet ratio is 52:1(GOK, 1998), and the ratio is much worse in North Eastern Province (NEP). Classroom space in NEP is also very low, at 0.8 sq. metres per pupil, compared to 2.4 sq. metres in Eastern meaning that education outside buildings is still evident in North Eastern Province and some parts of Rift Valley province.

In terms of pupil performance, the tendency to stereotype subjects according to gender has been systematically addressed at primary, through the gender auditing of textbooks. However girls still suffer some bias in terms of teacher attention compared to boys; and girls' performance in mathematics and science especially at the secondary level still falls well behind that of boys. Boys are also given preference by parents when it comes to purchasing core textbooks (NPB 1998).

2.2.0 Culture, Personality and Duty Allocation

Sir Edward Tylor (1871), defined culture as: "a complex whole, which includes: knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1958:1,Orig.1871). Culture is therefore learned and shared behaviour in society. Distribution of tasks to children and to society in general revolves around culture. For example, Margaret Mead (1935) raised this issue in her study of Sex Roles in Three New Guinea Societies and concluded that behaviour is largely a cultural construct (Fred Flog 1980).

Sandra Lipsits Bem (1987) in the article *Masculinity and Feminity* argues that: "sex – differentiated aspects of human biology are relatively constant, the cultural context varies a great deal" (305). Social institutions construct what is feminine and masculine. Under such arrangement, it turns out that more men than women become engineers or that more women than men decide to stay at home with their children (ibid.,305).

Male and female children become' masculine' and 'feminine' respectively at a very early age. By the time they are 4/5 years old, for example girls and boys have typically come to prefer activities defined by the culture as appropriate for their sex and also to prefer same sex peers. The acquisition of sex appropriate preferences, skills, personality attributes, behaviour, and self-concepts is typically referred to within psychology as the process of sex typing (Bronfenbrenner1960, Freud1959a, 1959b). This is reflected universally in psychological theories of development, which seek to elucidate how the developing child comes to match the template defined as sex appropriate by her/ his culture.

Four major theories have been influential on this:

- Psycho-analytic theory (Bronfenbrenner 1960, Freud 1959a, 1959b)
- Social learning theory (Mischel 1970)
- Cognitive development theory (Kohl berg 1966)
- Gender schema theory

2.2.1 Gender Schema Theory

Schema theory is one of the most influential theories. It begins its account of sex typing with the observation that developing child invariably learns his or her society's cultural definitions of femaleness and maleness. In most societies, these definitions comprise a diverse and sprawling network of sex – linked associations/social institutions which socializes, shapes and influences the individual: Children learns to evaluate and assimilate what is culturally right for a male and a female.

The theory concludes by analyzing the role of environment on child growth and development and concludes by identifying the following as key agents in socialization:

- Peers as socializers
- Peers as agents of reinforcement and
- Peers as models. Therefore the environment and peers play key role in influencing child allocation of duties (Kagan1963, 396)

2.2.2 The Gender Dimension on Health and Education

For every 100 female babies delivered into the world, at least 105 males are born (UNICEF 1996,197). In some parts of the world, form of girl neglect favours the survival of males. In India for example, only 957 females aged 0-4 years survive for every 1000 males, though official statistics indicate that 112 males are born for 100 females. While in Columbia 759 deaths of boys between ages of 1-2 years for 100 deaths of girls. In Mexico, 86 deaths occur and 199 in Senegal. Only in some countries of Africa, the Caribbean, Central and Latin America where there is equal preference for girls and boys (ibid.,197-199).

In Bangladesh, to have a daughter is described as "watering a neighbour's tree" because the benefit of the upbringing will accrue to some else. Cultural attitudes stressing the value of sons against daughters are so much a normal part of tradition and simply taken for granted.

UNICEF report (1996), argues that this attitude might significantly influence parental behaviour towards the health and education of the girl child.

2.2.3 Gender, Education and Training (Poverty and Gender Distribution of Labour)

While net primary enrolment is increasing at a higher rate than population growth, there are still more than 100 million children without access to basic education. 60 million of them being girls. Illiteracy has become concentrated regionally in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF 2002A, 22).

The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, recognizes that 'human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.' However, poverty not only contributes to increased child domestic labour but also to poor school performance. Children are the hardest hit by poverty. It causes lifelong damage to their minds and bodies. More than half a billion children live on less than one US dollar a day (UNICEF 2002B).

UNICEF suggests that education is the key to ending poverty, yet more than 100 million children are out of school because of poverty, discrimination or lack of resources, nearly 60% of them being girls. Statistics in Kenya alone indicates that at least 10% more boys than girls are enrolled in or attend primary school (UNICEF, 2002B, 73).

2.2.4 Constraints and Trends of School Performance in Developing Countries

UNICEF study in 1999 reveals that in the Caribbean, boys perform poorly in school because it is not cultural for a male to be hardworking at school, this is taken as not Macho: "The boys don't utilize education in the same way", says a female teacher from St. Vincent, "much of it has to do with image." The problem is exacerbated by the low proportion of male teachers in the Caribbean where positive educational role models for boys are as hard to come by as they are for girls in many developing countries.

The situation in the Caribbean is also true of primary schools in the industrialized world, where almost exclusively women teach boys. Some observers link this trend to changes in the economy and job market. These observers believe men's traditional role has been taken away and the resultant feeling of hopelessness is percolating through even to boys who are quite young.

In Nigeria and Latin America, boy's greater access to the labour market is a proven problem. In Eastern Nigeria, the number of boys dropping out of school is spiraling.

In the States of Abia, Anambra, Enugu and Imo, 51% of boys were out of school in 1994 and 58% in 1996. Chima Ez Onyejiaku is one of them. His father is a retired head teacher and his mother still teaches in a village school, yet Chima has abandoned his studies to apprentice himself to a wealthy trader in the town of Onitsha. Like most of his friends, he feels that school is a waste of time and wants to begin the process of making money (UNICEF 1999).

According to UNESCO (1996), there are an estimated 556 million illiterate women in the countries of the south, compared to 315 million illiterate men. There are also 73 million out of schoolgirls, compared to 37 million out of schoolboys. In Sub-Saharan Africa alone, 27 million girls are not in school (Odada and Henveld 1995). The lowest enrolments of girls and the largest gender gaps are inevitably in the poorest and least economically developed areas, especially in rural communities where educational provision is poor, among children of ethnic minorities.

In comparison, Pricilla Naisula Nanguroui, a head teacher in Maasai land (AIC Primary School Kajiado), says that getting girls into school is merely the first step on a long rugged road that is filled with ruts and roadblocks. Some cultural and economic pressures force girls not only to perform poorly but also to drop out of school.

Sweetman (1998) observes a correlation between poverty, schooling and performance.

Poverty is clearly the most serious barrier, combined with social and cultural conventions that dictate a woman's place is in the home as a mother and housewife.

Where parents cannot afford to send all their children to school, boys are inevitably

given priority as future breadwinners. Girls are kept at home to look after young children, cook, clean and sometimes help the mother in farming, looking after livestock and market trading.

In addition to barriers to girl's education, which stem from economic and sociocultural factors, Sweetman (1998) lists significant barriers within the schools system
itself. In parts of Africa and Latin America, schools have become violent places,
where girls are at risk of verbal and sexual harassment, physical violence and rape.

Punishment of the perpetrators of such crimes whether teachers or students (usually
male) is rare, whereas social condemnation at the victims (usually female) is
depressingly frequent. Many countries including Nigeria, Zambia and China, operate
a policy of expelling pregnant schoolgirls.

Sweetman identifies other barriers to girls' achievements, which have tended to be ignored as deriving from gender stereotyping in the curriculum, especially in textbooks where girls tend to be portrayed as passive, modest and shy, while boys are seen as assertive, brave and ambitious. In addition different subject choices may be made available to girls and boys (Maths and Science for boys, Home economics and languages for girls.)

Teachers may show differentiated attitudes towards male and female students (a boy needs a career whereas a girl needs a husband) even where girls are encouraged to pursue a career; they are expected to opt for the 'caring professions.' Moreover 'the

hidden curriculum' at school practice reinforces messages about girls' inferior status on a daily basis and provides them with a negative learning experience thus creating a culture of low self-esteem and low aspirations (Gordon 1995, Davison and Kanyuka 1992 in Sweetman). Recent research in Zimbabwe conforms that schools play a major role in socializing children into the adult roles they will carry out both in the family and the economy. Boys are taught to be 'masculine' and girls – 'feminine' according to the norms of their society (Sweetman).

2.2.5 Constraints and Challenges in Schools Curricula

An important aspect of education which channels children into gender roles is the curriculum they are permitted to study. Sweetman record that the formal curriculum inherited by Eastern and Southern African states including Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe at independence was modeled on the British education system, in which girls were educated for domesticating and boys prepared for employment in the public sphere, fitting them for a role of family head and bread winner.

Prior to independence the curriculum in Kenya and Zimbabwe was gender differentiated. Boys were encouraged to subjects such as metal work, woodwork, building and technical training and 'hard' sciences. Girls on the other hand, were offered shorthand, typing and home economics. Extra curricular activities such as sports was considered essentials for males (ibid.)

While efforts have been made to remedy the situation, by and large this has been left at the discretion of individual school heads. Thus while the formal curriculum may appear to be gender neutral, the hidden curriculum may influence children to make gender specific choices.

Subjects presently perceived as masculine by teachers and pupils include: Maths, Woodwork and Sciences while English, Religious Education, and Home Science are perceived feminine. Those subjects perceived as masculine are considered as prerequisites for occupations considered as masculine: Scientist, Pilot, Doctor, and Tradesman. Feminine subjects are perceived as being useful to women in their roles as: mothers, housewives and in occupations appropriate for women: nurse, teacher, child minder, and secretary. Teachers therefore consciously and unconsciously may re-in force gender disparity. This may subsequently influence and motivate performance and career choice (Oxfam GB 1998).

2.2.6 Socio-Economic Organization and Gender Perceptions Among the Maasai Mellissa Llewelyn (Sherry B 1981:330) documents Maasai ethnography and says that Maasai women, like Maasai men, possess sets of rights and responsibilities that change at different stages of the life cycle.

Maasai women together with children and livestock, they are said to constitute the wealth of an individual man and they are given away in marriage (Sherry B. 1981).

Exchange of women (dowry) is a short hand of expressing that the social relationships

of a kinship system specify that men have certain rights on their female kin and that women do not have the same rights either to themselves or to their male kin. Women therefore do not have full rights to themselves. This set up influences task allocation in the community. According to study done by Mellissa (1981,320-350), women pass through two formal age categories (girlhood and womanhood); whereas men pass through three; boyhood, *moranhood*/warriorhood and elder hood. The age organization ranks all males and females into separate but interlocking hierarchies:

- Uncircumcised boys (Olaiyani)
- Circumcised young men known as "Moran" (Olmurrani)
- ❖ Elders (Olpayian).

Female hierarchy consists of the following two,

- Uncircumcised girls (entito)
- Circumcised girls (enkitok)

This can be reflected as below:

Table 2: social hierarchy among the Maasai

Moran	Circumcised women
Uncircumcised boys	Uncircumcised girls



Roles are structured along the social hierarchy as shown in the table above.

2.2.6.1 Distribution of Domestic Tasks Among the Maasai

Table 3a: Distribution of tasks among Maasai men

Elders	Morans (17- 24 years)	Uncircumcised boys
Decision makers/planners	Army-responsible for defence against raids.	Look after calves, goats and sheep.
Control and own all resources.	Morans have sexual rights in the uncircumcised girls.	Perform errands for morans.
Govern.	May be called upon to escort livestock to far away pasture in dry seasons.	Boys have sexual rights in NO one.
Advise.	Supervise (Ilayok) herders during the dry season.	Some times accompany their fathers to look after cattle
	Conduct raids for cattle.	
Fathers (A-itore) have no rights to the labour of their daughters, except indirectly (through the mother.)	Track stolen or lost animals.	
Fathers have rights in the disposal of their daughters in marriage.		
Taboo for circumcised man to perform household tasks meant for women (man may die).		
Construction of the village		

Elders	Morans (17- 24 years)	Uncircumcised boys
fence. (Security.)		

Table 3b: Distribution of tasks among Maasai women

Circumcised women	Uncircumcised girls
Have labour rights over girls.	Milking of cows.
Chop wood, fetch firewood.	Look after young animals: - goats, sheep and calves near the kraal (<i>Boma</i>).
Build house and repair.	Fetch water.
Draw water for all domestic uses.	Maintain manyattas (houses)
Milk cows.	Take care of babies (siblings).
Keep an eye on the welfare of young and weak cows and calves that remain around the homestead (including fetching water and "fodder" for such animals.)	Stay with their mothers learning about household domestic chores
Cooking food.	Support their mothers in household chores.
Performing all household chores.	
Supervision of young girls who tend small livestock and calves near the residential manyatta.	

Source: Mellissa Liewelyn (Sherry B. 1981)

2.2.7 The Concept of Masculinity and Femininity Among Maasai-Child-Socialization and Labour Distribution

In the Maasai community, duties revolve around cattle and their security. Boys are socialized in anticipation of their roles *in Moranhood* institution. "Physical Courage is just an important element of *Moranhood* and Mothers exhort their small sons to be brave...like little *Moran*" (Ibid, 349).

In the context of the Patriarchal units, men and women both tend to say that women could never take charge of the herds because they are too cowardly. In a recorded interview with some young married women, Mellisa asked if women preferred to bear

sons or daughters, the response was: "If raiders came to your village and took your cow – a lovely large fat cow, women would not dare to follow up, because they would be beaten up. But if a man, dares to do so, he dares to do so because he is a man and that is why men are a good thing." (Ibid., 349).

Another quality thought necessary to pastoral management is the ability to co-operate with others, to place the common good before one's own immediate interests. This is demonstrated in providing security to cattle and tracking stolen livestock, one has to risk their lives in the interest of the community. Women are believed to be incapable of such selfless organization and myth told by both sexes, but mainly women makes explicit the connection in Maasai thought between the men's ability to exploit their herds and their ability to co-operate with each other.

'Elephants used to move the houses of women; buffaloes were their cattle:

Thompson's gazelles were their goats: Warthogs were their sheep, Zebras were their donkeys. Those were women's herds before. And then one morning, they got up early to slaughter an Ox, in all the women there was not one who said my child is not going to herd because he will miss the kidney. So the cattle went off on their own, they went into the forest. The zebra became wild, the gazelle became wild, the buffalo became wild, but they were cattle before. These cows all belong to men. We have become the servants of men because we left our cows go off into the forest and become wild beasts... we no longer have cattle that we can dispose of...it was us who put the herds in danger through putting our own individual interests first, so off they went. So we

are not in charge of anything any more. All we have is <u>Calabashes to milk into</u> (ibid... 150)

The mythologies and stereotypes perpetuate and reinforce allocation of duties between the boy and girl child. Boys are allocated what is perceived as masculine and girls what is perceived as feminine. However, it is worth noting that before the stage of initiation (14-18 years), boys and girls duties are interchangeable save for food preparation and cooking which is predominantly a woman reserve.

2.2.8 Shifts in Children Allocation of Domestic Duties Among the Maasai

Church influence, development pressure groups, technology, changes in land tenure system, population pressure/land pressure and human rights organizations are exerting change on the Maasai way of life. Initiation into *Moranhood* with one's age mates has been the central event in every Maasai man's life. No Maasai escapes the initiation, but it is reported here that, "In many places, youth are increasingly reluctant to drop out of school to go through Moranhood." An instance is given of a local leader of a women's group who prevailed on a father to remove his son from the *Moran* camp and send him back to school. A school leaving certificate rather than circumcision may yet become the mark of *Moranhood*. (Kituyi Mukhisa 1990). Children are now generally spending more time in school and children from poor families are being hired as herds' boys. *Moranhood* is increasingly becoming a matter of choice and not a mandatory stage for every male.

Nevertheless, in spite of the emerging transformation, the girl child domestic burden is more than that of the boy. Comparatively, Maasai children (boys and girls) walk long distances in search of water and pasture, this tends to interfere with their school time, unlike children from other non-pastoral communities in Kenya, yet they compete in the same national examinations! This predisposes Maasai children to uneven play ground.

2.3.0 Theoretical Framework

This study is tailored along the Harvard Frame work /Project Analysis Framework.

The framework provides procedure for analyzing what boys, girls, men and women do in any given society. This framework provides a clear yardstick on who does what, when and why and how. The framework uses four interrelated components:

- Activity profile
- Access and control profile
- Analysis of factors influencing activities, access and control and
- Project cycle analysis

2.3.1 Activity profile

The framework argues that often planners be it home planners, project planners or national planners fail to recognise women's roles especially in the area of production of goods and services. The framework suggests that a specific guideline analysis should be developed outlining exactly who does what, when and why in production.

For example if it is agriculture, a clear division of labour should be established on the basis of labour requirements:

- Land clearance
- Land preparation
- Seeding
- Weeding
- Processing
- Storage/marketing

On the reproduction and maintenance of the human resources at home, the framework has a task analysis tool on who does what as shown in the table below.

Table 4: task distribution

Task	Gender		Age	Social class	Time
	Male	Female			
Fuel collection					
Water collection					
Child bathing					
Child care					
Child education					
Health care					
Laundering					

The framework argues that the above household tasks are often viewed as non economic and excluded from the national income accounts, yet these tasks are essential economic functions which ensure the development and preservation of the

human capital for the family and the nation (Catherine 1985, 6). The framework argues that; what is not counted is usually not noticed and this can lead to defective design and implementation of activities/projects.

2.3.2 Access and control profile

Identifying gender specific activities in production, reproduction and maintenance is necessary, but not sufficient. It is essential to differentiate between access and control over the use of resources. Men have power and control over the fruits of women's labour, because tradition gives men a position of authority over women (ibid., 77).

Table: 5 Access and control profile matrix (Resources)

	Access		Control	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Land				
Labour				
Production				
Reproduction				
Capital				
Education/training				
Political events				

The framework analyses factors that determine who does what, when and why. Key indicators identified include:

- Community norms and beliefs
- Community institutional structures
- Community economic conditions

This framework assesses interaction between men, women, and children and identifies activities carried out by each group. It is an important framework in this study as it provides useful guidelines on understanding dynamics of tasks allocation in the community and the resultant constraints and benefits.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 STUDY AREA

3.1.0 Background Information/Administrative and Political Units

3.1.1 Study site

The study site is Mashuru division, which is predominantly inhabited by the Maasai community. This is one of the six divisions making Kajiado district and the poorest division of a district covering an estimated area of 21,902.9 Km². Other divisions of Kajiado district are Central, Magadi, Namanga, Loitokitok and Ngong (Map 1.1)

The Maasai are a predominantly pastoral people living in the Central Rift Valley in an area stretching from Southern Kenya to Central Tanzania. They number a bout 300,000 of whom roughly 60% live in Kenya while the rest live in Tanzania (Kituyi 1990). This study is primarily concerned with the Kenyan Maasai of Kajiado district, Maashuru division. This is open grassland with low and erratic rainfall averaging below 750mm a year.

The District's major economic activity is semi-nomadic pastoralism. Over 75% of the population derives its livelihood from livestock production that accounts for about 60% of the total labour force. The majority of the population depends on livestock and livestock products for subsistence. These include meat, milk, hides and skins.

Water is scarce in most of Kajiado district as there are only two perennial rivers, the Embakasi and Koboko Rivers. Noolturesh water project supplies water to communities along the pipeline to Machakos without supplying the local community. The district water supply comes mainly from 153 boreholes. The majority of the rural people draw their water from rivers, dams, wells, springs and stagnant pools. The Maasai Manyattas are designed in such way that they cannot collect any water during the rainy season. The community has to walk long distances (7- 20 kilometres) to draw water.

Maasai children socialization and distribution of domestic duties is tailored along the community's lifestyles. This revolves a round gender and livestock. Domestic tasks performed by children in Mashuru area include: Looking after livestock, fetching water, watering livestock, looking after young children, collecting fire wood and assisting in food preparation.

3.1.2 Administrative Boundaries

Kajiado district is one of the 18 districts within Rift Valley province. It is located at the southern part of the province. The district borders the Republic of Tanzania to the southwest, Taita-Taveta district to the southeast, Machakos and Makueni districts to the east, Nairobi province to the northeast, Kiambu district to the north and Narok district to the west. It is situated between longitudes 36°, 5' and 37°,5' east and between latitudes 1°,0' and 3°, 0' south.

The District is divided into seven administrative divisions namely Ngong, Magadi, Isinya, Central, Namanga, Mashuru and Loitokitok. It has 47 locations and 120 sub locations as indicated in table 6.

Politically, the district is divided into three constituencies, Kajiado north, Kajiado central and Kajiado south. These political units do not coincide with the administrative boundaries. The District has two local authorities namely: Olkejuado county council with forty-three (43) civic wards and Kajiado town council with six civic wards.

Table: 6 District Administrative Units

Division	Area Km²	No. Of locations	No. Of sub-locations
Ngong	3698.1	10	29
Magadi	2640.3	4	13
Isinya	1066.3	3	7
Central	2909.7	10	27
Namanga	2238.0	5	11
Mashuru	2994.2	9	17
Loitokitok	6356.3	6	16
Total	21,902.9	47	120

Source: District commissioner's office, Kajiado, 2001,

Loitokitok is the largest division followed by Ngong, while Mashuru is third.

3.1.3 Physiographic and Natural Conditions

Plains and occasional volcanic hills and valleys are the main physical features in the district. The land varies in altitude from about 500 metres around Lake Magadi to about 2,500 metres in the Ngong Hills area.

3.1.3.1 Topography

The district is divided into four different areas namely Rift Valley, Kipiti Plains, Central Broken Ground and the Amboseli Plains. Key features around the Rift Valley are steep faults giving rise to Plateau, Scarps and Plains. Features are Mount Suswa, Lake Magadi, Lake Natron and rivers Oloibortoto. Entasopia and Sampu. Key features around the Athi River (fed by the permanent Mbagathi and Kiseriani tributaries).

Key areas around Central Broken Ground include; permanent water source draining the areas, vast sand on dry riverbeds used for building construction. Key features at the Amboseli Plains are gently undulating and rolling slopes with deep reddish brown clay, loams and flat sedimentary plains with poorly drained cotton soils. The area surrounds Lake Amboseli and borders the Kilimanjaro slopes. Amboseli National Park is within this basin.

3.1.3.2 Climate

The District has bimodal rainfall pattern. The short rains fall between October-December, while the long rains between March and May. Annual rainfall in the area is strongly influenced by altitude. Loitokitok, which has a high elevation, has the highest average rainfall of 1,250 mm while Magadi and Lake Amboseli with the lowest elevations have the lowest annual average rainfall of about 500 mm.

Temperatures in the district also vary with both altitude and season. The highest temperatures of about 34°C are recorded around Lake Magadi, while the lowest minimum of 10°C is experienced at Loitokitok on the eastern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro.

3.1.3.3 Water Resources

The District does not have adequate surface water resources for livestock and human consumption or irrigation. Therefore, the district greatly depends on ground water reserves. The occurrence of the ground water in the District is mainly influenced by climate and topography as well as origin of underlying parent rock. The other alternative source of water for domestic and livestock are sub-surface resources such as water pans, dams and shallow wells. The amount of surface water varies from area to area.

3.1.4 Poverty

The Maasai community perceived a poor person as one who has no livestock, no spouse, no children, no source of income and no land. The poor therefore, are those who cannot meet basic family needs, such as adequate food and appropriate shelter. Major causes of poverty include, illiteracy, which emerged as one of the major causes of poverty. It was found to be a hindrance for most people to take advantage of opportunities available. They cannot, for example, access to or comprehend market information, which could assist them profitably sell their produce.

Frequent droughts, which often wipe out large herds of livestock, is also a contributing factor to poverty. Droughts also aggravate the problem by leaving families without inadequate water for both domestic and livestock use. The scarcity of water leads to loss of productive time as communities spend many hours trekking for water instead of concentrating on income generating activities.

3.1.4.1 Distribution of Poverty in the District

The total number of the poor people in the district as given in the Welfare Monitoring Survey II Report of 1994 was 122,000 people. However, the District Social Dimensions of Development Committee estimated the number of the poor to be 166,106. The distribution in the division (based on a rough assessment for purposes of relief food needs in May 2000) were as follows:

Table: 7 distributions of the poor by division

Division	Population Total	Estimated No. of Poor
Central and Isinya	69,402	41,703
Magadi	20,112	9,122
Namanga	35,673	12,710
Loitokitok	95,430	63,587
Ngong	149,771	17,055
Mashuru	35,666	21,929
Total	406,054	166,106 (40.9%)

Source: Poverty reduction participatory report, Kajiado 2001

In the rural divisions like Mashuru, part of Central and Magadi, Poverty is aggravated by poor infrastructure, acute water shortage and frequent droughts, which sometimes wipe out livestock. In turn, poverty has adversely affected the environment as the poor people resort to charcoal burning, sale of firewood and over exploitation of water catchments to eke out a living.

3.2.0 Cultural and Social organisation of Maasai

The Maasais are sometimes called Nilo Hamitic (the Hamites came from North Africa) and all Maasai tribes share the Maa language, hence their name, maasai. They share the Maa language with the Samburu from whom they split some times ago.



The maasai are semi-nomadic pastoralists, who derives their livelihood mainly from livestock. The maasai believe that their god *NGAI* (Rain) granted all cattle to them for safe-keeping when the earth and sky split (they feel this justifies them raiding cattle from other tribes, though this is changing).

The cattle serve many purposes: their milk is used for food, their hides are used for mattresses, shoes and other accessories: their dung is used for plastering hut walls; their urine (sterile) has some medicinal and cleansing qualities, their meat is rarely taken for food (but may be used during ceremonies and in times of famine or sell to meet pressing fundamental needs).

Cattle are a major sign of wealth though, other animals including goats, sheep and donkeys are also kept. The maasai are turning towards some cultivation (usually maize and some vegetables) to supplement on their dietary needs as grazing pasture land is getting scarce.

3.2.1 The Maasai Home

Maasai families live in an 'Enkang Manyatta', a form of thick round fence of sharp thorn bushes containing about 10-20 small squat huts made from branches pasted (by the women) with fresh cow dung. Huts are small; with two room (separations) they are dark with a small doorway and tiny hole/holes on the sidewalls. Purposes of the hole (window) are to, let some smoke to escape from smouldering (cow-dung) fire which is kept burning for warmth and cooking and to let off and keep off unwanted insects like flies.

3.2.2 Infrastructure

The road network in Kajiado is poor and worse in Mashuru division. The area is dusty during the dry season and muddy and impassable during the wet season. Mode of transportation is mainly by donkeys, bicycles and old modified land rovers, which are used as *matatus*.

3.3.0 Population of Kajiado District

Table 8.a: Total population of Kajiado district

Male	206,353	
Female	199,701	
Total	406,052	

Kajiado District Population by Age Units

Table 8.b: 5-9 years

Female	29,172	
Male	30,409	
Total	59.581	

Table 8.c:10-14 years

Female	25,363
Male	26,472
Total	51,835

Table 8.d:15-19 years

Female	22,713	
Male	22,183	
Total	44,896	

Table 8.e:20-24 years

Female	17,882	
Male	17,784	
Total	35,666	

Source: 1999 population census

Kajiado area density is Sq. Kms 21,903, representing population density from 96,621 households, while Mashuru has a population from area sq. Kms of 2,994.20 from 7,333 households representing 12% Area density.

3.4.0 Major Economic Activities

Livestock is the main activity undertaken in the district especially in Magadi and Mashuru divisions. The main livestock reared in the district are: cattle, sheep and goats while the main livestock products are meat and milk. Currently, a lot of diversification is being practiced with the introduction of camels, poultry and agriculture and eco-tourism and farming of food and cash crops especially in areas neighbouring water sources and urban places with multi-ethnic settlements.

3.5.0 Health Facilities and Epidemiology Profile

Kajiado district has six hospitals, 23 health centres, 32 dispensaries and 77 private clinics. Mashuru has the lowest number of facilities. It has no hospital but has two health centres, two dispensaries and four private clinics. According to the ministry of health Kajiado district, six main health problems affecting the people in the area, in order of prevalence are:

- Acute respiratory infections (ARI)
- Malaria
- Skin diseases
- Intestinal worms
- Diarrhoea diseases
- Sexually transmitted Diseases

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 STUDY METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes systematically the methods and process used in the study.

4.1.0 Study Design and Research Tools/Instruments

This was a cross-sectional study, undertaken in Mashuru division of Kajiado district, between the periods, January – June 2002. The research incorporated the following research tools: -

- Quantitative (self administered questionnaire)
- Gender analysis tools (story line, interviews, seasonal calendar/annual calendar)
- Qualitative tools (In-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, photography)

These tools were chosen because they are participatory, interactive and facilitated the community to actively participate in the study process.

4.2.0 Research Protocol

The researcher had a history of interaction with the community and had earlier through development meetings made an informal research request, which was affirmatively granted by the local opinion leaders. Formal request letters to the Government of Kenya, Ministry of Education (DEO Kajiado), school heads, teachers and pupil followed this up.

4.3.0 Study Population

The study population was primary school going children aged 6-20 years from lower to upper primary, Teachers, opinion leaders and parents

4.3.1 Inclusion Criteria

Children of ages 6-20 years were randomly sampled from lower to upper primary making a sample size of 100 respondents from classes four to eight. This is the age of adolescence and generally characterised by:

- Poor performance,
- Rebellion
- Abandonment of school in favour of moranism
- Abandonment of school in favour of forced and voluntary marriage and
- Abandonment of school due to teenage pregnancy

Around this time, age differentiation system among the Maasai ushers in pronounced cultural differentiation of duties between boys and girls.

4.3.2 Sampling procedure/design

Mashuru division was purposely chosen because being one of the poorest division in Kajiado district with least infrastructure, poor school enrolment, poor performance in national examinations and harsh environment, with frequent draughts and water scarcity.

Five schools were identified using purposive and simple random sampling evenly spread all over the division. Twenty (20) pupils and two teachers participated in every sampled school, fairly distributed from lower to upper primary, with an equal gender distribution of ten boys and ten girls and two teachers (male and female) responded to a self administered questionnaire. Focus Group Discussions supplemented this for

parents (one per school), seasonal calendars/story calendars by children, two per school (a boy and a girl).

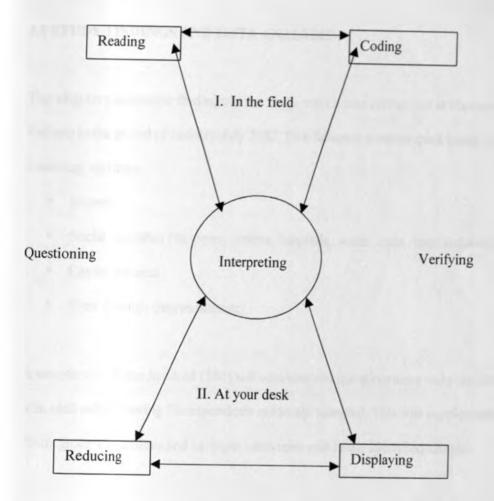
Procedure for identification of respondents was arrived at through random sampling giving a number to every subject/member of the accessible population, placing the numbers in a container and then picking any number at random. The subjects corresponding to the numbers were picked and included in this study.

4.4.0 Data Collection

Data collection was done by research assistants, recruited from the community trained on the research tools included in the study, before a actual research exercise.

4.5 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using computer statistical soft ware of SPSS, while qualitative data was analyzed by step-by-step model as illustrated in the table next page.



(Adapted from Huberman and Miles 1994, 429)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 STUDY FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings of the study, which was carried out at Mashuru Kajiado in the period of January-July 2002. Five Schools were sampled based on the following variables:

- Income
- Social amenities (shopping centres, hospitals, water, main roads and markets)
- Catchment area
- Even distance (representative)

A sample size of one hundred (100) self administered questionnaires were carried out with each school having 20 respondents randomly sampled. This was supplemented by Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews within the identified sample.

Four-fifths of the respondents (88%) were from class four to eight. This is because these are classes with vulnerable cases of dropouts, increased academic loads, onset of adolescence and cultural initiation into *moranhood*.

5.1.0 Demographic Data

The following tables and graph show the age, gender, and distribution of pupils and teachers in the sampled schools.

Table 9: Age of Respondents

8-12	22%
13-16	65%
17-20	11%

Table above shows majority of children being in the 13-16-age category meaning that they enroll late in school.

Table 10: Total population of pupils in 5 sampled schools

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	
Boys	637	52	
Girls	588	48	
Total	1225	100	

Table above showing an average enrolment of 38 pupils per class, however the deviation is that there are more enrolment at standards one, but high dropouts in upper primary.

Table 11: Total population for Teaching Staff in 5 sampled schools

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Male	22	63
Female	13	37
Total	35	100

Table above shows an average of eight teachers per school, with male teachers being more than female teachers.

Table 12: School Catchment's Area in Kilometres

KILOMETRES	FREUUENCY	PERCENTAGE
4	I	H
5	1	11
7	1	11
8	2	22
12	2	22
20	2	22

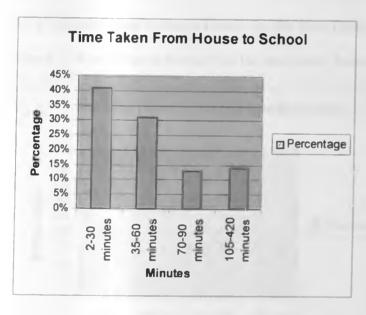
Table above shows distance children cover daily from home to school.

Half of the respondents were in the 13-16 years age category. This is well above normal ages in other areas. This phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that,

Children attend school when they are late and advanced in years. Why? Because of
distance, seasons (when raining small children may be carried by water and when
dry scotching sun and dust unbearable for small children). Moreover, the age
ranking of the community and government ranking are not synchronized.

Graph 1

Graph below showing average time children take from home/manyatta to school.



5.2 Sex of Respondents

Distribution of respondents by sex was on equal basis 50% boys and 50% girls.

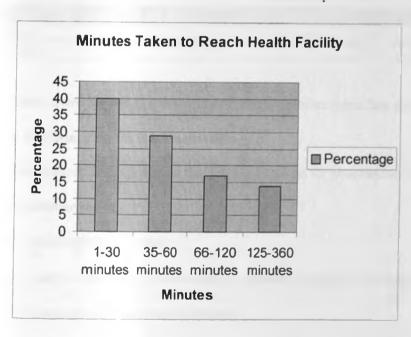
5.3 Accessibility To Health facilities

93% of respondents' (four fifths) visits a health facility – when sick and 73% of the respondents said that they are taken to hospital by their father, 16% by their mother and 3% by relatives.

Put on a bar graph, the findings were as below,

5.3.1 Minutes Taken to Reach Health Facility from Home

Graph 2: Time taken in minutes for the community to access health facility



5.4 School Absenteeism

90% of the respondents said that there are days they miss classes.

Days of the week when classes are missed were highly Mondays 37.5% and Friday 42%.

Table13: Reasons for Absenteeism

CAUSE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Sicknesses	96	96
Lack of fees	55	55
Family migration	6	6
Market days	15	15
Lack of uniforms	4	4
Others	46	46
Dry season	39	53%
Wet season	35	47%

Table above showing causes and factors behind children absenteeism in schools

Table 14: Most Absentees between Boys and Girls

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Boys	7	70
Girls	3	30

Table above indicating that boys absentees themselves more than girls.

5.4.1 Main Reasons for Absenteeism

The research findings proved that the main reasons for absenteeism from school could be summarised as.

- Looking after livestock
- Lack of motivation (parents may be far away fending for livestock)
- Tending to domestic tasks at home

Table 15: Seasons When Classes are missed most

IITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Dry	39	70
Wet	35	47

Table above showing that during dry season, children are affected more by absenteeism, due to seasonal migration by parents.

5.5 Provision of School Needs

85% said father provides.

5.6.0 Lady/Male teachers Teaching Different Subjects

The statistics for lady teachers in most subjects were as below

5.6.1 Number of lady teachers teaching English

See table next

Table 16: Number of lady teachers teaching English

CLASSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	44	54
2	34	41
3	36	44
4	12	15
5	15	18
6	6	7
8	16	20

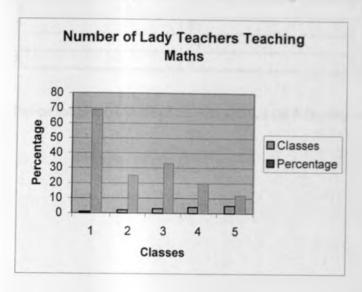
5.6.2 Number of Lady teachers teaching Science

See table below

Table 17: Lady teachers teaching Science

CLASSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	52	65
2	18	23
3	18	23
4	28	35
5	15	19
6	6	8
7	14	18

Graph 3: Showing number of female teaching Mathematics in sampled schools



5.6.3 Number of male teachers teaching English

See table below

Table 18: male teachers teaching English

CLASSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	20	22
2	32	35
3	30	33
4	88	95
5	85	92
6	12	13
7	28	30
8	8	9

5.6.4 Number of male teachers teaching Religion

See table below

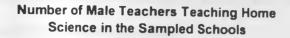
Table 19: Male teachers teaching Religion

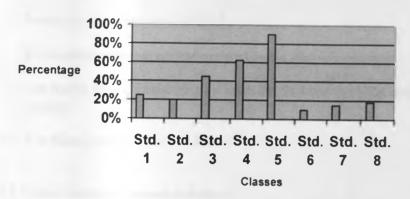
CLASSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	20	23
2	38	44

3	38	111	
4	52	60	
5	85	98	
7	14	98	
8	0	16	
	0	9	

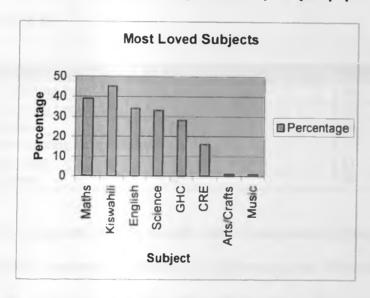
Put on bar graphs, some of the data showed the following distribution,

Graph 4: Number of Male Teachers Teaching Home Science in the Sampled Schools





Graph 5: Showing subjects of preference by sampled pupils



5.7.0 Reasons for Loving Subjects

The research evidenced that most subjects were loved by pupils because they were:

- Easy to understand
- Interesting
- Easy to score high marks
- National language

· Loved e.g. drawing

5.7.1 Advice Pupils Receive Concerning Above Described Subjects:

Pupils receive varied advice concerning the subjects they love, namely:

- Languages are vital for future career
- For one to excel, has to work hard
- To improve on school performance you must study consistently
- One has to learn concentrating on small details when studying mathematics and English
- You must practice, what you learn

5.8 Other duties performed in School

See table below

Table 20

DUTIES	EREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Collecting litter	14	14
Watering trees	11	11
Games	54	54
Participating in health club		
activities	11	11
Others	40	40

On the response, whether domestic tasks at home leaves children with time to study, all the 10 respondents (teachers) said **NO** meaning they 100% believe that domestic tasks at home leaves children with insufficient time to study especially on the girls who have more tasks and demands.

Most respondents believed that domestic responsibility affected school performance:

80% said yes

5.9.1 Duties Performed after School

See the table below

Table 21: Duties performed after school

DUTIES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Fetch firewood	18	18
Fetch water	11	11
House chores	23	23
Taking care of children	4	4
Study/reading	25	25
Cooking and washing		
utensils	45	45

5.9.2 Duties performed on weekdays

See table below

Table 22: Duties performed on weekdays

DUTIES	FREDUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Looking after cattle	48	48
Fetching water	10	0
Washing uniform	22	22
Going to church	8	8
Spraying cattle	14	14
Digging	37	37

5.9.3 Duties performed during holidays

See table below

Table 23: Duties perfumed during holidays

DUTIES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Looking after cattle	39	39
House chores	13	13
Fetching firewood	13	13
Studies	12	12
Fencing	1	1
Hunting/celebrations	53	53

5.9.4 Duties Performed by Girls at Home After School

See table below,

Table 24: Duties performed by Girls at home after school

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Fetching firewood	3	30
Fetching water	1	10
Looking after livestock	1	10
Caring about the young ones	4	40
Milking cows	1	10

5.9.5 Duties Performed by Boys at Home After School

See table below,

Table 25: Duties performed by boys at home after School

ITEM	FREUUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Looking after livestock	9	90
Fencing Bomas	1	10

Comment: The trend shows a cross pending increase of duties as per the holiday duration.

5.9.6 Who allocates duties at home?

Sixty percent (60%) said mothers, while 40% said father does.

5.9.7 Between boys and girls who is assigned more duties?

68% said girls, while 32% said boys.

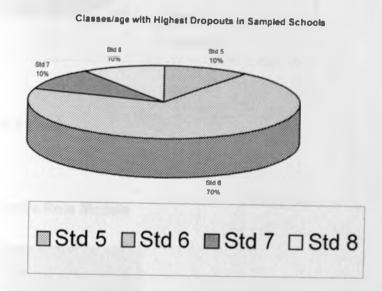
Why?

- 29% said that boys were assigned less duties so as to become leaders
- 46% said that, because girls are good at obeying and performing all duties
- 21% said because girls are responsible and hardworking as compared to boys

5.9.8Who works harder between boys and girls?

41% (1/3) of the respondents said that boys work harder than girls, while 24% (1/5) said the opposite.

Chart 1: Class/ age with highest dropouts in sampled Schools

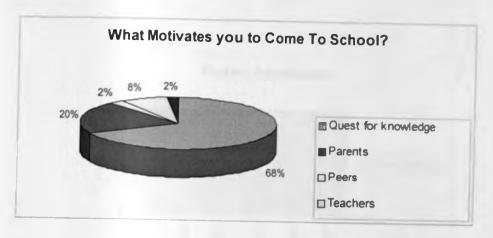


5.10 Reasons for Dropping out of School

Among the reasons attributed to dropping out of school included,

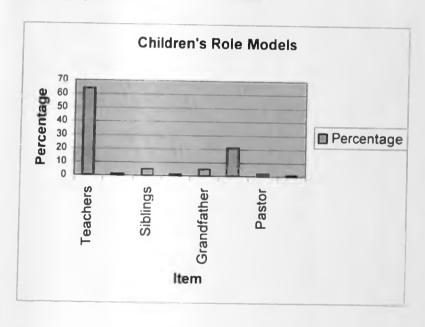
- Distance from school
- Drought
- Early pregnancy
- Early marriage
- Domestic chores
- Migration in search of pasture
- Moranism
- Poverty (lack of money to pay levies).

Chart 2: What motivates you to come to School

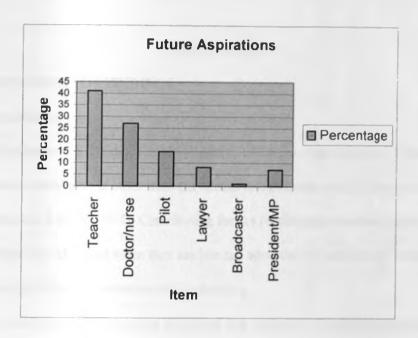


Graph 6: Children's Role Models

See the graph below



Graph 7: Future Aspirations of pupils



CHAPTER SIX

6.0 DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

6.1 School Going Age

Half of the respondents' school children were in 13-16 years age category. This is well above normal ages in other areas (in normal circumstance, a child is expected to complete class 8 at age 13/14). Contributing factors for this phenomenon are that,

- Children attend school when they are late and advanced in years due to distance.
- Migration life styles, interferes with schooling
- Variation in seasons (when dry, scorching sun; when wet, flooded seasonal rivers.
 These circumstances therefore, dictates that children have to be big enough to attend school)
- Moreover, the community chronological age set ranking system and the government ranking system (education policy on least age to attend school) are not synchronized.

This predisposes Maasai children to uneven playing ground in relation to children in other parts of Kenya. Yet still, those who excel and end up in formal employment, retire at the same age regardless of their history as late arrivals in employment.

6.2 Accessibility to social amenities

58% of the respondents said that they take 35-420 minutes, to reach the school, whereas 93% of the respondents who visit formal health facilities take an average time of 35-360 minutes on foot to reach a health facility.

Average school catchment area varies from a radius of 4-20 kilometers. This has resulted into under enrolment. To ease movements to school, able parents have purchased bicycles for boys. Girls are not encouraged to use bicycles because of cultural inhibitions. In all the research sites, no girl had a bicycle, however, they can hike a lift if the owner (boy) approves. This kind of arrangement ushers in preferential treatment and introduces the power game early in the lives of children.

6.3 Child Welfare and Shifting Roles

Whereas, child bearing and rearing is the responsibility of the mother, 73% of the respondents said that their fathers take them to the health facility when sick. This was confirmed by the researcher as shown in the picture below.



However, though this is a positive shift from the tradition. It is worth noting the paradox: when women take children to hospital, they go on foot, while men use appropriate technology transport (bicycle). This clearly outlines the existing unfair power structure, and unequal access to resources.

On the contribution towards the basic requirements in school, 85% of the respondents said the father provides, however it is important to recognize contribution of the mothers which was 15%. This is a positive indication of women' involvement and participation in a previously men domain-area.

6.4 School Absenteeism and Dropouts

90% of the respondents said that there are days in a week, when classes are missed. Fridays and Mondays toping the list and boys being the most affected. This is frequent during the dry season when pasture and water are insufficient. Key contributing factor as gathered from the Focus Group Discussions, the Maasai often sale cattle during the dry season and therefore these days coincides with market days and boys aid their fathers in escorting livestock to the market.

Other contributing factors for absenteeism are:

- Looking after livestock
- Sickness (especially girls)
- Lack of school levies (especially girls)
- Tending to domestic tasks at home (mostly girls)
- Lack of motivation (parents may be far away fending for livestock)

While boys are the most absentee during market days, girls are the most absentees due to factors associated with sickness; this was computed at 68% of the respondents.

Contributing factors to for the occurrence of this scenario were identified as follows:

- Increased workload at home
- Parental neglect (Parents not serious to take the girls to hospital)

- Lack of understanding and preparing girls on how to handle their menstrual cycle,
 therefore during this period, girls prefer staying at home,
- Cultural suppression,
- Lack of skills (especially personal hygiene) preparedness of handling psychosocial challenges of adolescence.

On average, respondents said that about 98 children drop out, annually, with girls having a higher rate (though the structured questionnaire indicates the drop out rate is at 49 boys and 49 girls, the focus group discussions revealed that there is a higher dropout rate for girls than boys). Contributing factors were identified as:

- Distance from school
- Drought
- Early pregnancy
- Early marriage
- Migration in search of pastures
- Child labour
- Moranism
- Poverty (lack of money to pay levies)

Class six had three quarters of the dropouts. Key possible reason running through in all the FGDS was identified as: This is the age preceding initiation and after initiation and therefore cultural priorities supercedes education priorities.

6.5 Duty Allocation, Performance and Good Health

At the on set, there is no much distinction between what a boy and a girl does. The children play, interact and support one another mutually. This is shown in the photograph next page.



A photograph showing children participating in common domestic chore at home.

(Manyatta)

However, as the children grow up, pronounced physical changes at adolescence (from ages 13 years) brings about psychosocial changes, cultural orientation and initiation into manhood/womanhood. This is accompanied by segregation of duties/tasks on the basis of gender and regulated by customary taboos. The boys assume male (fathers) roles, while the girls assume female (mothers) roles. The father assigns responsibilities to boys and the mother to girls. This shifts is meant to safeguard the status quo, consequently, the women remains the beast of burden (*See appendix 8*). Moreover, women participation in community service creates competing demands on her time with the eventual shortfall of labour at home. This shortfall of labour is filled up by the girl child:

The boys said that they always assume the responsibilities of their fathers when he is away and the girls said the opposite. Therefore fatherhood and motherhood roles and cultural expectations are inculcated early in the lives of the children making it very hard to re-construct the existing gender stereotypes.

The respondents said that tasks at home increase during holidays, weekends and dry season. Activities they participate in were identified as shown in the table below,

Table26 showing what Children say they do during holidays.

Boys	Girls
 Milk (help father) Fencing/Boma Plant trees Look after livestock (cattle, calves, goats, sheep and donkeys) Spraying Tabooing animals Watering Shamba Tracing lost animals Defense Kitchen (Fetch water/firewood) Wash own clothes Attend church 	 Milking (help mother Clean utensils Prepare meals Cleaning/sweeping the boma Shamba Collect firewood Fetch water Drive calves into the kraal in the evening Support in shamba activities Look after my younger children Wash family clothes

Source: (Children's storylines). See appendix 4

The photograph below shows a girl at a water point. The girl was unable to attend



classes because of lack of water at home. Domestic priorities supercede educational priorities for the girl child.

The photograph next page confirms what children do at home as the children themselves indicated in the storyline (see appendix 9)



The photograph shows children looking after calves and goats

6.6 Child well being

Though during the FGDs, parents said that disease does not discriminate and therefore boys and girls equally fall sick, school attendance registers and in-depth interviews revealed that girls are the majority 68% of absentees due to sickness related complications. Other contributing factors were identified as: -

- Too much work load
- Parents not serious to take the girl child to hospital
- Menarche challenges which girls are not prepared well ahead and neither do they have skills.

80% of the respondents also acknowledge that too many domestic tasks at home leaves them with little time to study and therefore interferes with the overall academic performance.

On academic performance in school (first top ten in class), 80% said that they are boys and the school records confirmed this. This is associated to: -

- Boys have fewer tasks at home and therefore can study
- Boys receive more attention than girls on issues of education and development at home by parents
- Girls often lack fuel for studying at home
- Girls receive more ridicule at home and get discouraged even to study
- Few educated women in the area, whom girls can model their life along.

However, 41% of the respondents felt that boys generally work harder than girls, while 24% felt the opposite.

The subjects most loved in order of preference were: -

- Kiswahili
- Mathematics
- English and
- Science

Reasons for loving these subjects were mainly as a result of advice and emphasis from the teachers. However, respondents felt that they also understand better, score high marks, they are interesting and for Kiswahili subject, it embodies nationalism.

The most interesting scenario is disparity between subjects taught by male and female teachers. Male teachers mainly teach subjects classified as hard sciences and when male teachers teach traditionally classified subjects as feminine, religion, geography, music, they do so mainly in upper primary classes; the opposite is with female teachers, those who have ventured into male domain – hard sciences at best teach mainly in lower classes. Added to this, in all five schools where this data was collected no female teacher was a head teacher at best was senior/deputy head teacher. Interestingly, pupils identified teachers as their first role model, followed by parents; moreover pupils said that teachers play a key role in guiding them on career choices; While it is worth recognizing sensitization efforts by the government of Kenya and non-governmental agencies, it should be noted that gender mainstreaming and sensitization is still along way off in rural schools. For instance, as seen the photograph below.



The boy in white overall is the doctor, attending to the health of the community, a break way from tradition where the girls would have acted that position, could serve as a sensitization process on career choices. Interestingly, arising from observations from

the field and findings in this study, when a girl acts such position, she becomes a nurse and commonly referred to as 'sister' and not a doctor. This status quo hampers nurturing and actualization of potentials in children and translates into adulthood with the same mental attitude, maintaining the vicious circle.

6.7 Environment Impact on Children Career Choice and Future Aspirations

Whereas, majority said that quest for knowledge and pressure/advise from parents and teachers motivates them to come to school, future aspirations of a better life seems to be a key driving force as shown by the results. However, the surroundings (environment) as shown in the photograph below puts more emphases on livestock than education. Children identified this as deterrence to future career goals.



Of interest was the effect of the environment on children's career choices.

Respondents from a school near the local legislator's home aspire to be politicians and eventually be elevated to parliamentary speaker and cabinet ministers in the government. The respondents from a school and neighbouring health center wanted to be nurses or doctors in future. Whereas teachers play a key role in influencing career

choices and future aspirations of children. It is evident based on these findings that exposure/environment too play a key role in influencing future career choices of children.

Another emerging scenario was the disparity on future aspirations between boys and girls. Boys wanted to be pilots, lawyers, doctors, cabinet ministers, while girls wished to be teachers and nurses. Findings in the study therefore, reveal that lack of mentors and role models in the environment, significantly contributes to the prevalence of this phenomenon.



The photograph above shows that when boys and girls are young the self-esteem is high, but this seems to wane, as they grow older.

Based on findings in this study, it is true that girls are allocated more domestic tasks than boys and this is among the contributing factors of girls' poor performance in relation to boys. It is also true that domestic chores allocated to children interfere with their studies, however girls are more than boys.

The study has also established that a relationship exists between domestic chores and child well being and concludes that, heavy domestic burdens enhances ill health of the children especially the girl child.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1Conclusions

Cultural attitudes stressing the value of sons against daughters are so much a normal part of the traditional codes among the pastrolist Maasai community. This significantly influences parental behaviours towards the health and education of the girl child.

The two stated hypotheses were confirmed to be true by the study. The girls are allocated more domestic tasks than boys hence their studies are interfered with. The study also confirmed that heavy domestic chores affect the child's learning and well-being.

7.2 Recommendations

Having noted the above conclusions from the study, it is imperative to note the following recommendations.

It is in the interest of this study that an integrated boy/girl child sensitisation and education program be initiated as a response to the evident negative and segregative behavior by parents towards the girl child's education.

Schools should be located near households to reduce distance to and from school.

This can also be improved by creation of special boarding schools in which children only have vacation when Pastrolist parents have come back home.

There is need for adoption of user-friendly education program among the Pastrolists.

Scheduling lessons should be flexible enough to allow children who might otherwise be deterred by domestic chores, to participate. Itinerant teachers who can visit

Pastrolist homes may be necessary. However, special boarding schools mentioned above are a better option.

The Government should consider offering free education or ensuring that children are not denied basic education because their parents cannot afford it. Universal primary Education (UPE) should be prioritised among the Pastrolists especially for the girl child. Sufficient resources must also be mobilised so that families no longer have to bear the direct and indirect costs of basic schooling.

A Gender Aware Approach should be initiated at policy level to grass roots level to enhance gender equity in the education sector. More women need to be involved in the education of Pastrolist children to act as an impetus to the girl morale in education.

Heads of schools and administrators should promote high quality child centred learning and ensure that schools are safe places, where girls feel respected and safe. Curriculum developers' should design and teachers must use gender sensitive materials, language, and monitor bias, making sure that girls participate in class as frequently as boys. Where possible, the curriculum should incorporate and recognise

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women's contributions in national development, especially where such contribution is not acknowledged.

Parents need to be sensitised on the effects of malnourishment on the physical and intellectual development of the child. Parents need to be guided and empowered with nutrition skills.

The Government and development agencies should support the Maasai in having the initiation rights coincide with end of primary education. In this manner, the children and parents will not have to choose between their cultural rite and formal education. In this way children will have opportunity to go through the basic education without interference or dropping out and still have time to perform the rights as they transit to secondary education or technical school/apprenticeship.

As shown in the following photographs, women by and large, when they participate in community service, they are allocated unskilled tasks, while men continue perpetuating the status quo of the skilled labour force. This should be based on choice and not societal stereotyped way of allocating duties.



Maasai women fetching water (unskilled labour)



Maasai men building a water tank (skilled labour)

7.3 Recommendation for further studies

As a follow up and build up to this study, a study should be done to find out how the number of female teachers in upper primary relates to the number of male teachers at the same level and how this phenomenon affects the girl/ boy child performance and career choice among Pastrolist Maasai. This study has already pointed out that there is less participation of female teachers in upper primary, especially those teaching sciences.

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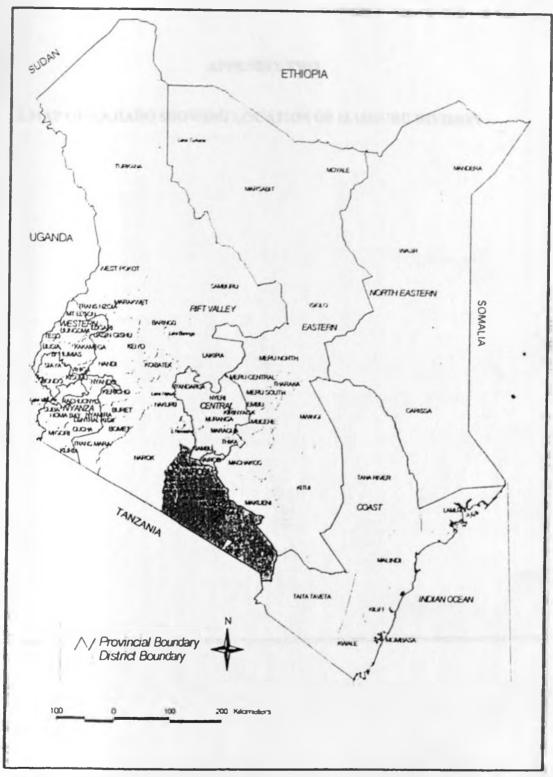
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APPENDIX ONE

1. MAP OF KENYA SHOWING THE LOCATION OF KAJIADO

LOCATION OF KAJIADO IN KENYA

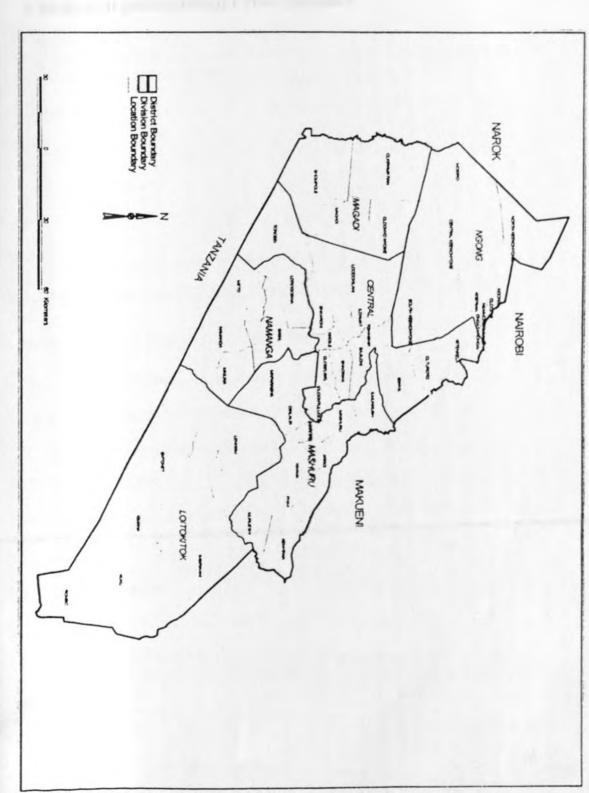


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APPENDIX TWO

2. MAP OF KAJIADO SHOWING LOCATION OF MASHURU DIVISION



Prepared by Central Bureau of Suitistics 1999 Population Census

APPENDIX THREE

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN

INSTRUCTION: Questionnaire self-administered by respondents = (children in primary schools)

STUDY ON DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC TASKS ON CHILDREN VIS-AVIS' SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

Study Objectives

- To establish whether domestic tasks performed at home contributes to poor/good school performance.
- To document contribution of children (boys/girls) to overall labour requirements at home
- To establish relationship between tasks performed by children and good health-(Child growth and development)

1. Sex: Male \square	
Female	
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Class	<u></u>
^ Agc	
Access To Basic Social Amenities (School	& Health)
2. How many minutes/hour(s) do you walk	from home to school?
3. When you are sick, do you visit any healt	h facility? Yes No
3. When you are sick, do you visit any healt If yes, how many hours/minutes do you to	
	akc?
If yes, how many hours/minutes do you to	nkc?
If yes, how many hours/minutes do you to	nkc?
If yes, how many hours/minutes do you to	Mother Father
If yes, how many hours/minutes do you to If No, who treats you? Who takes you to the health facility	Mother

7. If yes,	what are the reasons for you being absent	t from school?
Basic Nec	essities	
8. Who p	rovides you with school needs (uniforms	, fces, exercise books etc)?
	Father	
	Mother	
	Others (specify)	
Gender S	tereotypes	
9. Which	subjects do you love most?	
W	hy?	
10. What	advise do you receive from teachers cond	cerning the above subjects?
	*	
l!. In you	ir school, how many lady teachers teach:	Mnths
		English
		Science

2 [in your school, how in	any male teachers teach	h: geography
			Religion
			Home Science
13. I	n your own view, betw	veen boys and girls, wl	ho works hard?
	(a) Girls		
	(b) Boys		
	(c) Both are equ	ial 🗆	
14.	What motivates you	to come to school?	
6. W	/hat duties do you car	ry out after school at he	ome?
7. W	Vhat duties do you car	Ty out during weekend	ls?
8. WI	nat duties do you carr	y out during school hol	lidays?

19. Who allocat	cs/assigns you the above duties at home	
Mother		
Father		
Others		
20. In your own	view, between girls and boys, who is assigned more duties	;?
Boy		
Girl		
Why?		
	es affect/ interfere with your performance in schoolwork? you like to be in future?	YES / NO
	r role models?	

END

1

APPENDIX FOUR

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

To Be Self Administered by Head teacher& PHASE Teacher

Informant Interviews for PHASE Teachers/ Head/ Senior Teachers

1. What is the population enrolment in your school for?
(a) Boys
(b) Girls
(c) Others
1B. What is Your school catchment's area? (Radius of homes of children coming to school) (In kilometres)
2. What is the population enrolment for teaching staff in your school?
No. of male teachers
No. of female teachers
3. On average how many children drop out of school per year?
(a) How many boys
(b) How many girls
Why?
4. What class/age do you on average experience high school drop out?
5. In your school, between boys and girls, who are the most absentees?
Boys
Girls
Vhy?

6. After school, what duties do?

	(a)	Girls perform at home
	(b)	Boys perform at home
8.	In you	ur own view, do you think the allocation of duties between boys and girls at leaves them with enough time to complete their school homework? Yes
	If No/	No Yes (Explain)
9.		ur school on average who are the majority in the first top-ten positions in class (academic performance)
		Girls Boys
	Why?	
10. In	your sc	hool between boys and girls, who miss classes because of sickness?
(a) B (b) C		
	Why?	

Thank you for sparing your time to share your feelings.

4. Story line/the 24-hour clock

Aim: Allows boys and girls to describe their daily activities. It assists project team members in identifying difference s in men's and women's workloads as well as in determining who performs what activities and when.

Two per school (a boy and a girl) = 10 story lines. Three schools respondents will be from upper primary and two schools respondents will be from lower primary.

5. Seasonal calendar/Annual calendar

Aim: To allow mapping out activities carried out through out the year between men and women and identify contributions made by men and women and when and where such activities are carried out.

6 pupils = (three boys and three girls)

APPENDIX FIVE

5. LETTER OF CONSENT FROM DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER

THE DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER KAJIADO DISTRICT

11th March 2002.

RE: Permission to study On Domestic Tasks And Children's Performance In Schools

I write as a follow up of my visit and discussions of my intension to carry out a study on the relationship between domestic chores and children performances in primary school s in Kajiado district – Mashuru division. This is my postgraduate study research for the award of postgraduate diploma in Gender and development studies University of Nairobi.

I wish to kindly ask for permission to visit schools and interview teachers, children and parents. This exercise is scheduled for the month of July. A research copy will be made available to your office.

Thanking you in advance as I look forward to a favourable response.

Yours faithfully

Samuel Obara

APPENDIX SIX

6. LETTER OF CONSENT FROM HEAD TEACHER

THE HEAD TEACHER

11th July 2002.

RE: Permission to study On Domestic Tasks And Children's Performance In Schools

I write as a follow up of my visit and discussions of my intension to carry out a study on the relationship between domestic chores and children performances in primary school. This is my postgraduate study research for the award of post graduate diploma in Gender and development studies University of Nairobi.

Kindly take note that I will be coming again on 14th July for further discussions and planning.

The District Education Officer has granted permission to this study and look forward for your support.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours faithfully

Samuel Obara

APPENDIX SEVEN

7. FGD QUESTIONS

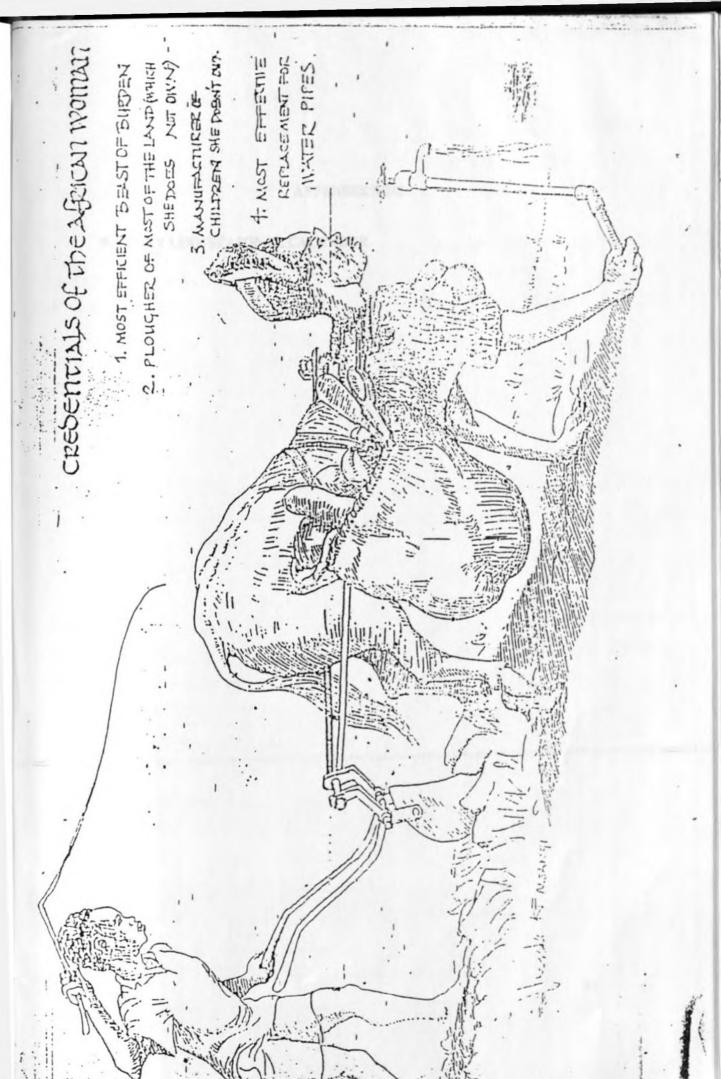
FGD GUIDE QUESTIONS

- 1. How do you allocate duties to children at home?
- 2. Do you think the allocation of duties between boys and girls leaves them enough time to do their work and other school related activities?
- 3. Are there times, when duties for children boys/girls at home increase? (Why), What are the coping mechanism?
- 4. Does the domestic duties affect the performance of boys and girls in school?
- 5. Are there any taboos associated with duties performed by boys and girls?
- 6. What factors contribute to lower enrolment in schools?
- 7. Between boys and girls who falls sick often? (Why?)
- 8. What would you like your son/daughter to be in future?

Questionnaire-domestic tasts

APPENDIX EIGHT

8. CREDENTIALS OF AN AFRICAN WOMAN



APPENDIX NINE

9. STORY LINE/SEASONAL CALENDER

(M) COCIETAR WILLSON STOS - 147013 LENKISEN PRIMINAY SCHOOL " MY HOWBAY" WHERE I worke up early in the morning I washed my face, and work my clother. Afterward I take my breakfast. After I had finished I open the gate to let Ceille out. Afterward I Collect the moderned required for pains carelle and Dip. Then I storted my fourney to bore hole ich erbout five kilomettes. After I finished to Dip I rake to forest to look for grass. During drought I migrated cattle to other LEC to lock for grass. Sometime I might remained a one look after Last and youngones vol good. I also milk buttle at morning and evening in lovik for donkey cut evening. At middley I ferened mer and collect fire wood for durself when I migrated hodiday like Canday I were to church , and that back to home at four past. always washed Clotherfor myself at Hurday, and look for pasture and water and charchole in the run season we got alot by problem such looking in water for animals. I always prevent ourhoine as. orriors from dangerous. planscalon are the most difficult one for my Bey for finding dopkey who lost at famine or drought alomestic animals - Doesing. - Duping Cettle 人生人物的 人名英格兰

MERESO TANYASI STOG [LMUKUTANI PRIMARY Sex (F) WHAT I DO AT HOME usually Make up at Gix thirty and in emorning. When I wake up I burshed my trace with a so. and clean water, and them their my mother pricting the Cour it it is not the day for school. After milking the cows I went to The kilching and it while sine The literest are near and Clean for USE. I Started Prepare the break fast torothe family Then 1501 andard graces so as to take the breaktast. After the breaktast time I wient to ejeta ameal brown from The Store cinc 1 St. Sucering The Compound fulner of Pomplete The house pork puent to lend hand a hand to my jather in the stramba for such labor es hiceding, alatering erros. Planting the rest and som After licheiped my father luent back to the KITCHEM and I Started prepare lunch for The January In the other acin ruen 18th collect fire wood for mying ther from near by firest. After collecting incressed in + 10 fecret mater for use at home in the evening I wen to drave tree prives back to home before the come come Some case applies to evening duries as I live to follow the time-table state (contentions us e no Line helping my belove parents. Talent to milk for comes in the evening and Atter lymighed, Hend of noind to my miller again : Cleaning the whensit and prepared The previs for Inc PUPAIRE Supper Alter Trut - I MENT 1510 Dailing son FOR BOTTE and THEN, I WENT DOWN for Sini sell unit the finite formen's book to bid. In the raining session it is very Conjustable altrough mile-going-on and on eye in his he When the birds of the air make civiave to the ar home anging their stuser and hope preceding 15 11sually the birtle for the mork to start of the raining Beason, Beneust 18 their many old win 1

Than disaction fages. The raining endreunt ares
including the time of Planting the Clops. This is
the Line Ethen 14sually being as busy as bee high

I prefer time as good season in our orea Initions I suring Sense And it raise good for the one made to grow healthing again and it is not for the mix caron deseases in This Season and a perior when they are getting enough veterinary for ".

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