

Traditional Art and the Individual: An ethnographic
investigation of Turkana Kitchen art.

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and it has not been presented for a degree in another university

Lydia Gatundu

Date IQ lit j I 0

Sign 

This thesis has been submitted with my approval as the university supervisor

Dr. Stevie M. Nangendo

Date i S 11 (J I O)

Sign 

Dedication

To my family

Thank you for your tolerance, encouragement and support.

Nashukuru sana kwani damn ni nzito kuliko maji.

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Abstract

This thesis presents findings of a study entitled 'Traditional Art and the Individual: An ethnographic investigation of Turkana kitchen art.' The study was done in Turkana North District in northwestern Kenya.

The main objective of the study was to explore the role of the individual in traditional kitchen art in Turkana. There were three specific objectives; to investigate the extent to which traditional Turkana kitchen art is an individual activity, to examine if there are any deviations in the standard style of Turkana kitchen art and to establish the extrinsic values in traditional Turkana kitchen art by the degree of ingenuity and innovation. The study was carried out among female artists. This was done during the month of April 2008.

The study was qualitative and descriptive. Interviews and observation were the methods used for data collection. Non-probability techniques of purposive and snowball sampling were used. Information from questionnaires was subjected to quantitative analysis using descriptive statistics. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for analysis. The qualitative and descriptive information from key informant interviews were incorporated into the findings.

The study was guided by the theory of individualism. Although selective application of Eurocentric definitions on traditional African art has tended to deprive African art of its aesthetic principles, an individualistic approach allowed an open approach to traditional art. The study findings indicated that the artists tended to enjoy the freedom to deviate from standard style and create beautiful items driven not by tradition, standards or community but by their own personal idiosyncrasies.

The study recommends that the findings be used as a tool or reference by researchers towards a more critical approach to African art and encourages independent thought on the role of the individual in traditional African art.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1 Background information

Many cultures of the world lack terms that can be translated easily as 'art'. Yet even without a word for art, people everywhere do associate an aesthetic experience - a sense of beauty, appreciation, harmony, pleasure - with sounds, patterns, objects, and events that have certain qualities. Art can be defined as a way of an individual expressing oneself using forms of creativity. These manifestations of an individual's creativity can be observed in activities such as visual arts, literature, music and theatre arts. Visual arts include mainly paintings and sculptures. Significant in this study was the sculptural kitchen objects of the Turkana women.

Social factors are the background or context within which art is produced and define the role of the individual in art. These factors include culture and traditions, influences of other cultures, and the environment in which artists find themselves. Art produced during the same period by different artists tends to conform to a standard style and may look the same in terms of media, technique and subject matter. For instance, in the west, the Cubist period (1907 - 1914) that instigated the idea of abstraction, was the most influential in the history of modern art (Read 1986).

Influences, however, whether from the public audience or from fellow artists do not mean that an artist has no independent thought, but rather that the artist uses his or her ingenuity to make selective judgments on what to incorporate in the work for best results, thereby, portraying individualism. The same applies to traditional art activities in Africa. The community participated through comments and guidance but the final initiative was the artist's. Even kings, respected the artist's decisions (Kasfir 1985).

Traditional African art is rich in form and decoration. Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, the word for art, *ona*, encompasses the designs made on objects, the art objects themselves, and the profession of such patterns and works (Adepegba 1991). It is within this context that this study made an ethnographic investigation of traditional Turkana kitchen art.

The women of the nomadic people of Turkana in northwest Kenya have a tradition of producing kitchen items that they decorate, use, and display in their homes. Kitchen objects are not new to ethnographic, anthropological and art history studies (Chadwick 2007; Schmitt 2002; Agberia 1996; Udo 1996; Barley 1994; Barbour and Wandibba 1989; Newman 1974; Glenn 1960) and have for a long time been appreciated as non-figurative art focusing mostly on functional and domestic uses.

1.2 Problem statement

Some studies have tended to focus more on the social nature and context of traditional African art than on individuals who create this art. Mazrui and Digolo (1990), in their textbook for primary art education in Kenya, tell us that African art is always collectively produced, always serves a religious, ritual or functional service and was never produced purely for beauty. In this context, Mazrui and Digolo resonate Vatter (1926) who points out that the African artist's role is not, as it has generally been in modern Europe, to express his or her own personality, but rather to serve the community.

This paradigm based on Eurocentric definitions of art articulates the intrinsic values of African art while, to some extent, ignores the extrinsic values, leading to an inadequate or inappropriate interpretation of African art and, although some scholars and artists have challenged it (Ebeigbe 2004; Willett 1994; Okpewho 1977; Cole 1974), the paradigm continues to prevail.

East Africa has a rich well-established tradition of non-figurative art - for a long time not considered art by the west (Lagat and Hudson 2006). African art objects have been regarded as objects of culture that were communally manufactured (Kasfir 1985).

The problem then arises since selective application of Eurocentric definitions not only deprives traditional African art of the aesthetic principles on which it was produced but also implies that the traditional artist lacks ingenuity and innovative skills. Furthermore, because this perception is perpetuated through the Kenyan art education book cited above, it discourages independent thought on the role of the individual in traditional art.

This means that a gap in knowledge exists in regard to the role of the individual in traditional art.

1.3 Research questions

1. Can the individual be discerned in traditional Turkana kitchen art?
2. Are there observable deviations from the standard style?
3. Does Turkana kitchen art have any extrinsic values?

1.4 Study Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

To explore the role of the individual in traditional kitchen art in Turkana.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the extent to which traditional Turkana kitchen art is an individual activity.
2. To examine if there are any deviations in the standard style of Turkana kitchen art.
3. To establish the extrinsic values in traditional Turkana kitchen art by the degree of ingenuity and innovation.

1.5 Rationale

If a meaningful understanding and appreciation of the creative objectification of a people is to be achieved, then, as Ebeigbe (2004) observes, a correct interpretation of the intention of the artist for his or her work is necessary. African art can only be clearly understood if the role of the individual and not just that of the art object is properly understood and documented.

Although the study acknowledged that African societies are community-oriented, it gave credence to the artist's ingenuity and innovation by discrediting total collectivism, holism

and communalism in the production of art. It is, therefore, hoped that the findings from this study will encourage students of art to have independent thought on the role of the individual in traditional art.

In addition, analysis of data indicates that deviations in art style can only be evident when analyzing individual components of the art form other than the whole system of beliefs attached to the art form. It is hoped that these findings will be used as a tool or reference by researchers towards a more critical approach to African art.

The study also sought to provoke new questions in the ethnographic record of traditional African art, particularly on the role of the individual and it is hoped that this information will be used to contribute to a change in set perceptions towards African art and correct misconceptions of traditional African art by western scholars.

1.6 Scope

This study was concerned with the non-figurative art of the Turkana of northern Kenya. The main area of interest was the traditional kitchen art of Turkana women. The research examined the extent to which the artist expresses her own personality in her work using the variables ingenuity and innovation.

1.7 Limitations

In the study non-probability sampling methods of purposive and snowball sampling were used. The disadvantage of these techniques is that studies based on them have a very low external validity and one cannot generalize beyond their sample (Bernard 2000). But when backed up by ethnographic data, such as this study did, these sampling techniques are often highly credible.

In the case where an interpreter was required, this might have affected reliability and validity of the results. However, art being a practical and visual activity, it was possible, to some extent, to make clarifications through observation, thereby, minimizing errors.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

There is no debate that African art is recognized and respected internationally. However, there are questions concerning the degree to which the African artist was and is free to invent. In this chapter the study seeks answers to these questions by making critical views on the role of the individual in art production.

2.2. Individual or communal?

Is traditional African art a collective, tribal phenomenon rather than a vehicle for individual expression? Willets (1994) speaks of Vatter's assertion in 1926 that the African artist is anonymous, and how that idea was unquestioningly accepted, and is probably responsible for the fact that for a long time no one bothered to ask names of African artists.

As if to challenge Vatter, another early scholar, Boas (1927), postulated that man (whatever his culture) has an "inborn impulse to shape creatively". However, we see in Kasfir's (1985) study of the Tiv of Nigeria, that it takes time to change set minds:

Despite the early insights of Boas (1927:155) and his followers concerning artistic invention in oral cultures, the accepted picture until recently was of the African as slave to tradition. He couldn't innovate because the pressures of tradition and patronage forbade it. Since that time numerous field researchers have shown that invention can and does occur when the conditions are favourable (Kasfir 1985:25).

These favourable conditions would encompass the process that involves acquisition and practice of artistic skills. Kasfir (1985) states that this happens through enculturation in two ways, observation and imitation:

I will speak of them here in the present tense because in many cases they are still being followed, even though Western-style art education has become a part of formal schooling and, along with the new forms of patronage, produces feedback into the older methods of training. The first of these is informal learning under the broader heading of enculturation - the most important but least easily describable of the processes that compromise the training of an artist. This breaks down into active and

passive enculturation, corresponding roughly to participation in, and observation of aesthetic behavior...those who showed unusual ability gained recognition from the community as they grew older (Kasfir 1985:25).

Most artists in all cultures of the world go through some level of apprentice, be it from school, traditional professionals, talented relatives or friends. For example, in Kasfir's study not everybody will show unusual ability and only those who are especially talented will gain recognition as artists. Ultimately then, in the end art is an individual endeavour.

Rubin (1984) notes that his experience with Nigerian (tribal) art confirms, for him, the assumption that good art is made only by gifted individuals. He asserts that he is, in fact, struck by the differences rather than the similarities between tribal pieces of the same style.

In a later study of Nigerian art, Rubin (1985) states that for the most part, instruction was conducted in late childhood and early adolescence and was not systematic, consisting rather of observation and guided 'helping out.' He then goes on to quote that, "The vast majority of male artists and craftsmen-carvers, brasscasters and weavers, learnt from male relatives, typically their fathers, grandfathers, or elder brothers, although a few claim to have learnt on their own. Female weavers, potters and calabash decorators learnt from their mothers or sisters" (Rubin 1985:11).

Looking at Kasfir (1985) and Rubin (1985), it would seem then that art, in the early stages of learning, was an apprenticeship but as people matured in age some dropped the practice while others specialized. Consequently, recognized specialists may not be many:

Much more common is the assumption that any man can carve ...this is not true of mask or figure carving, but holds for the frequently carved accessories such as walking sticks and stools. I spent many days in 1977 and 1978 trying to find Tiv specialist carvers at work, and although I was constantly being told of X who lived in the vicinity, I would usually discover, after many hours of walking through the bush to his compound,

that he had been dead for several years, had moved to another area, or had gone on a long journey and had not returned. Eventually I was able to document the work of one elderly specialist carver named Aba of Nagi (Kasfir 1985:27).

Although African artists did not author their art objects, which made it difficult for Western researchers to trace an object to its maker, many artists were well known by their own people. Walker (1998) tells us that Olowe of Ise (ca. 1875 - ca. 1938) like many 'anonymous' African artists was well known in his hometown and beyond, the number of his commissions attesting to the fact that his talent was greatly appreciated by his own people. His patrons, Yoruba rulers and wealthy individuals who commissioned architectural sculptures and other objects, resided in several towns - including Ikere, Akure, Owo, Ogbagi and Idanre - within a sixty mile radius of Ise in the Ekiti region of Nigeria.

Olowe of Ise is proof that African art was made by individuals who were well known within, and often beyond, the towns where they lived and worked. His oeuvre demonstrates that an individual hand can be identified within the ethnic or regional style of a cultural group if there are complementary oral and written documents about the artist and *in situ* photography of his work (Walker 1998:47).

To further emphasize the individual hand in art, research on pottery among the Akamba (Barbour and Wandibba 1989) denotes decoration as a mark of identity.

The decoration also serves to identify the work of individual potters as some make wide dots and others narrow ones. Some slant their dots and cord impressions to the left and others to the right. Others produce their own personal marks (Barbour and Wandibba 1989:87).

According to Barbour and Wandibba, typical Kamba pottery is undecorated, but the potters incise their personal marks (Figure 2.1) on the necks of pots usually in two or four places. These marks were originally clan marks which have been handed down over many generations.

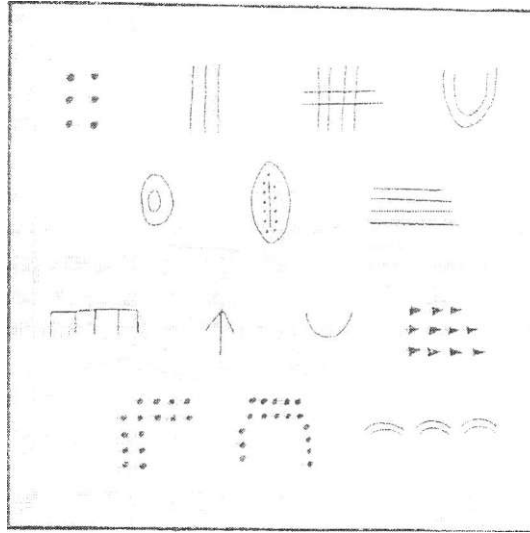


Figure 2.1: Kamba potters' mark
 Source: Barbour and Wandibba (1998:91)

The assertion is that the mark is handed on from a woman potter to her daughter, or any other woman whom she has taught. When the daughter marries into another clan, she retains the mark of her instructor but may vary the spacing of the lines. A potter considers that the use of her mark, unchanged for many generations, will ensure that her pots are always sound and will bring good luck to her work.

The art object's location in a web of connections may be more significant than its identity as part of the artist's oeuvre but this communal ownership does not erase the markings of individualism that can be observed in the style of each artist.

Vogel's (1999) research on African artists enables us to understand the communal limits of African art objects shedding light on the role of the individual artist. Vogel explains that more durably and tangibly, African art objects will be attached to a known private owner or to a communal group or shrine which maintains the work's essential identity:

Field studies stress that it is relatively easy to discover many other names associated with the art object: the name of the spirit or god served by the work: the personal name of the sculptor: the name of the individual or group who owns or commissioned the piece; and above all, diviners, and priests who activate it. These people may be considered to be its makers, for they play key roles in making the object what it is (Vogel 1999:42).

2.3 Deviation and variability

Generalizing African art, as if this continent were a homogeneous unit, fails to describe the stylistic diversity found in most art-producing African cultures. This stylistic diversity portrays the innovative and ingenious qualities of individuals. Whereas every cultural group may define artistic standards or norms in its own terms, even within the same culture there are possibly dimensions of variability in art styles that would, according to Muller (1977), be recognized in the art of individuals.

Drawing from this it would make sense to say that the individual is prior to a cultural group, because the mind belongs to the individual as such, and acts of thought must be performed by individuals. Walker (1998) discusses the innovative style of Olowe of Ise considered by many Western art historians and art collectors to be the most important Yoruba artist of the twentieth century. He observes:

Olowe of Ise made the same kinds of objects as other Yoruba sculptors; figures, ritual masks, veranda posts, doors, containers, drums, *ayo* game boards, children's toys, and mirror cases. His carving style however set him apart. His skill and originality become evident when one compares one of his works with another within the same genre by a contemporaneous artist (Walker 1998:40).

And to provide an instructive contrast, Walker presents a door attributed to a well known but more conventional sculptor, Areogun of Osi-Ilorin (ca. 1880 - 1954), (see Figure 2.2 below).

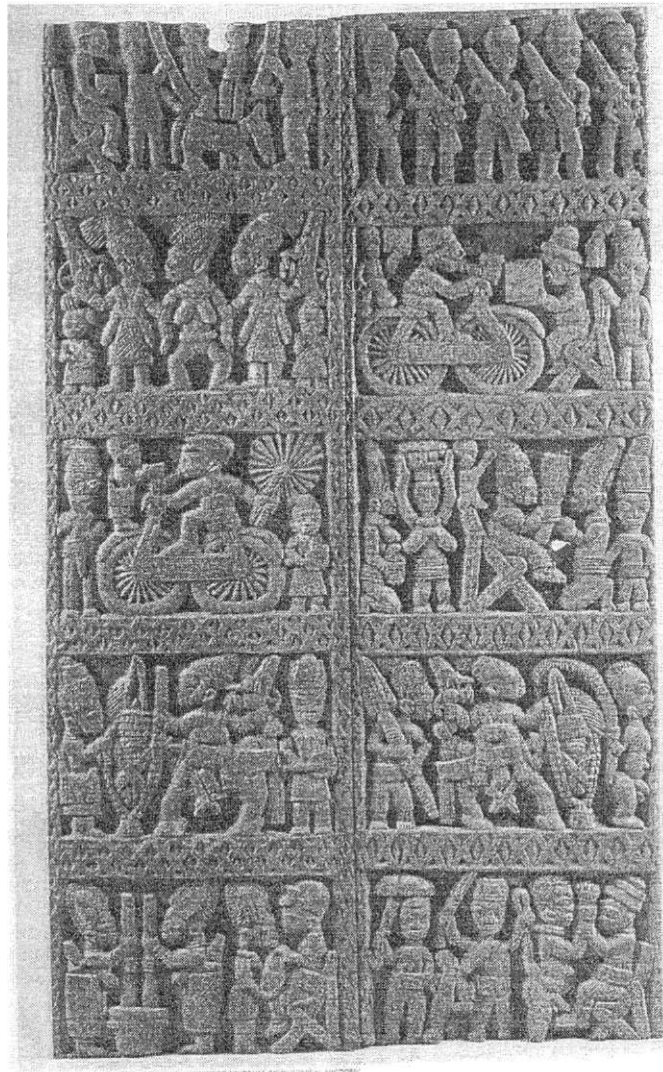
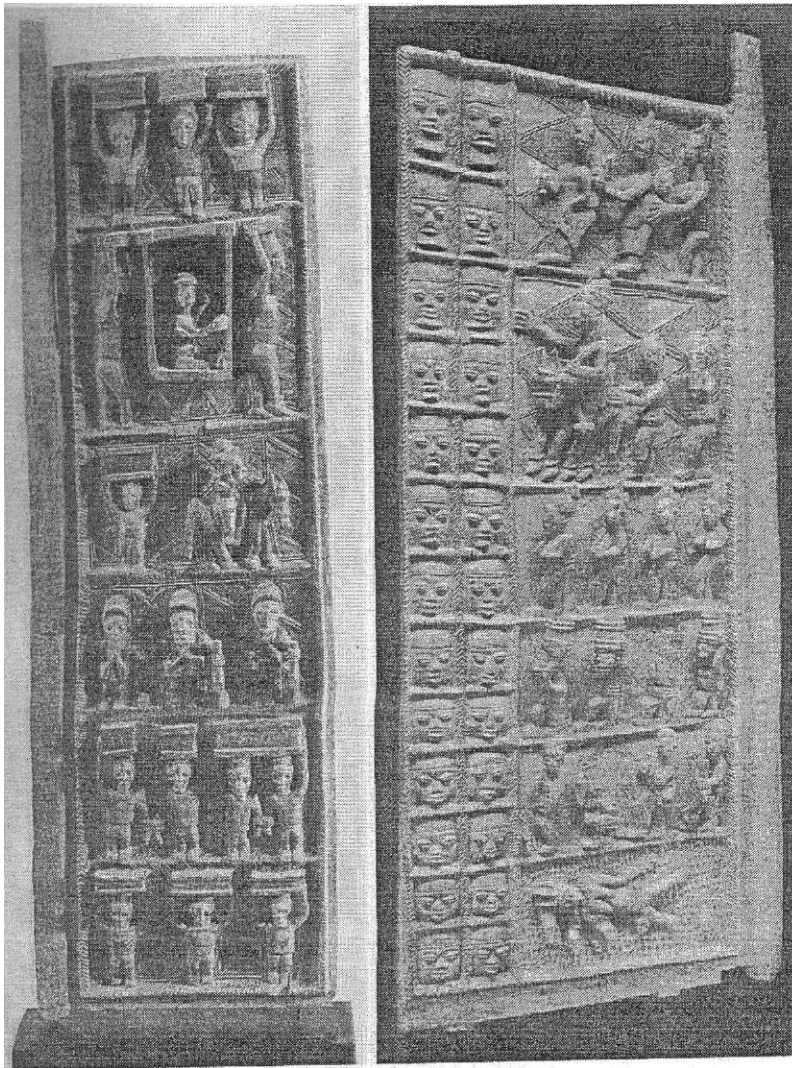


Figure 2.2: Door attributed to the Yoruba artist Areogun of Osi-Iloin. Wood.
Source: Walker (1998:40).

He then explains that while this example is composed of two panels of roughly the same width. Olowe's door for the Arinjale's palace at Ise departs from the standard with its combination of one very broad panel and a second narrow one (Figures. 2.3 and 2.4).



Left: Figure 2.3: The left door panel for the palace of the Arinjale of Ise by Olowe of Ise.
Source: Walker (1998:41).

Right: Figure 2.4: Right door panel.
Source: Walker (1998:41).

A profile view reveals a further difference (Figure. 2.5 below); Walker explains that whereas Areogun carved his figures in uniformly low relief, Olowe cut further into the wood and at various depths.

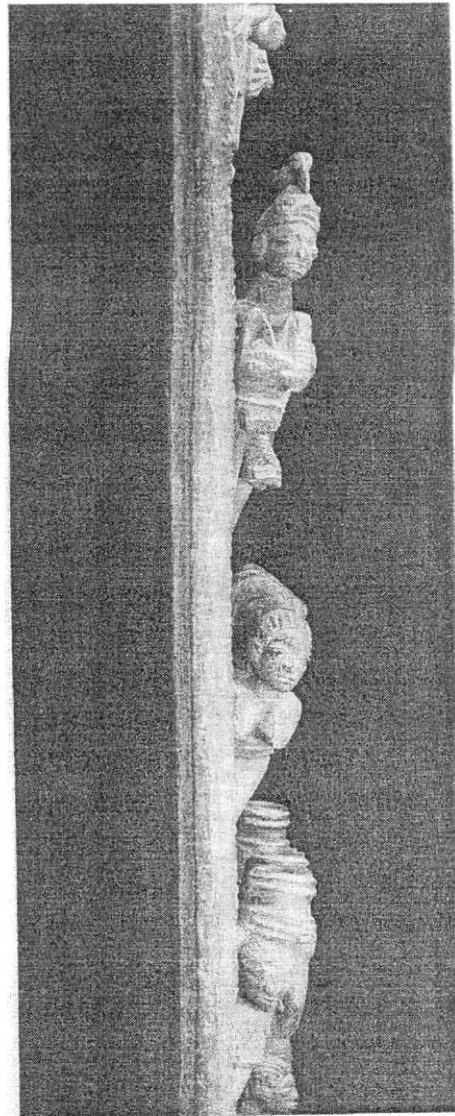


Figure 2.5: Side view (detail) of right door panel in Figure 2.3.
Source: Walker (1998:41).

Hill (1977) recognizes that though some deviations (personal styles) are conscious and teachable, 'much of inter-individual variation is almost certainly subconscious and hence cannot easily be taught or transmitted from person to person' (Hill 1977:2). This is what makes it possible to identify the works of individuals as opposed to works associated with small groups of some kind. Fagg (1982) reinforces Hill's observations by stating that the artist's personal mode of expression communicates itself instantaneously.

Hammer and Hammer (1986) describe their collaboration with William Fagg and other scholars of Yoruba art compiling a computer index of carving styles based on photographs of pieces found in hundreds of towns all over Yorubaland. and creating a stylistic syntax for the area. They note that distinguishing styles and making attributions are to a certain extent subjective but defend their findings by stating that their judgments are informed by comparison of hundreds of carvers and the study of more than 8,000 Yoruba objects. These include 150 *ibeji* in the British Museum, over 4,500 examples from the National Museum in Lagos, and approximately 2,000 photographs in the Kenneth C. Murray Archives of the National Museum. They begin by stating:

It would be almost impossible to define the style of each carver, metal caster, beadworker, potter, or blacksmith from the vast array of objects available for study. However, as African art study has become increasingly specialized, scholars and collectors have been able to define and catalogue many more individual sculptural styles, enabling us to identify carving centers, discern generational carving compounds, and distinguish between master and apprentice carvers (Hammer and Hammer 1986:70).

Muller (1977) goes on to elaborate how dimensions of variability can be distinguished in different artists. Like Hammer and Hammer (1986) Muller states that there will always be some subjective judgment involved, however, 'one goal must be to reduce subjectivity as much as possible'. He says that one way out of the morass of difficulties is to distinguish dimensions of variability in technique:

*Technique** is simply the actual behaviour in the execution of the artifact. The major source of variation useful for identification of individuals on this level is difference in motor habit on the level used by handwriting experts to identify a person's 'hand'. Technical or motor-habit differences are probably the quickest way to identify the individual (Muller 1977:49).

*Technique**: Italicized in original text

The most distinguishing variables in individual motor habit that can be detected even in standard styles are angles, ratios of distance and thickness measures to one another, line and space width and the frequency and amplitude measures in shapes applied by the artist. At a glance, art produced by different artists using standard style may look the same but a closer look at these variables reveals the differences in individual motor habit. An example can be observed on the Tijuana ceramic vessels below (Figure 2.6).

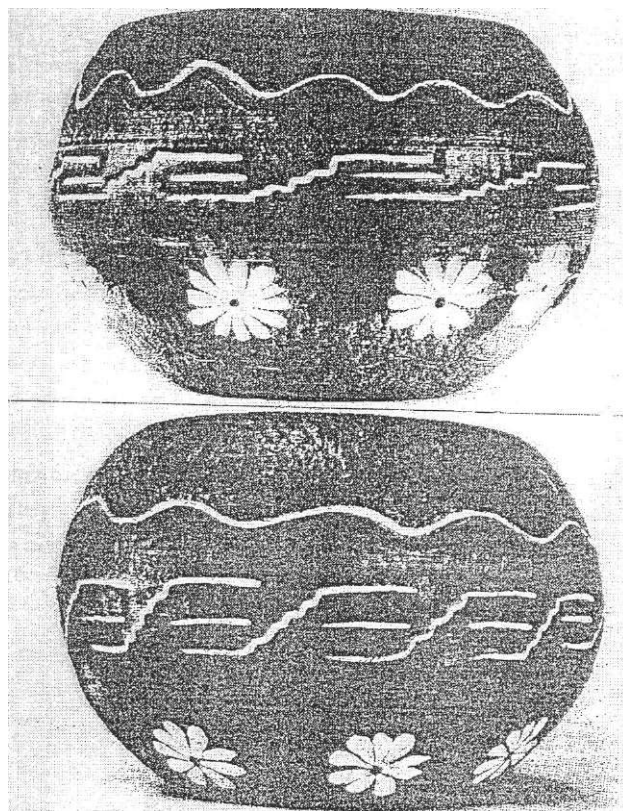


Figure 2.6: Tijuana ceramic vessels.
Source: Hill (1978:248).

Note the minute differences in execution on the Tijuana ceramic vessels in Figure 2.6. Three design elements are visible: vertical hatching on rim, 'S with staircase' above the flower design and 'wavy line with dots' below the hatched rim. The vessels were painted by different individuals.

As much as technique can be used to distinguish variables in individual motor habit, technique alone can be limited in its *ability to tell us* about the relationship of the

individuals to one another. Muller stresses that it is often necessary to go beyond technical distinctions to distinctions relating to form and structure. Though closely related to technique, form is relatively objective and observable, being simply the shape and morphology of the artifact.

A good example of the distinction between technique and form is in the two methods of sculpture, additive and subtractive. Additive refers to the addition of material until the desired shape is achieved as in pottery, and subtractive refers to the removal of material until the desired shape is achieved as in carving - the shapes of the objects represented exemplify form.

Artists may tend to fall back onto habitual or conventional patterns when working on items they consider to be unimportant, the ears, for example. By looking at the distinct signs of the master's hand, Hammer and Hammer (1986) were able to analyze Olowe's style and use the findings to attribute several other carvings to him. However, understandably, as useful as technique and form may be in distinguishing the art of individuals, in certain cases one may need to use other methods depending on the type of art. For instance, in repetitive patterns variation may be sought in the number of times an individual repeats a particular symbol. However, this would require a process of first studying the symbols so as to be able to recognize them in a pattern of motifs.

Jefferson (1974) observes that in Africa not many historians, anthropologists and collectors have explored the meaning or importance of the various symbolic designs and devices used by individuals in their art. According to Ebeigbe (2004), this undeniably is one of the factors implicated in cases of inadequate or inappropriate interpretation of African art.

2.4 Traditional art for whose sake?

It is only through his or her ingenuity and innovation that an artist can experience a level of individualism as regards talent and style, but apart from the intrinsic values of traditional African art, are there any extrinsic values? Willets (1994) gives an insight

into the extrinsic value of art by discussing what he terms as 'art for art's sake' in western art:

In Western society, when art critics speak of 'art for art's sake', they mean that the artist produces an object which is valued for itself, which attempts neither to instruct nor to edify, a product in which the artist is concerned exclusively with the solution of artistic problems of composition, colour or form. The content of the work of art is secondary to these considerations. The final product, however, does have an acquired social function - it may be used to decorate a room or serve as a status symbol. Now this academic attitude to art appears to be of quite recent origin. At one time all European art had a purpose - whether to instruct the faithful, to edify the devout, or to commemorate the noble... (Willems 1994:153).

In France, Florisoone (1938) states that art of the Middle Ages was an expression of a community, a corporation, a region, a town or a family more than an individual.

The key-note of the Middle Ages was anonymity, union; today we should call it collectivism. It was not thought possible at that time, for man to stand aside from the recognized and established order. Art, in particular, was produced by the people, for the people... But towards the end of the fifteenth century came the adventures of philosophy, science and discovery, men like Luther, Copernicus, and Christopher Columbus, and under their repeated blows the old order of things began to crumble. That unit of community which man had been found itself suddenly alone, with freewill as its only equipment and freedom to do as it liked as its sole weapon... in this way it was possible for the art of the Renaissance to appear, rising out of the ruins of medieval structure (Florisoone 1938:270).

Factually, traditional African art has its social purposes. The patterns used to decorate pottery tend to frequently be used to mark the human body, so that pottery becomes related to fundamental issues of life, death and social transformation. This does not mean, however, that there is no room for the artist to express his or her own personality.

Although the art form is made for a social purpose, its morphology regarding arrangement of elements may be purely for beauty. If, for instance, an artist making a beaded necklace is questioned as why they have stringed blue beads below red ones and not the other way around, he or she might well answer that it is because they felt like it. Not every creative move made by an artist will have a social purpose. While the form and structure may be conventional, the technique applied could be for its own sake.

Ebeigbe (2004) observes this when he says that choices made by the craftsmen of Benin regarding the subject matter, media, technique, and utilization of the art forms produced are determined by many factors, paramount amongst which are, their culture and traditions, influences of other cultures, the environment in which they find themselves, as well as the personal idiosyncrasies of the individual artists.

An example is a popular sculpture in Benin known as the Greedy Hunter (Figure 2.7 below). It is a sculpture of a man who had an elephant on his head and still was frantically searching for a cricket, and by so doing lost his life. Gardner (1948) describes this popular sculpture as having the characteristics of traditional African sculpture, which he says is constructed like a building of solid blocks where the carver uses his ingenuity to create and actualize his vision. According to Gardner, African sculpture, whether rendered in a stylized naturalism or total abstraction is substantial and has massive reality.

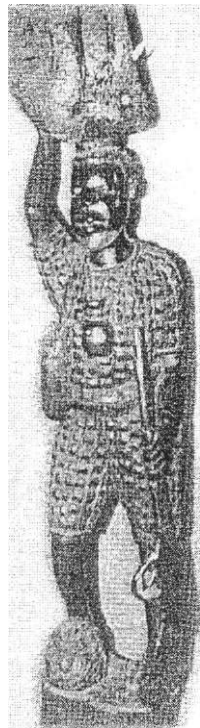


Figure 2.7: The greedy hunter.
Source: Egwali (2004:120)

The Greedy Hunter is popular with carvers and even if it is recognizable as African in its style, this art style shows changes. According to Egwali (2004) carvers responded to new kinds of imagery that became common throughout the 19th and 20th centuries as interaction with Europeans increased. One important change was a move from the historic tripartite method of rendering the human body so that the head, trunk, and legs were treated as equal in proportion to a method using a more naturalistic set of proportions. This represented a considerable innovation in relation to the style used by carvers in the 18th centuries.

Cole (1974) observes that much of the personal decoration of people in Northern Kenya is an aesthetic one:

Hours upon hours are occupied in preparing skin garments, in stringing and sewing beads, in shaving and dressing the hair...the uncluttered life of pastoralists releases them for such pursuits, which each sex carries on separately under its "own tree" , sometimes for many hours at a stretch in the heat of the day. The groups sing and gossip, banter and tease while this low-key self-decoration proceeds. These sessions have the character of pleasant pastimes, where unhurried decorative processes serve as ends in themselves and craftsmanship is enjoyed for its own sake (Cole 1974:17).

For instance, in the kitchen art made by women in traditional Turkana societies in Africa, the creator may be as equally interested in the particular ritual or ceremonial purpose for which the artwork was made as in the intricacy of form, meticulous blending of colours, pattern flow and general visual beauty of the artwork.

2.5 Conclusion

The most interesting and appropriate way to conclude this review is an excerpt from Visona (1985), which brings out the innate nature of artistic ability. She observes that universally, not excluding Africa, many cultures attribute extraordinary powers to artists, particularly to talented men who are believed to have been able to paint or sculpt marvelous works without prior training. She asserts:

The lack of workshops among the Lagoon peoples is directly related to their belief that artistic talent is an innate gift bestowed upon a man by an ancestor, a spirit, or by God (Visonal 1985:69).

While the idea of being bestowed artistic talent by God can be used to elaborate the notion of art being an individualized and revered activity, it is also a paradox in that by connecting art heavily with religion it deprives the individual of personal expression.

There is much literature on African art with complementing and contradicting views regarding the role of the individual. In Kenya, however, no investigation has been done concerning the degree to which the individual artist expresses his or her own personality. This research was designed to answer this question.

2.6 Theoretical framework

This research was guided by the theory of individualism. Individualism is used to describe a moral, political, or social outlook that stresses human independence. According to Encarta (1998) the doctrine of individualism in political and economic philosophy was promulgated in the 18th century by such social theorists as philosopher Thomas Hobbes and Adam Smith. They stated that society is an artificial device, existing only for the sake of its members as individuals, and properly judged according to criteria established by them as individuals.

Another well known adherent of individualism is Karl Popper. According to Popper (1957), methodological individualism is the 'postulate' or 'unassailable doctrine' that we must understand and use to explain all social phenomena in terms of individuals, out of their aims, beliefs, attitudes, expectations, actions, and interactions.

This resonates well with this study as it set out to explore the role of the individual in traditional Kitchen art in Turkana. It is by achieving a meaningful understanding and appreciation of the individual creativity of the artists that a correct interpretation of the intention of the artist can be made.

Vogel (1999) used an individualistic approach in her field research on artists, collecting **evidence** of individual creativity and local aesthetic criteria. She tells us that during the 1970s scholars and curators of African art found it necessary to establish that this art had **the basic** qualities of other fully accepted art traditions, none more prestigious than **European art** of the Renaissance and later periods. Vogel (1999) also says that like those **scholars and** curators, she and her colleagues were eager to contradict the stereotype of an **art that emanated** almost unconsciously from a collective culture, anonymous and devoid of history - a notion of sub-Saharan Africa that had left it outside the history of art to **which art museums** and art history departments were dedicated. She states:

Above all it was important to establish the work of art as an autonomous object of aesthetic contemplation and the artist as a creative individual with total control of his tools and materials... One of my early exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum was 'The Buli Master: An African Artist of the 19th Century,' which named and celebrated an individual hand in 1980 (Vogel 1999:44).

Stack (1992) uses an individualistic approach to study the effect of divorce on suicide in Finland. He concluded that a master variable, individualism, is responsible for the increase in Finnish suicides. By conducting an analysis that combined religious and domestic individualism into the principle component, Stack (1992) found that the greater the individualism the greater the suicide rate.

2.7 Relevance of the theory to this study

An individualistic approach allows an open approach to traditional art in Kenya. This is because it enabled me to perceive traditional art independently of tradition, religion, or culture. It helped me clarify individualism in traditional Turkana art by focusing on the artist and the personal idiosyncrasies exerted in the art form as opposed to focusing on the morphology of the art form and the purposes for which it was made.

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2.8 Assumptions

Drawing from the theoretical framework, the study made the following assumptions:

1. Traditional Turkana kitchen art is dictated by an individual's personal idiosyncrasies.
2. Individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art can be observed by the extent of deviation from the standard style.
3. Individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art is determined by extrinsic values.

2.9 Definition of key terms

Traditional art: This refers to long-established ways of doing art that have been handed down from generation to generation.

Deviation: A change or difference from established practices.

Personal Idiosyncrasies: This is depicted by the unconventional or unusual techniques used by an artist.

Individual: This refers to being considered separately from other people or things in the same group.

Individualism: This refers to a personal peculiarity or trait in the artist's style that portrays independence rather than collective thought as seen in standard style.

Traditional Turkana kitchen art: This is a long established way of producing Turkana utility and decorative items that are made, used and stored by women in their kitchen.

African Art: The designs made on objects, the art objects themselves, and the profession of such patterns and works.

Non-figurative art: This is art that is not aimed at depicting an object but is composed with a focus on internal structure and form.

Artifact: This is a work of art that has archaeological or ethnographic interest.

Ethnographic investigation: This refers to an inquiry into the traditional culture of a group.

Standard style: This refers to specific techniques that are common to artists belonging to a particular group and that in a way become a mark of identity.

Intrinsic: Physical, expected and identifiable aspect of an art work.

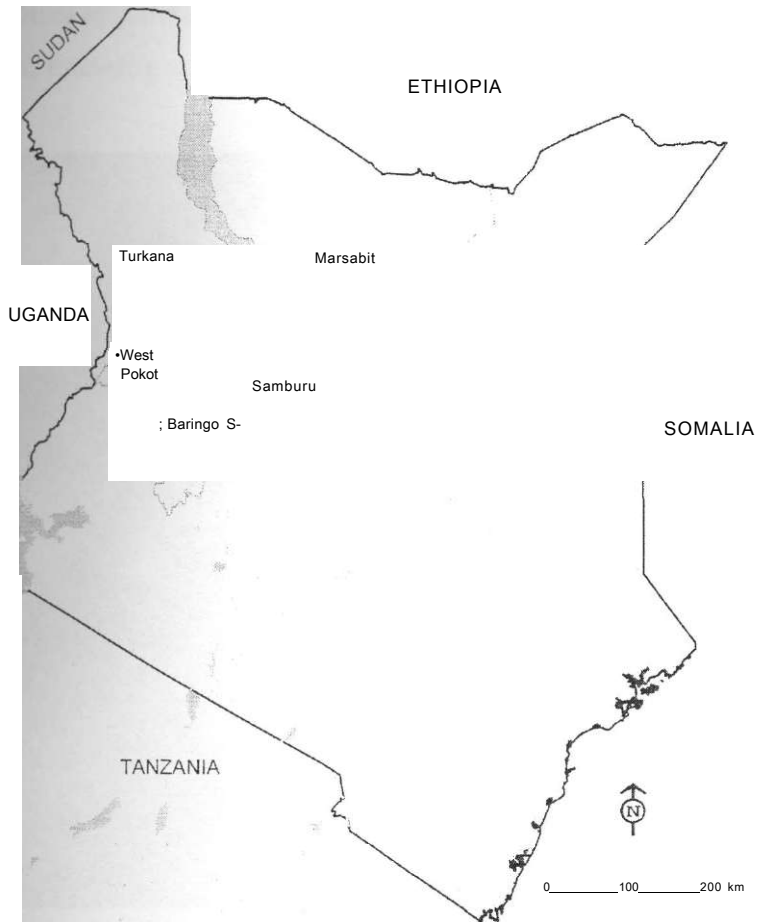
Extrinsic: Values of an art work that are based on the personal idiosyncrasies of the **individual** artist. These values are seen by the decorations on the object.

Variability: This refers to how differently one artist's style or technique is from another **artist and** from the standard style.

Communal: This refers to art that is produced by more than one person and is thus **owned** by all members of a group or community. It also denotes collectivism as in social **connectedness** in a culture.

Ingenuity: This refers to cleverness and originality.

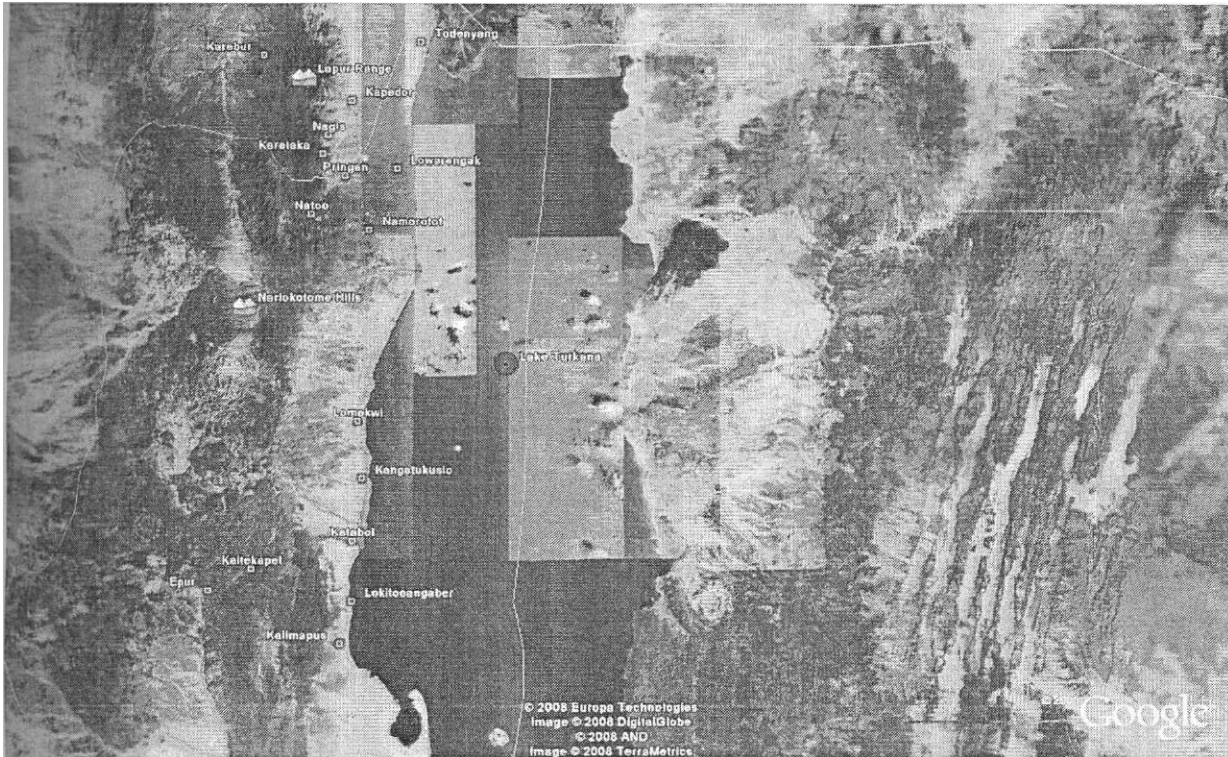
Innovation: This refers to introduction of a new way of doing something.



Map 3.2: Map of Turkana showing surrounding districts.
 Source: National Museums of Kenya (2008)

Turkana district is divided into three parts, south Turkana, central Turkana and north Turkana. According to the 1999 population census, in an area of 77,000 square kilometres there was an average population of 154,000 people (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004). The study was conducted in north Turkana. A national pre-census done in 2007 in North Turkana indicated that the study area consisting of 16 villages within an area of 180,000

square metres had 1,572 households. The villages were Kalimapus, Nattoo, Namorotot, Lokitoengaber, Nagis, Kaeriaka (Mlango), Kangatu kusio, Lomekwi, Kapendor, Pringan, Epur. Kaetiakapel, Ruk Ruk, Wanja Ndege, Todenyang and Sesame.



Map: 3.3: North Turkana: Villages in research site
Source: Google Map (2008)

3.3 Topography

3.3.1 Position and Climate

Turkana lies between latitudes $0^{\circ} 50$ and $5^{\circ} 30$ north and longitudes $34^{\circ} 0$ and $36^{\circ} 40$ east. The altitude ranges from 369 meters at the shores of Lake Turkana to the Koilongoi peak at 2,007 metres. The climate is hot and dry, with temperatures ranging between 23°C and 38°C and annual rainfall of between 19 mm and 498 mm (Oyaya 2005:39).

3.3.2 Physical environment and economic activities

The vegetation cover is poor with thorny bushes and thickets of plants that have adaptive mechanism to the environment. The poor sandy soils coupled with high temperatures do not promote meaningful agricultural activities. Turkana is served by three water features, Lake Turkana, and rivers Turkwel and Kerio. There is small-scale fishing on the lake as an economic activity.

3.3.3 The people

The Turkana people are also the most mobile groups amongst Kenya's pastoralists. They call their territory *Eturkan* - 'Turkana land.' Barrett (1998) observes that these people create their own identity and that of their animals by branding or imposing marks (*ngimacarin*) on their bodies. Thus, a man is recognizable by the ritual marks that are made in an orderly manner by a specialist on his body. In addition, the sticks and headrests carried by the men as well as their hairstyles help to identify them. On the other hand, married women, unmarried mothers and girls are distinguishable by the animal skins they wear and their methods of decoration. Females from different brands can be recognized by the different types of animal skins and various colours of clays they wear.

3.3.4 Kitchen art objects

The kitchen art of Turkana women is as rich a tradition as Turkana's widespread creation and use of headrests and the long-standing traditions of using rich and beautiful beadwork as markers of status.

3.4 Research design

This study was descriptive and qualitative. Interviews and observation were the methods used for data collection. Non-probability techniques of purposive and snowball sampling were used. Before including a village in the research, there was need to establish if kitchen artists were present. Out of 16 villages, only 4 villages (21%) indicated no artist present but were still included in the research since they had information on artists in other villages. The reason for there being no artists in some villages was ascribed to

urbanism. Some indication of urbanism was where traditional wooden containers had been replaced by commercial plastic and aluminum containers.

3.5 The population and unit of analysis

In this study, the population was the totality of women living in 16 villages in Turkana North District. The unit of analysis was the individual woman artist who produces kitchen art.

3.6 Sample and sampling procedure

3.6.1 Sample

Only female artists were included in the sample since the study was on kitchen art and in the Turkana setup, mostly women are expected to be involved in kitchen matters.

3.6.2 Sampling procedure

Nineteen questionnaires were administered in 16 villages. There were 15 respondents in total. Bernard (1994:97) states that if you are dealing with a relatively small population of people who are likely to be in contact with one another, then snowball sampling is an effective way to build an exhaustive sampling frame. In this case snowball sampling was appropriate because the populations were found to be small and difficult to access. The villages represented in the sample were not selected randomly. The study followed a mapped mobile clinic visitation chart used by the local clinic. The route is extensive because all the villages on the chart have been selected due to their central location which enables as many people as possible to access the mobile clinic facilities. The mobile clinic service made it possible to include as many women in the sample as possible.

3.7 Methods of data collection

3.7.1 Secondary data

The use of secondary data was to obtain a regional ethnographic history of the Turkana and their art. These data were collected from the Ethnography Department of the National

Museums of Kenya and from the collections at the University of Nairobi. Field collection sheets were studied. The tools used were observation sheets. Other secondary data used included theses, publications and books.

3.7.2 Primary data

Primary data were to obtain field information on traditional Turkana kitchen art and artists. This included:

1. Interview: A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect information on the individual artist's perceptions of individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art.

2. Observation: The instruments used were observation sheets and opinionnaires. The observation sheet was used to collect information on the extent of the artist's deviations from standard style. On the other hand, opinionnaires were used to collect information from academicians and art professionals, on their views on the role of the individual in traditional African art.

3. Group discuss: This consisted of discussions with a group of traditional Turkana kitchen artists. Only one group was created owing to the fact that the study was dealing with a relatively small population of people. The group consisted of 5 members. The members were drawn from different villages of the study area, ages and social standing to avoid homogeneity. The focus group was used to collect information on the feelings shared between various artists as regards individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art. An analysis of this information was used to make general statements about the population.

3.8 Methods of data analysis

A **code book** was developed for the findings and a branch of the Statistical Package for **Social Sciences (SPSS)** that deals with categories was used in the analysis of qualitative **data**.

3.9 Problems encountered and their solutions

I. Accessing the region: The road infrastructure in north Turkana district is dilapidated and transport in the interior regions is unreliable and expensive. There are no public service vehicles. It took three days to reach Lowarengak where I was based in north Turkana. The area is prone to flooding on the road and when it rained it made movement very difficult (Plate 3.1). The distances covered on every field visit were between eight and a hundred and fifty kilometres. This was solved by making prior arrangements so as to use the mobile clinic services. Contacts made with the Assumption Sisters during the pre-study were of great help. The sisters are based in Lowarengak and run a mobile clinic that covers central villages in the region.

Shops and places to stay are rare and far in between. It can be difficult to acquire foodstuff and accommodation. This was also solved by contacts made during the pre-study. Accommodation was provided by the Assumption Sisters.

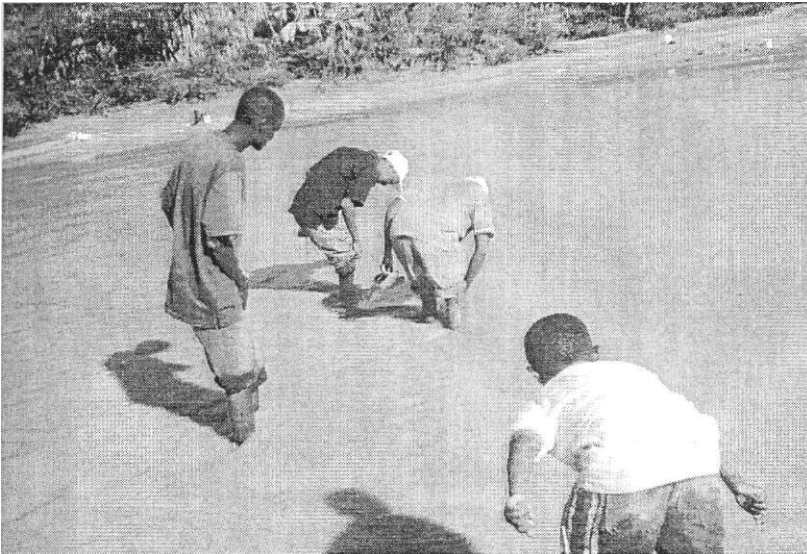


Plate 3.1: Testing the waters at the flooded Nakiria lagar

2. **Language barrier:** Most Turkana in the region do not speak Kiswahili. In cases where an artist did not understand Kiswahili or English a translator who understood Turkana language interpreted. Though the use of an interpreter can affect reliability of data, art being a practical activity made it possible to make clarifications through observation, reducing errors to some extent.
3. **Respondents unwilling to take part in the exercise.** To overcome this, the respondents were explained to that the research is for educational purposes and that none of this information will be used for negative purposes.

4. Ethical considerations

Permission was obtained from the Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies and from the ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology to obtain information from respondents and to inform respondents of the educational context of the study. Permission was obtained from the National Museums of Kenya to study data at the Ethnography Department.

Consent to participate in the research was sought from the respondents and privacy guaranteed. In cases where the respondents did not want to give their names or have their pictures taken, this right was respected. The data obtained will only be used for educational purposes. No information or recording was taken in hiding and no respondent was coerced to provide information.

CHAPTER FOUR

Traditional Art and the Individual

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the findings of this study. It describes data processing, analysis and presentation. A branch of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) that deals with categories was used in the analysis of qualitative data.

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of informants

4.2.1 Age of respondents

The respondents were between 30 and 60 years old and all were married. None of the respondents were able to state their specific date of birth. They instead described events that helped to indicate when they were born, such as: I was knee high at the start of the Second World War or I was born around the time when a plane crashed on the hills at Lokitaung during the war. It was not unusual to find two respondents married to the same man as the Turkana are a polygenius people.

4.2.2 Religion and education

The presence of the Catholic Church is conspicuous in Turkana as there was a church in the vicinity of all the villages in the study. Also the church has put up several projects such as churches, schools and dams in the study region. However, only 2 of the 15 respondents had christian names. The priest in charge at Lowrengak Catholic church that serves 10 villages said that he conducted only one mass on Sundays because attendance was low and there was no demand for a second mass. There is an indication that despite the fact that the church has been in Turkana since 1961 (Goodman 2007) few Turkana are converts of the religion. None of the respondents had formal education but according to one key informant the Turkana today tend to take their children to schools run by the mission because subsidies on meals and uniform are provided.

4.2.3 Socio-cultural characteristics

The Turkana retain much of their traditional life and attire and the women can be seen wearing bead jewellery and clothing made from animal skin. A Turkana woman's domestic duties include nurturing children, building a *manyatta* (house) for sleeping, building goat shelters and looking after goats, cooking and fetching water and the making of clothes and jewellery. It is only in her free time that a woman can explore her creative talents such as producing kitchen art. Most of the respondents (93.3%) said that they acquired their art education and skills through a close relative usually a mother. The girls help their mothers at home. On the other hand, the duties of Turkana men and boys include herding and tending of domestic animals. Sometimes the men are away from home for days in search of pasture for their cows, goats and donkeys.

4.3 Kitchen art among the Turkana

This study sought to establish the uniqueness of those who practise kitchen art. In this endeavour, an attempt was made to determine whether kitchen art was a communal or individual activity among the Turkana by first considering the number of artists in the villages. The results of the analysis indicated that the number of artists per village ranged from 0-2 and this suggested that kitchen art practitioners were rare (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Artists present in villages represented in the study

Village represented in survey	Population of women in the village	Number of artists found in the village
Nagis	88	2
Prinean	240	2
Kapendor	51	2
Natoo	57	1
Namorotot	50	1
Kalimapus	50	1
Lokitoengaber	77	0
Ruk Ruk	96	1
Wanja Ndege	480	1
Kaeriaka	62	1
Todonyang	38	0
Sesame	54	1
Kangatu Kusio	58	0
Lomekwi	58	0
Epur	51	1
Kaitekapel	62	1
Total	1572	15

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (2007)

Out of a total population of 1,572 women, only 15 artists were found in the study area. The distances between the villages ranged from 10 to 150 kms. There is an indication that artists are few and far between. Villages that were found to have two artists like Nagis, Pringan and Kapendor, tended to be farther away from the towns and in forested areas where art materials were readily accessible. The villages where no artists were found, Lokitoengaber, Todonyang and Lomekwi, are close to towns and to the lake. The women living in these villages had occupations such as fishing and tended not to practise art.

The uniqueness of kitchen art among the Turkana was further explored using the work environment characteristic as a measure of individual inputs.

Analysis of the data indicated that 47% of artists worked alone (Plate 4.1), 27% worked alone/group, while another 27% worked alone/relative (Fig. 4.1).

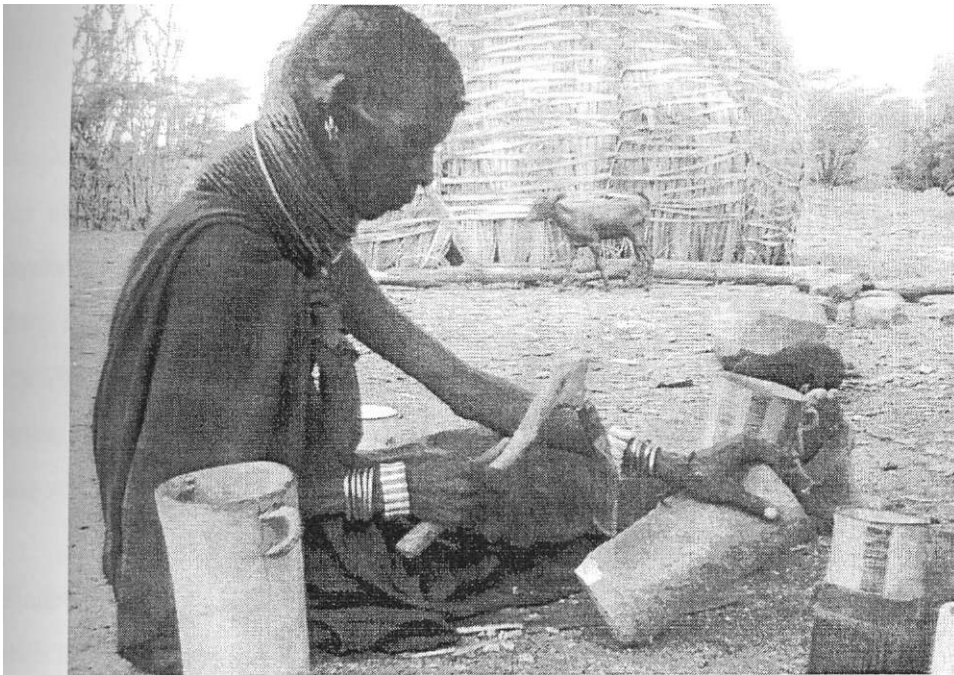


Plate 4.1: An artist works alone

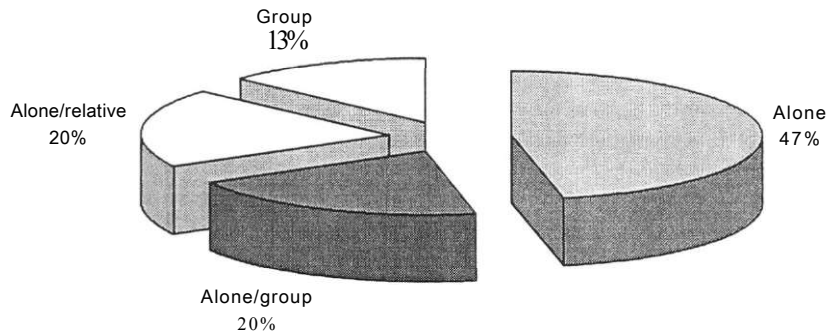
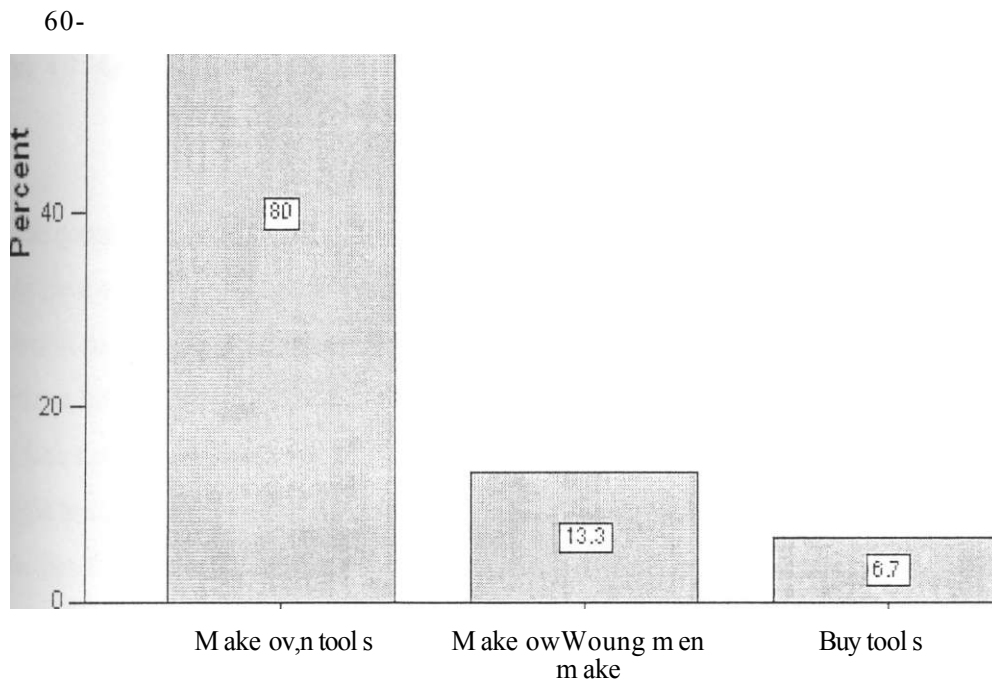


Figure 4.1: Turkana Kitchen Artists' Work Environments

Acquisition of kitchen art skill was considered in this study as a contributing factor to the uniqueness of the art. Analysis of the data indicated that most artists (93.3%) tended to learn the skill from their mothers. The artists elaborated that they learnt from their mothers through observation and imitation. The findings also showed that the 7% that did not answer to having learnt from the mother were represented by one artist, Losengei Erupe (not her real name), who explained that her mother died when she was very young.

Findings from the focus group discussions indicated that traditionally mothers take their daughters along when they⁷ go to fetch wood for sculpturing, then sit together and sculpt. When they see the goats coming home, they bury the unfinished wooden artwork under the sand so that it does not dry out and then go home to do domestic chores. In the morning they retrieve the wood from the soil and continue sculpturing. *Ekuruchanait (Delonix elata)*, the preferred sculpturing wood, is a very hard wood and if it dries one cannot sculpt it.

The source of tools was in this study considered a determinant of individualism because artists who make their own tools tend to fashion their tools according to the way they handle them while working. The findings (Figure 4.2) indicate that most artists (80%) tend to make their own tools (see also plate 4.2). Only a few (13.3%) sought help from young men who are the artists' sons. Even fewer artists (6.7%) bought their tools. It was found that those artists who bought their tools live close to town centres and are far from tool making materials.



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Figure 4.2: Source of Tools

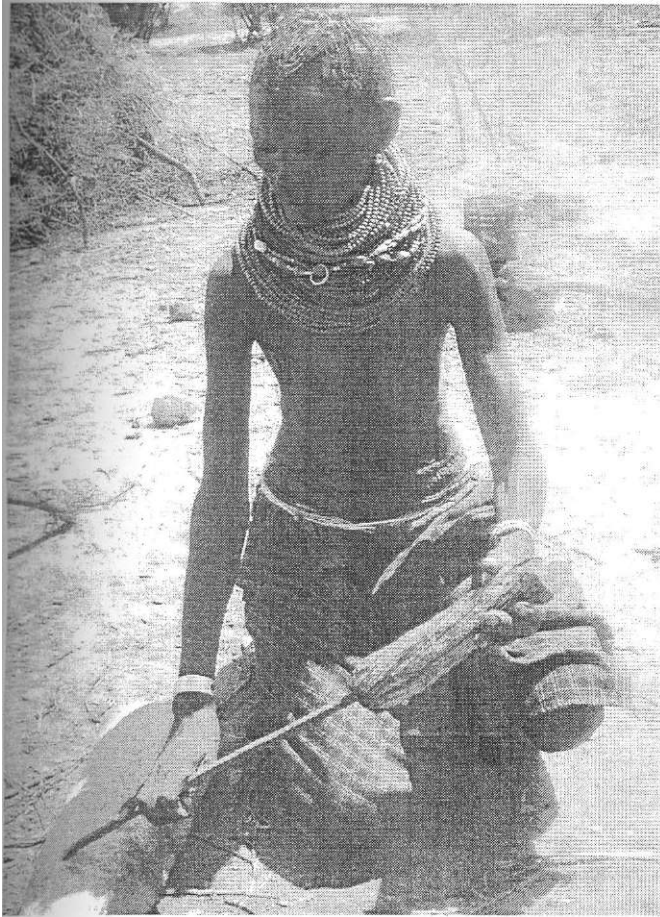


Plate 4.2: Artists tend to make their own tools.

It was considered important in this study to find out how many artists sell their art so as to have a measure of the commercialization of Turkana kitchen art, 53.33% of the artists in the study said they do not sell their art. This was seen as an indication that Turkana kitchen art tends not to be produced for commercial purposes. This enhances the factor of uniqueness because there is minimal mass production and thus few people tend to own work that looks physically the same. The focus group text analysis indicates that it is expected that every woman, whether artist or not, should have items of kitchen art in her home. Those who cannot make inherit the kitchen art from their mothers and female relatives. Those who sold, like Mary Losengai (not her real name), said they could hardly say they have a selling business because the customers consist of the rare tourists visiting Turkana and missionaries working in the area.

Individuality of skills was explored farther by an analysis of who buys kitchen art. The findings indicate that women who cannot (do not possess the skill) make kitchen art constitute the largest number of buyers (57.1%). This is followed by 14.3% fellow-women and foreigners, 7.1% of friends and neighbours and 7.1% of women who do not (even if they possess the skill) make kitchen art (see Figure 4.3).

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*1 FeMoiv women/Foreigners I Women who do not make
Women who cannot make Friends Neightaurs*

Figure 4.3: People buying kitchen art from artists

In addition to investigating who buys kitchen art among the general public in the study area, the artists themselves were investigated on whether they buy art from other artists. The findings indicate that most artists (80%) do not buy kitchen art. The artists tended to make their own kitchen art and thus saw no reason to buy. Artists who do buy kitchen art (20%) said that they buy because they can no longer make their own. The reason was that they had moved away from the forested areas into the towns and so found it difficult to access materials to make art.

Focus group discussion findings indicated that before the introduction of plastic and aluminum plates and cups, Turkana kitchen art was not made for sell. It was made for family use. Today plastic and aluminum plates and cups are available but yet in every

home you find the *atubwa* (traditional bowl) and the *ekalabash* (scooping spoon) that everybody uses to serve food. Furthermore, tradition did not allow one to serve respectable people such as parents and relatives in plastics. For instance, meat must be served in an *atubwa* or else the host may refuse to eat.

The uniqueness of skill was indicated by the totality of women in the study area who can not make kitchen art. that is. those who buy (as represented in Figure 4.3). Some of the women who cannot make kitchen art explained that the skill of making kitchen art is difficult and thus not every woman can do it. They also explained that the skill is a talent for the gifted and that is why it is difficult for every other woman to make kitchen art.

To further explore kitchen art as an individual rather than a communal activity, the study investigated whether artists from different villages know each other. The results indicated that artists from different villages tended to know each other. This could imply that because the artists are few, accounting for only one or two in a village, they tend to know who else is in the art practice in other villages. Another explanation given by the artists themselves is that women artists who got married in other villages moved with their art practice and continued to be known and heard about.

In addition, the study set out to investigate whether artists consult before making kitchen art. The results indicate that 80% of artists consult before making kitchen art (Figure 4.4). However, the artists said that their reasons for consultation were not concerned with creativity but with critiquing (Figure 4.5). Most artists (76.9%) said that they consulted before making kitchen art because viewers identify mistakes and this helped the artist to improve on quality.

Ygg No Sometimes

Figure 4.4: Whether artists need to consult before making kitchen art.

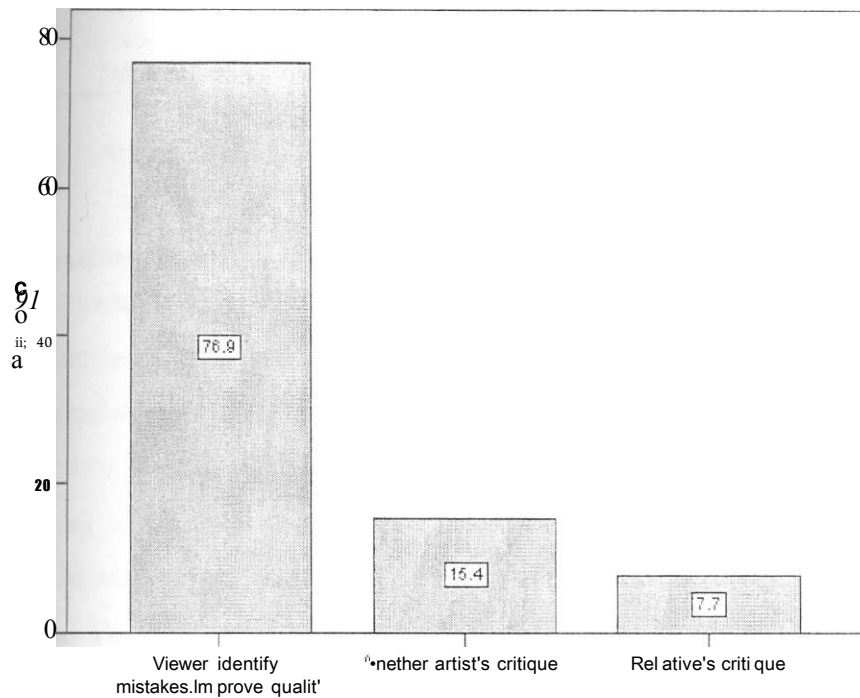


Figure 4.5 Reasons for consultation

Only one artist said that she does not need to consult at any stage. One of the respondents. Alim Kaleba (not her real name), of Kapendor village, said that she liked to work outdoors under a tree close to where people walk so that they can see her work and comment on it. What she made clear is that the comments are just to improve on the quality of an artist's work but all creative decisions on the art remained the discretion of the artist.

An investigation into whether the artists worked together with artists from other villages was done so as to further explore kitchen art as an individual activity. The results indicate that all the artists tended to work alone but did occasionally work with artists from other villages (Table 4.2). The artists explained that they enjoy to sit and work with others but this is not always the case because artists were few and the distances between villages too long. They also explained that when they worked together it was more for companionship and sharing of ideas than communal production.

Work with others	Frequency	Percentage
Sometimes	15	78.9
No response	4	21.1
Total	19	100.0

Table 4.2: Artists working together with artists from other villages.

4.4 Deviations from the kitchen art norms

To have some measure of deviations from the normal practice in kitchen art, the study first attempted to establish how long the Turkana women have been practising this art. Results indicate that in all cases kitchen art is a very old practice among the Turkana (Figure 4.6). This is because all the answers given by artists were such as: very old, old as my mother's lineage, many generations, before Oxfam (a relief agency that started its activities in Turkana in 1979), older than world War 11 and as old as the Turkana. These answers suggest that Turkana kitchen art has existed over several generations.

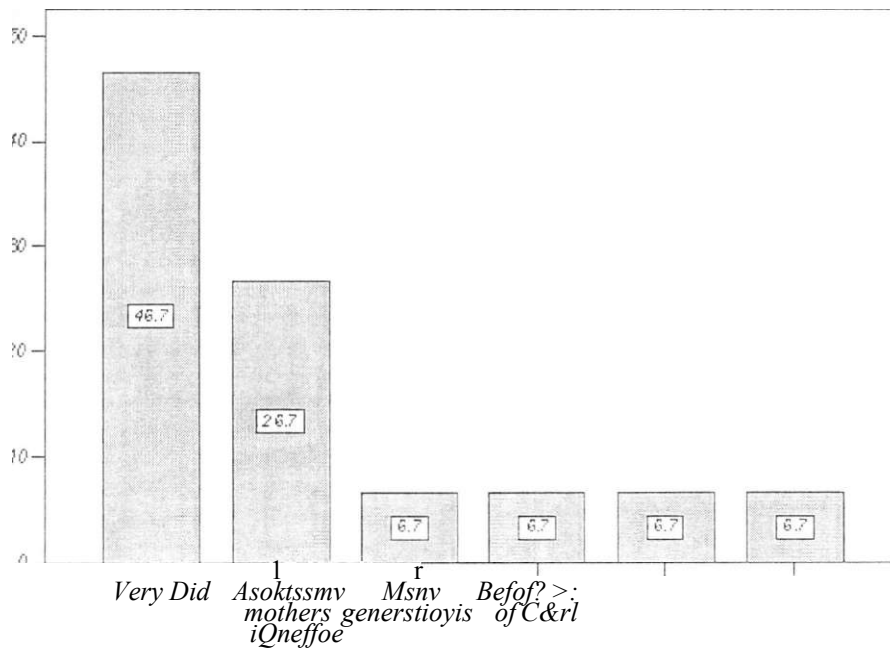


Figure 4.6: Duration of Kitchen Art Practice among the Turkana



Figure 4.3a: An artist uses a sharp tool to cut hide.



Figure 4.3b: An artist uses a sharp tool to dig into a piece of wood.

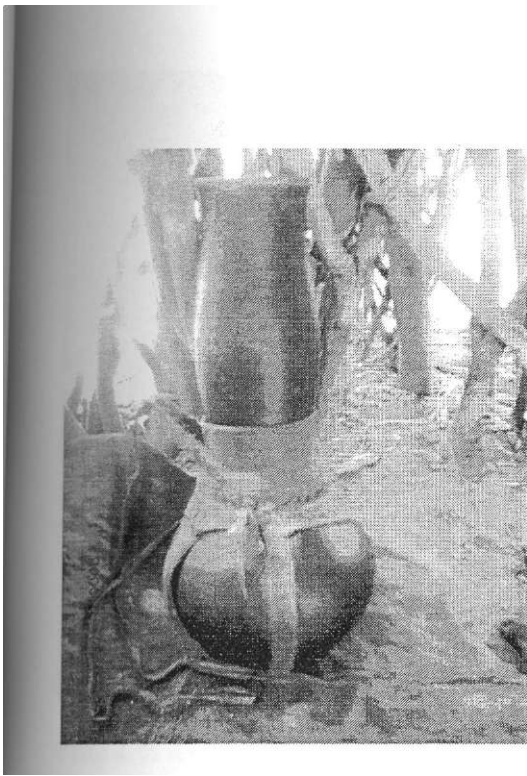


Plate 4.3c: Finished art work of wood and hide on kitchen object.

It was also important to examine the source of the materials used. The data indicate that the artists harvest their art materials from their environment (Figure 4.8). Most kitchen art is curved from wood and finished with animal hide. An artist searches for materials as and when she needs them on her own and does not involve other members of her village. Asked as to why they do this, some of the artists explained that when they send other people to harvest the materials, they either get the wrong type or cut the wrong sections. This, they said, was because the person is not an artist and would not know the best section of the tree to cut for a particular art piece. Artists are only accompanied for security and companionship because the forests in the mountains are far away (Plate 4.4).

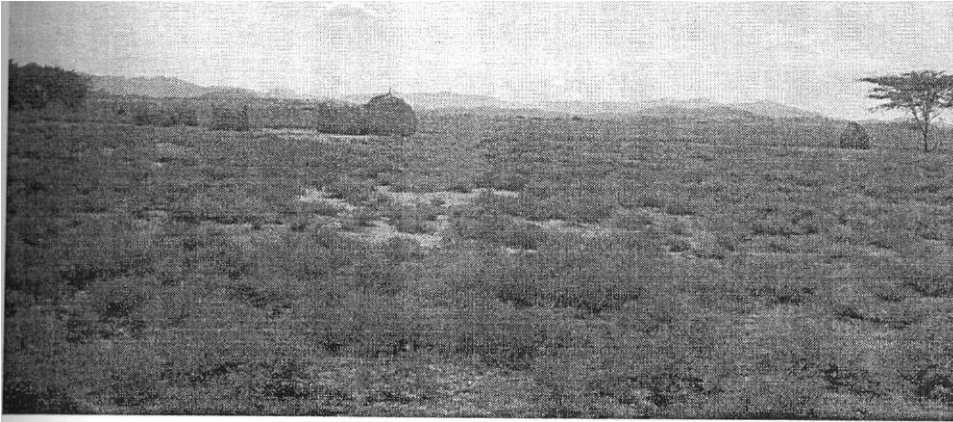


Plate 4.4: Artists have to walk all the way to the mountains seen in the distance to be able to access the forest.

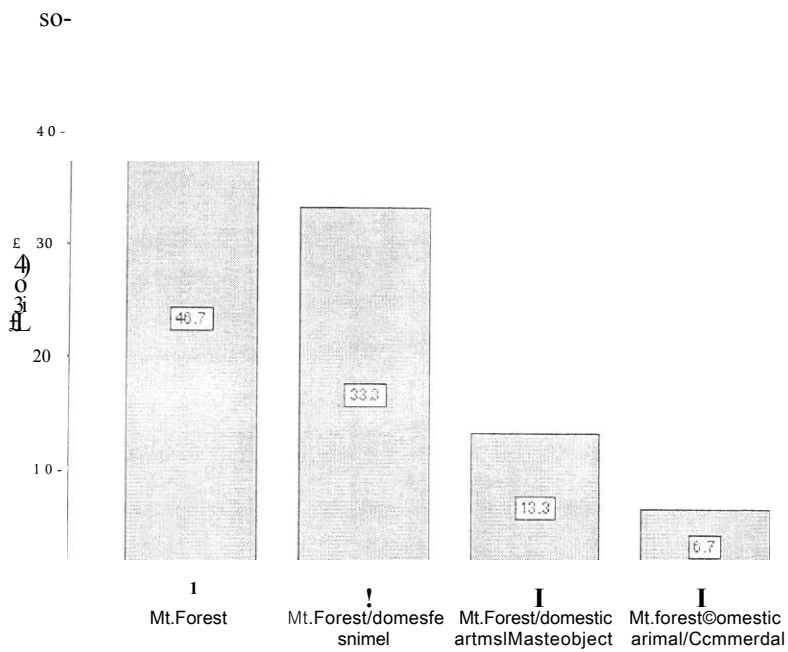


Figure 4.8: Where artists get their art materials

Next, the study investigated whether the materials the artists used were special in any way. It was important to examine which materials the artists found to be special so as to have a measure of standards. According to the data, all the artists said that the material they used to make kitchen art was special. The explanation given was that the art techniques involved sculpturing and required wood that did not crack easily. This kind of wood was not plentiful and this made it special.

The tree, *ekuruchanait (Delonix elata)*, was cited by most artists as being special and is valued for its good wood. The other materials used in kitchen art are *tkadeli lokurumo (Commiphora africana)*, *esekon (Salvadora persica)* and *emegen (Berchemia discolor)* as presented in Figure 4.9 below.

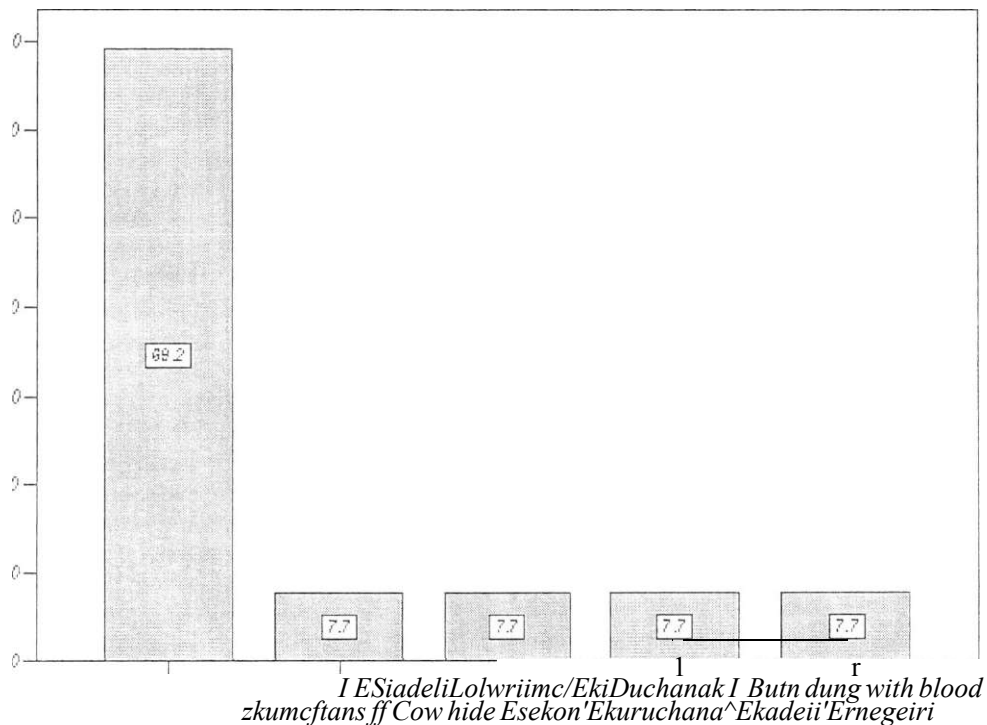


Figure 4.9: Materials used in kitchen art.

To get a measure of standard practice concerning treatment, the study investigated whether the artist had special treatments for their materials. It was found that ninety three percent of the artists treat their materials in a special way.

To have a measure of individualism in the preparation and application of this special treatment, methods of application were investigated. Of these, animal fat was found to be the most common treatment.

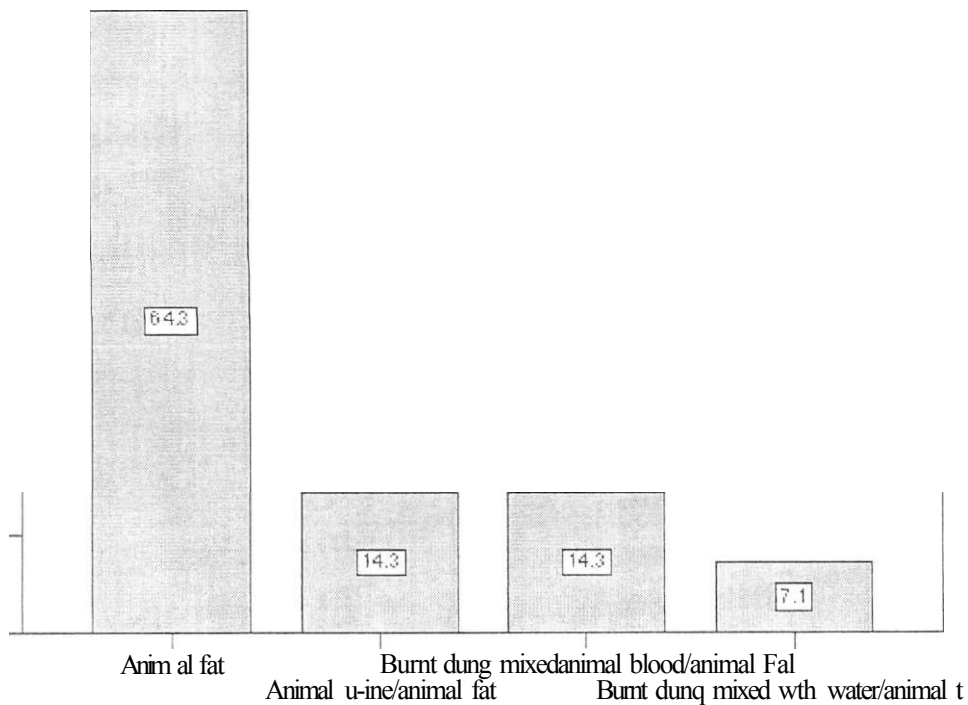


Figure 4.10: What artists use to treat materials.

To further examine deviations from standard styles and have some measure of personality in style, the artists were asked if they could pick out different 'hands' in a display of kitchen art. The findings indicate that every art work is completely different

from any other. All the artists said that they would be able to pick out the work of different artists in a display (Table 4.3). An example of a display can be seen on plate 4.5.

Table 4.3: Ability to pick out different 'hands*' in a display

Can pick out different hands	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	15	78.9
No response	4	21.1
Total	19	100.0



Plate 4.5: A display of Turkana kitchen art

The artists were then asked to explain how they were able to pick out different 'hands' so as to get some measure of creative ingenuity. Ninety three percent of them said that different works can be differentiated by the uniqueness of style (Figure 4.11). The tendency is that artists do not produce work that is identical because every artist has an individualized way of working that is distinguishable from another artist's way of working. According to respondent, Losengei Erupe (not her real name), an artist cannot even copy another artist's style exactly. 'For instance, I cannot produce work like Monica's. Monica's is Monica's, the hand is different. One can not copy'.

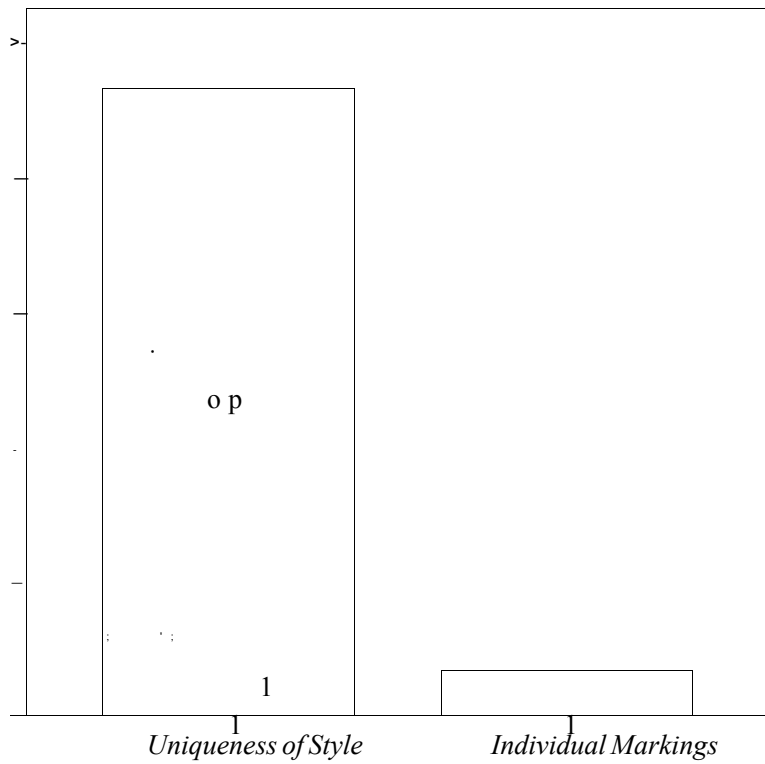


Figure 4.11: Qualities of different "hands"

Although the artists do not produce work that is identical to each other, a standard style exists that consists of fine lines incised on an object to create a mesh design (plate 4.6). The styles of different artists were investigated and are presented on the stylistic syntax below (Table 4.4). Each artist tended to create her own personal style through innovative variations of the standard style, making her work stand out.

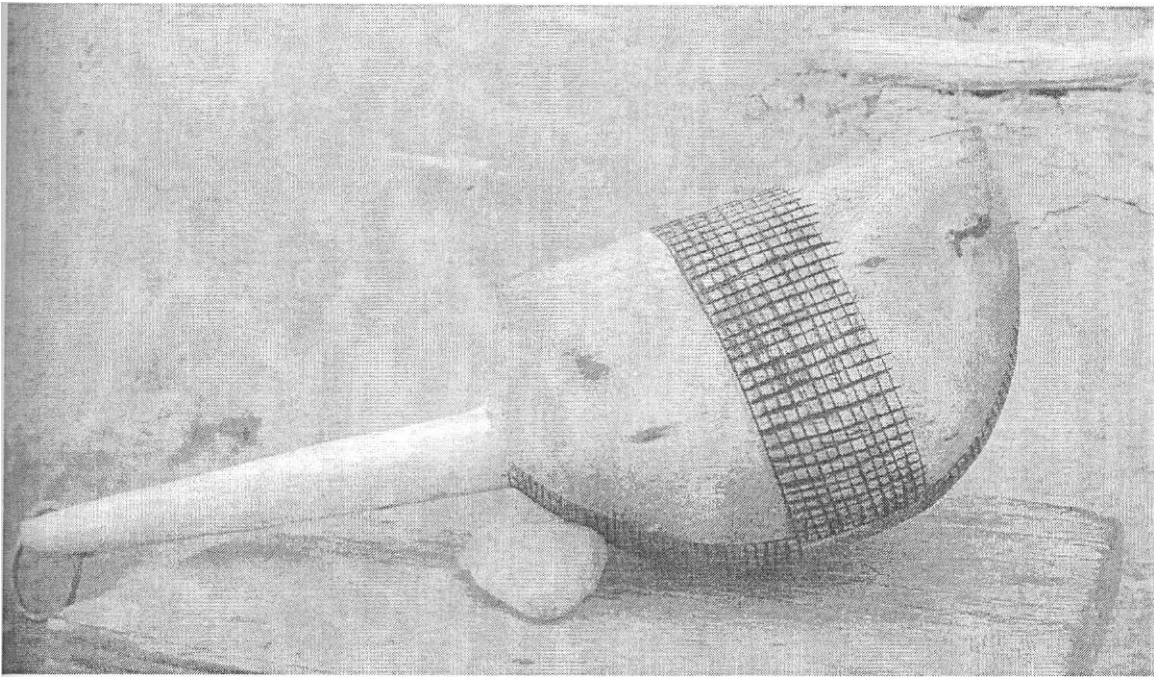


Plate 4.6: Standard style consists of fine lines incised on an object to create a mesh design

Table 4.4: Stylistic syntax of different artists' styles

Style number	Style	Frequency
1	Meshed with 2 windows	1
2	Meshed with 3 windows	1
3	2vert mesh/2plain vert	1
4	None	5
5	Cross mesh/burnt corners	1
6	3 vert	1
7	1vert belt	1
8	Burnt corners	1
9	waved handle	1
10	3 vert staggered	1
11	paired strokes	1
	No response	4
	Total	19

The style variations represented on the stylistic syntax above are illustrated in Figures 4.12a and 4.12b below. It was not possible to photograph all the styles. Photographs for styles no.1. 3. 4. 5. 9 and 10 can be seen on plate 4.7. In cases where the artist could not or did not want to decorate, the object was left blank. This was an indication that traditional Turkana kitchen artists tend not to be limited to a standard style and can deviate at will.

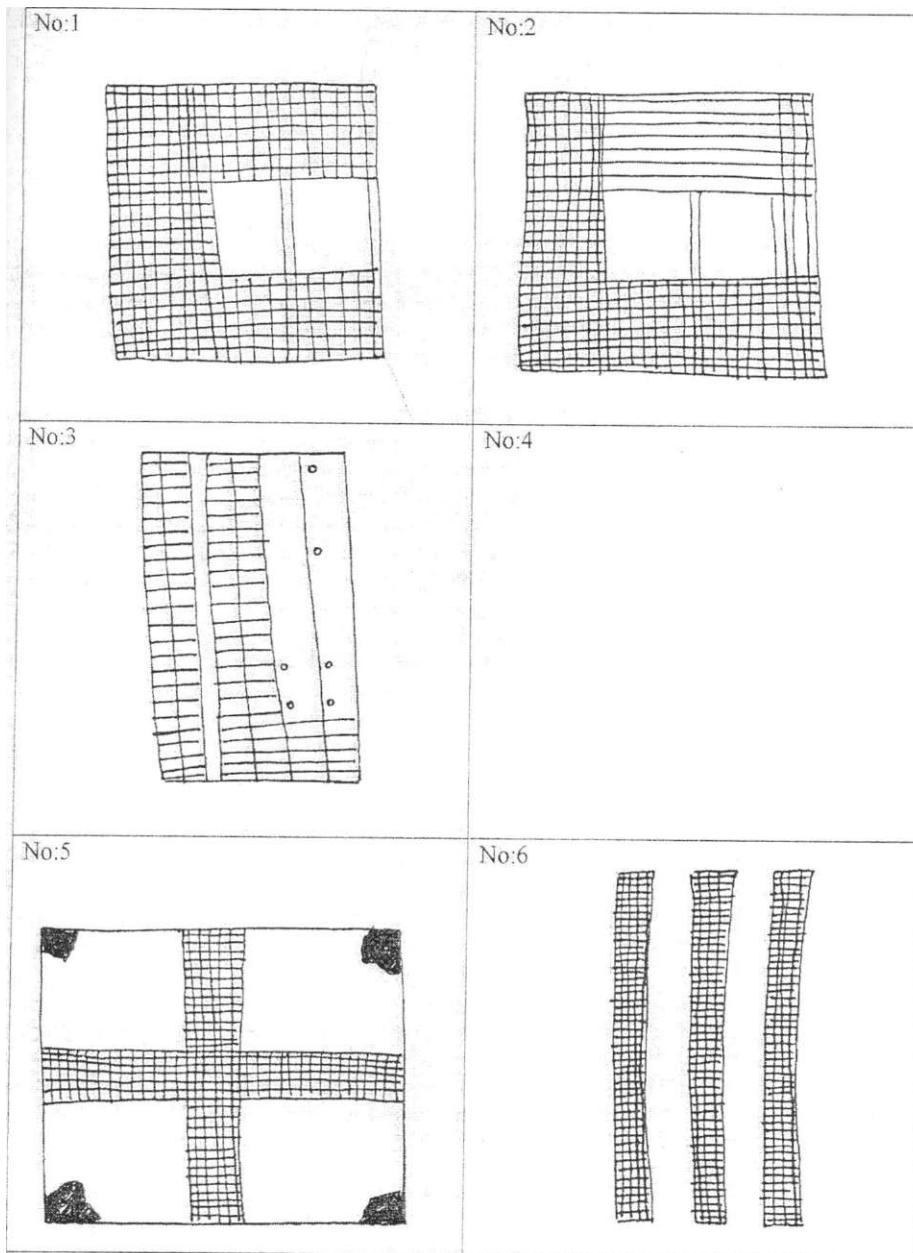
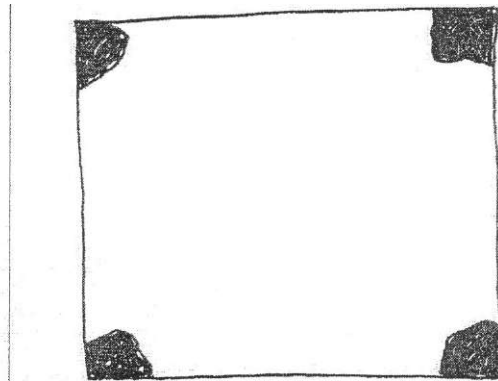
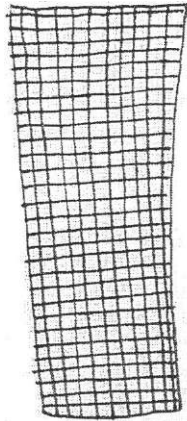


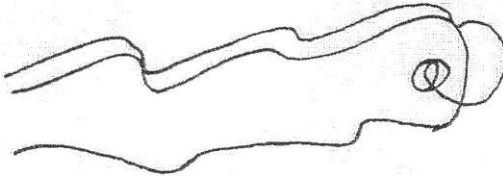
Figure 4.12a: Different artists' styles (nos. 1 - 6 on syntax).

No: 8



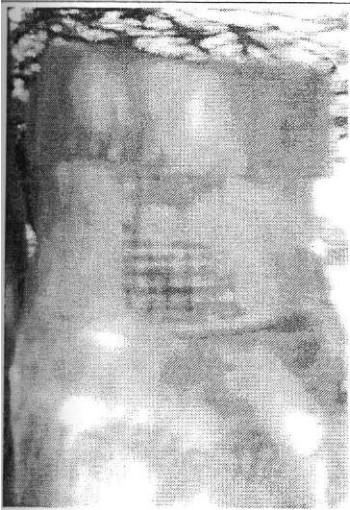
:9

No:10

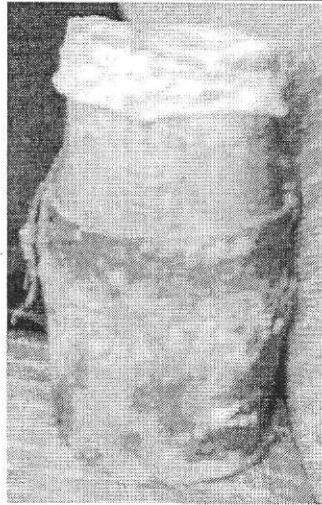


No: 11

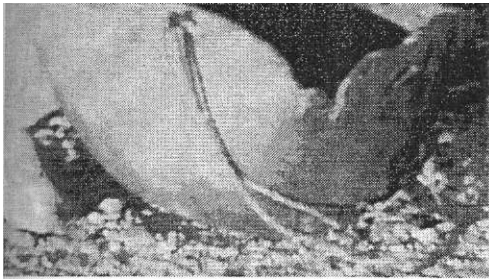
Figure 4.12b: Different artists' styles (nos. 7 - 11 on syntax).



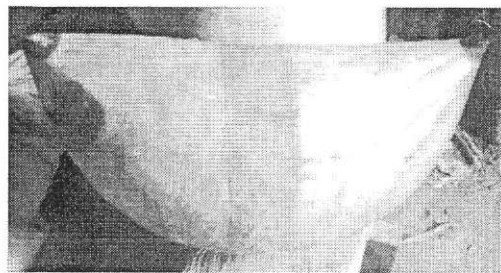
No.1: Meshed with 2 windows



No. 3: 2vert mesh/2plain vert



No. 4: None



No. 5: Cross mesh/burnt corners



No. 10: 3 vert staggered



No. 9: Waved handle

Plate 4.7 : Selected images of the different artists' styles (Note it was not possible to photograph all the styles the numbers here correspond to those on Figure 4.12a and b above)

4.5 Extrinsic values of Turkana kitchen art

To have some measure of extrinsic values in kitchen art, this study first attempted to establish what the intrinsic or practical values of kitchen art are. The indication is that in all cases Turkana kitchen art was used to store, serve and scoop food as well as for milking (Figure 4.13). According to a key informant from the National Museums of Kenya, the standard morphology of the art work is designed to perform these functions.

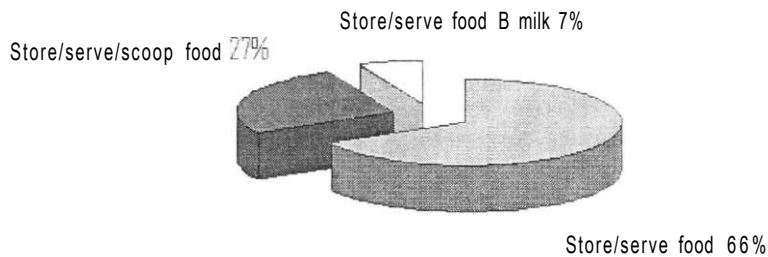


Figure 4.13: Purpose of kitchen art objects

To further explore intrinsic values of kitchen art, the study sought to establish whether a display of kitchen art was important to Turkana women. The results indicate that all the artists saw display as an important aspect of kitchen art.

Eight of the fifteen artists said that display was important because it had a tendency of making either the home or the woman beautiful (Table 4.5). In addition, since the Turkana are pastoralists who move often, they rarely have furniture. It is, therefore, practical to hang kitchen items on the walls of the house to keep animals and small children from their contents (plate 4.8).



Plate 4.8: kitchen items hanged/displayed on the walls of the house.

According to the focus group discussions, display also tends to uplift the woman's status in the community. This is because display of kitchen art reveals a woman's creative and innovative capabilities. The more beautiful or attractive a woman makes her home, the higher her status. A future bride's worth is measured by the status of her mother. This is because if her mother can make beautiful kitchen art, so can the daughter. It is standard practice in Turkana that visitors who enter a woman's house look around at the wall display specifically to judge the status woman based on the aesthetic quality of her kitchen art. Most of these views tend to be based on personal idiosyncrasies of individuals and therefore indicate that Turkana kitchen art tends to have extrinsic values.

Table 4.5: Reasons for display

Why Display	Frequency	Percentage
High value/status to the woman	3	15.8
Beauty/decoration of home	8	42.1
Beauty of woman	1	5.3
Express different purposes of items	1	5.3
Marketing to other women	1	5.3
Competition against other women	1	5.3
No response	4	21.1
Total	19	100.0

The study also found it necessary to investigate whether clan/brand traditions influence the artist's styles in kitchen art. Ninety three percent of the artists said that decoration on kitchen art was not influenced by clan or brand traditions.

The study also sought to investigate the level to which creativity was a prerogative of the artist by investigating individual reasons for producing kitchen art. The data indicate that making art for personal domestic need and as a hobby has higher frequency (Figure 4.14).

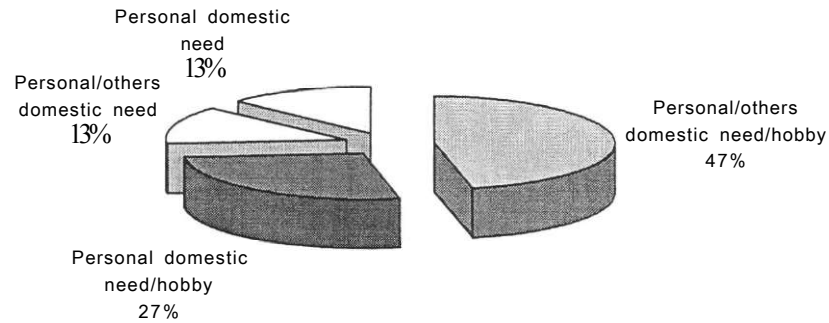


Figure 4.14: Individual reasons why artists make kitchen art

In addition, all the artists stated that they had specific reasons for decorating kitchen art (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Whether artists have specific reasons for decorating.

Have specific Reasons for decorating	Frequency	Percent
Yes	15	78.9
No response	4	21.1
Total	19	100.0

The findings also showed that a majority of the artists (80%) decorated their art based on personal idiosyncrasies. The artists tended to decorate simply to make their kitchen art pleasant to look at.

i

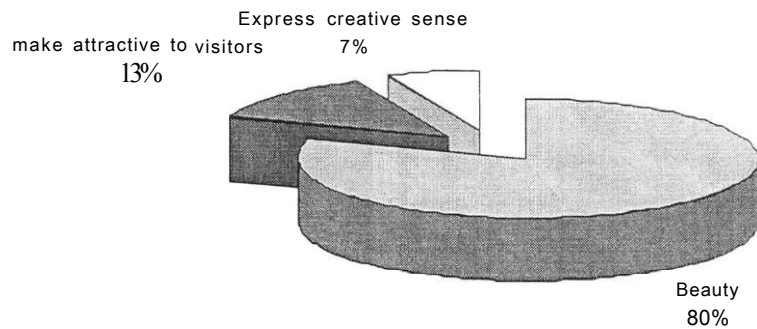


Figure 4.15: Reasons for individual artistic decorations.

To further emphasize ingenious creativity of the artists, the study investigated the interpretation or iconography of the decorations used by the artists. The findings indicated that the decorations had no cultural or religious meanings and were purely for beauty. All the respondents said that there was no iconography (Table 4.7. Focus group discussions indicated that the decorations are just for beauty, 'you put this way or that way; whatever pleases you'.

A key informant, an artist in Nairobi, resonates with the above statement by stating that art has universal aesthetic values in all cultures. That art is at times produced for its own sake because of the appeal that its beauty has to the viewer. Since most traditional societies made art objects that had a practical function, they decorated them purely for beauty and to kill monotony of form.

Table 4.7: Iconography of decorations used

Whether there is iconography	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
No	15	78.9	78.9
No response	4	21.1	21.1
Total	19	100.0	100.0

It was important to examine if the artists knew women with unique techniques so as to have a measure of exclusiveness in Turkana kitchen art. It was found that eighty percent of artists know another woman artist who uses a technique that is unique.

There was also an indication that in many cases women artists with outstanding techniques are few and known. This is because most of the artists could identify at least one artist they knew who was outstanding (Table 4.8). Some informants, however, said that they themselves were the ones with the most outstanding techniques. In the cases where the artist said that she was herself outstanding, quick queries to other women in the village found that they were in agreement that the artist was indeed the most outstanding. The findings resonate with Hill (1977), that much of inter-individual variation is almost certainly subconscious and hence cannot easily be taught or transmitted from person to person and that this is what makes it possible to identify the works of individuals as opposed to works of small groups of some kind (Hill 1977:2). It can, therefore, be said that there is a tendency of kitchen artists having unique techniques that are not used by other artists.

According to a key informant in art education, to some extent society does make a decision about individuality of the artwork that varies from place to place because of factors like religion, culture, people and regions, the artist is in control of the resulting aesthetic appeal or the lack of it.

Table 4.8: Artists who have unique techniques

The woman with unique style	Frequency	Percentage
Self		15.8
Erupe from Ruk Ruk	2	10.5
Ekiru from Nabuin	1	5.3
All	1	5.3
Kaleba from Kalebor	1	5.3
Mother/Legend from Natoo	1	5.3
Maalim from Kakum a/Liang from Kaakem	1	5.3
Korobe from Kaitekapel/Self	1	5.3
No response	8	42.1
Total	19	100.0

* The names appearing on the table are not the real names of the artists.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter contains discussions, assumptions and conclusions of the findings of this study. Assumptions were made based on the study findings.

5.2 Turkana Kitchen art

5.2.1 Number of artists in villages

The results of the analysis indicated that the number of artists per village ranged from 0-2 while the distance between villages ranged from 10 to 150 kms. This suggested that kitchen art practitioners were rare and far between. From this analysis, kitchen art in Turkana community tends to be an individual activity practised by a few rather than a communal activity practised by many. An analysis of data indicated that most artists worked alone or tended to work alone in the company of others. This suggests that most artists tended to work alone but could at times work in a group environment, where their artwork could be exposed for critique or public comments meant to improve on quality. It can, therefore, be said that kitchen art is an individual and not a communal activity among the Turkana community.

Seven out of eight key art academicians and professionals said that traditional African art is a skill that anyone in the community can learn and practise through socialization. Two academicians, one from Kenyatta University, Kenya, and another from Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana (KNUST), said that not everybody was an artist in traditional African art. Art was a special skill practised by few individuals who were known in the community. The majority opinion that traditional African is a skill that anyone can learn is a misconception that deprives African art of the aesthetic principles on

which it was produced and can be attributed to studies that have tended to focus more on the social nature and context of traditional African art than on individuals who create this art and, as Kasfir (1985:25) explains, the accepted picture until recently was of the African as a slave to tradition.

5.2.2 Means of acquiring art skills

The findings indicate that most artists tend to learn the skill from their mothers through observation and imitation. What this could mean is that kitchen art tends to be a close-knit activity where skills are exchanged between mother and daughter. The indication is that traditional kitchen art among the Turkana community is individualized at the learning stage because learning through socialization is on a one-to-one basis, specifically between mother and daughter. The results resonate with Rubin (1985:11) who states that African female weavers, potters and calabash decorators learnt from their mothers and that instruction was not systematic, consisting rather of observation and guided 'helping out'.

5.2.3 Source of tools

The results indicate that most artists tend to make their own tools. Just like different people tend to hold their pens in different manners when writing, artists also tend to handle their tools differently depending on preferred motions. An artist may work better with a tool customized to individual motions or technique as opposed to a standardized tool. It can be observed in the results that the Turkana artist tends to be in total control of her tools. This is an indication of individualism in skill technique.

5.2.4 Whether traditional Turkana art is commercialized

Traditional Turkana kitchen art tends not to be commercial as the data indicate, where most artists said they can sell if the opportunity arose. The analysis from the survey data indicates the woman who could not make kitchen art compose the largest buyers. Kitchen art among the Turkana can, therefore, not be termed as commercial because the selling activity is inconsistent due to few selling opportunities. Some of the artists said that they only sold when they had excess art.

It can then be said that kitchen art in Turkana is an individual activity practised by few who may sell to other women who cannot make the art. However, according to group discussions, those women who cannot make art tended to be rare customers because most of them already had kitchen art inherited from their mothers.

Further investigation showed that only a few of the artists buy kitchen art from other artists and the reasons given were that they had moved from the forested areas into towns and found it difficult to access materials to make art. It can then be said that the making of kitchen art is individualized because artists prefer to make their own and would only buy from others when circumstances do not allow them to make their own.

5.2.5 Consultation

The results from the study on whether artists consult before making kitchen art indicate that many of artists in the survey consult before making kitchen art. This at first may seem like an indication that there is no individualism in the making of kitchen art as regards ownership of creative ideas. But farther exploration indicated artists sought positive criticism from members of the community in order to improve on their creativity. It can, therefore, be said that kitchen art tends to be an individual activity but the artist does not work in isolation and requires the views of other people to help improve quality and morale.

Kitchen art is held in high respect among the Turkana community and the quality of the art is used to judge the standards of the homestead, especially in terms of visitor service regarding meals. Thus, every woman, whether artist or not, values beautiful kitchen art. Since other people in the community are consumers of kitchen art, it is understandable that they would have significant views on kitchen art even though they themselves are not artists. This explains why the artists tend to seek critical views from others. Only one artist in the survey data said that she does not need to consult at any stage.

All the artists said that they sometimes work together but explained that this was more for companionship and sharing of ideas than communal production. The artists tended to work alone even when in a group, an indication that Turkana kitchen art tends to be an individual activity as opposed to a communal activity.

5.3 Deviations from standard style in individual variability

The study established the standard styles first so as to be able to recognize

deviations. The variable deviation was used as an indication of individuality.

5.3.1 Standards

Turkana traditional kitchen art is traditional and has been passed down through generations. The materials used to make kitchen art were also found to be standard. Exploring the artist's control of her material showed that though the materials were from a communal environment, the artists identified and harvested these materials as individuals. It can therefore be said that the artists tend to be in control of their materials, an indication that Turkana kitchen art tends to be an individual activity as opposed to a communal one.

The tree *ekuruchanait* (*Delonix elata*) tends to be the standard material for making kitchen art. That the artist said *ekuruchanait* was both scarce and in high demand, could have environmental implications if the art were commercialized. On the other hand, the artists might be too few to make an impact on the environment. It was important to establish the standard materials so as to have a measure of individualism in decorative styles applied by each artist on similar material.

That special treatment is required for the art material tends to be standard practice among Turkana kitchen artists. It was important to find out if treatment was standard so as to have some measure of deviation in treatment preferences later. The results indicate that the artists are in control of their materials and follow certain procedures to ensure best production. Animal fat used as treatment for the art material tends to be standard practice among Turkana kitchen artists.

5.3.2 Deviations

One art academician in the opinionnaire asserted that when pots are coming from the firing pit. they are in hundreds but the potter will still pick her own - one can never copy another's art exactly; patterns are like a handwriting. How can one fail to know one's own writing?

Although the decorations on the Turkana kitchen art tend to look similar to an outsider's eye, all the artists were able to pick out the work of different artists in a display. It can be said that although standards exist in Turkana kitchen art. the artist has the freedom to deviate from the norm. This is an indication of individualism in Turkana kitchen art. Each artist's work tends to be an individual activity that is recognizable and distinguishable to others. Ingenuity and innovation tend to be strong qualities of Turkana kitchen art.

5.4 Extrinsic values of Turkana kitchen art.

Traditionally, the Turkana people create their own identity and that of their animals by branding or imposing marks (*.ngimacarin*) on their bodies. However, artists tend not to be influenced by clan/brand traditions when decorating kitchen art. In addition the study found no indication of iconography on all the artists work. The important variable is hobby because it indicates that Turkana kitchen art tends to have extrinsic value whereby the artist can and does make art in her leisure time and purely for its own sake. This indicates that artists tend to be in control of their creativity. As one art professional in the opinionnaire noted, in many cases there is usually a function beyond the food - utensil function of traditional kitchen art.

The study found it important to ascertain the extrinsic aspect of kitchen art so as to investigate the reasons why artists decorate and thereby getting some measure of individual artistic decoration. It was also found that a majority of the artists knew another woman artist with unique techniques. This is an indication that Turkana kitchen art tends to be an individual activity that expresses the ingenious creativity of the artist.

It became clear in the study that though at a glance art produced by different artists using standard style may look the same, a closer look at variables such as number of strokes, line and space width, angles and thickness measures to one another reveals differences in motor habit (subconscious motions). Variation in motor habit is an indication that Turkana kitchen art tends to have extrinsic values.

5.6 Conclusion

This study found that traditional Turkana kitchen art tended to be indicated by an individual's personal idiosyncrasies. The study findings also indicate that individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art can be observed by the extent of deviation from the standard style. The final assumption from this study is that individualism in traditional Turkana kitchen art is determined by extrinsic values.

The study focused on the individual in art rather than the social nature and context of the art itself. In so doing, a correct interpretation of the intention of the artist for her work was indicated. A single art form can contain various purposes, practical, religious, commemorative and aesthetic and this includes traditional African art. Although selective application of Eurocentric definitions on traditional African art has tended to deprive African art of its aesthetic principles, the findings of this study assume otherwise; the artists tended to enjoy the freedom to deviate from the standard style and create beautiful items driven not by tradition, standards or the community but by their own personal idiosyncrasies. This study hopefully will provoke more research in the ethnographic record of traditional African art and encourage independent thought on the role of the individual in traditional art.

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Appendix
Questionnaire and Record Sheets

Annex 1 Consent Note

My name is Lydia Gatundu Kamuyu a Student at the University of Nairobi's Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African studies. I am here to examine the role of the individual in Turkana kitchen art so as to establish the degree to which individual artists express their own personality in their art. Your participation and contribution is very important to this study because it will ascertain the level of ingenuity and innovation in Turkana kitchen art. I am asking for your permission to conduct an interview and to record your artwork. The interview will take 45 minutes. I will require another 45 minutes to record your artwork by drawing and/or by camera. I assure you confidentiality on any information you give me. All information you give me will be used for this study only. Your name and photograph would be helpful but this is optional. Thank you very much for your contribution and participation.

Name

Signature

Date

Annex 11 Questionnaire

General Information

1. Date of interview_
2. Starting time_
3. Finishing time_
4. Questionnaire number_
5. District_
6. Village_

Information on Traditional Art and the Individual

1. Name of interviewee_
2. Age_____ (years)
3. Sex

1. When making kitchen art, do you work alone or in a group of other artists?
2. Is display an important aspect of Turkana kitchen art?
 - Yes
 - No

Please explain.

3. Do clan/brand traditions influence how you shape or decorate your art forms?
4. Do you know of any woman who decorates using a unique technique that you have not seen being used by any other artist?
If yes, who is this woman?
5. What is the purpose of kitchen art in Turkana tradition?
 - . What is the purpose for the kitchen art you make? Put a tick on all the points you agree with
 - I make kitchen art because I need it
 - I make kitchen art because other people need it
 - I do not always make kitchen art because it is needed. I also make it as a relaxing hobby during my free time
7. Are there specific reasons why you decorate the way you do?
8. Where did you learn how to do it?
9. Name the materials you use to make kitchen art.
10. Where do you get the materials to make your kitchen art?

11. Is the material special in any way?
12. Do you have to treat your material in any special way whether before using it or after making the art?
13. Where do you get your tools?
14. What do you use for this special treatment?
15. Do you sell your art? If you do, who buys your art?
16. Do you buy kitchen art from other artists?
17. Are there women who cannot make kitchen art?
18. Some artists use similar decorations. About how long have these standard styles been in existence?
19. Do artists from different villages know each other?
20. Do you need to consult anyone before you make an object? Please explain your answer.
21. Do you need to consult anyone at any stage of production?

22. Put a tick on one answer that you agree with. Do artists from different villages work together?

- Never
- Always
- Sometimes

23. In a display of several products made by different women, would you be able to pick out the different 'hands' (artist's work)?

- Yes
- No

24. If you have answered yes above, please explain how you would be able to pick out the different 'hands'.

Annex 111 Guiding questions for group discussion

1. Are there examples of kitchen art from a previous generation (If they learned from their mother, aunt, grandmother, etc. are there examples available?)
2. Is kitchen art sold or traded in the market, or is it for the artist's own use? If it is sold, where, to who, outside their village?
3. Where do the artists get their materials?
4. What is the role of the community in preparation of the art work? Do the artists cut and prepare the materials themselves or do they require help?
5. Would the artist use imported tin, plastic, if it were available? Would they decorate it and how, with what?
6. Do their designs have a meaning (related to themselves, favorite colors, designs, to show ownership?)
7. Do the artists specialize in certain items? What determines this?
8. Can the artists deviate from the standard shapes and styles?
9. Do buyers tell the artist how they want the art made or is style totally to the discretion of the artist

Annex IV Record Sheets

TECHNIQUE/ARTIST RECORD SHEET

NO:

Name/code of artist:

Village:

Techniques used:

Scooping, engraving, assembly

Workshop:

Home yard, village yard,
social hall..

Tools:

Adze, knife, wire..

Time taken:

Observations:

OBJECT RECORD SHEET

NO:

Name/code of artist:

Village:

Category: Traditional Turkana kitchen art

PHOTO OR SKETCH

Object (type of kitchen art):

Local name:

Material:

Local name:

Measurements:

Use:

Observations: Descriptions of major features of artwork and materials used for finishes

Iconography: Story behind the work,/decorations on it

Annex V Opinionaire

No:

To be answered by academicians and art professionals.

This is part of a study to examine the role of the individual in traditional African art. Your opinion is very important to this study because it will help ascertain the level of ingenuity and innovation in traditional African art. Thank you.

Lydia Gatundu Kamuyu.

MA student University of Nairobi; Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African studies.

General Information

7. Date of interview_
8. Name of interviewee_
9. Sex_
10. Place of work/school_
11. Designation_
(Lecturer/Student/Artist/etc)

Information on Traditional Art and the Individual

1. Is traditional African art ever produced and used for its own sake as opposed to just serving a particular religious, functional or ritual purpose?
 - o No
 - o Yes
2. If you have answered yes above please explain.

3. To what extent does the society make a decision about individuality of the artwork in traditional African art?

4. Standard styles help identify traditional art as Masai, Kamba, Turkana etc. In your view, does the traditional African artist have the choice to deviate from standard styles?
 - o No
 - o Yes

5. Traditional African art is
 - o A talent for those gifted in the art.
 - o A skill that anyone in the community' can learn and practice through socialization.

Annex V Code book

General Information

Q1. Date of interview

- 1) 08.04.08
- 2) 10.04.08
- 3) 12.04.08
- 4) 15.04.08
- 5) 16.04.08
- 6) 17.04.08
- 7) 22.04.08
- 8) 24.04.08

Q2.Starting time

- 1) 11.30 am
- 2) 12.50 pm
- 3) 1.00 pm
- 4) No artists found
- 5) 1.00 am
- 6) 12.00
- 7) 10.30am
- 8) 11.00am
- 9) 11.15am
- 10) 4.05pm
- 11) 11.20am
- 12) 2.00pm

Q3. Finishing time

- 1) 12.00
- 2) 1.00pm
- 3) 1.12 pm
- 4) 11.50am
- 5) 11.00am
- 6) 11.30am
- 7) 1.30pm
- 8) 11.05am
- 9) 4.30pm
- 10) 11.55am
- 11) 12.35pm
- 12) 12.15pm
- 13) 2.20pm

Q4. Questionnaire number

- 1) 01
- 2) 02
- 3) 03
- 4) 04
- 5) 05
- 6) 06
- 7) 07
- 8) 08
- 9) 09
- 10) 10
- 11) 11

- 12) 12
- 13) 13
- 14) 14
- 15) 15
- 16) 16
- 17) 17
- 18) 18
- 19) 19

Q5. District

- 1) Turkana North
- 2) Turkana Central

Q6. Village

- 1) Natoo
- 2) Namorotot
- 3) Kalimapus
- 4) Lolcitoengaber *No artists, materials unavailable
- 5) RukRuk
- 6) Wanja Ndege
- 7) Nagis
- 8) Kaeriaka
- 9) Todonyang *No artists, community of fishermen
- 10) Pringan

- 11) Sesame
- 12) Kangatu Kusio *No artists, use plastics, materials unavailable
- 13) Lome kuwi *No artists, use plastics, materials unavailable
- 14) Kapendor
- 15) Epur
- 16) Kaitekapel

Information on Traditional Art and the Individual

Q7. Name of interviewee

- 1) A
- 2) B
- 3) C
- 4) D
- 5) E
- 6) F
- 7) G
- 8) H
- 9) I
- 10) J
- 11) K
- 12) L
- 13) M
- 14) N
- 15) O

Q8. Sex

1)F

Q9. When making kitchen art, do you work alone or in a group of other artists?

- 1) Alone/in a group
- 2) Alone
- 3) Alone/With relative
- 4) Group

Q10. Is display an important aspect of Turkana kitchen art?

- 1) Yes
- No

Q11. Please explain why display is an important aspect of Turkana art.

- i. Expression of beauty in the home.
- ii. Decoration of the home.
- iii. To make the home attractive.
- iv. The beauty of the display gives a woman high value and status in the community.
- v. Beauty and decoration in the home.
- vi. Display expresses the beauty of the woman.
- vii. Display adds value to the home.
- viii. To express the different purposes of the items.
- ix. Other women will admire and make orders.
- x. Women display to compete who has the most beautiful display.

- xi. A woman is respected because it is not easy to make the art.

Q12. Do clan/brand traditions influence how you shape or decorate your art forms?

- 1) No
- 2) Yes

Q13. Do you know of any woman who decorates using a unique technique that you have not seen being used by any other artist?

- 1) No
- 2) Yes

Q14. If yes, who is this woman?

- 1) Monica Ekiru from Ruk Ruk
- 2) Self
- 3) Erupe from Nabuin.
- 4) All women have different techniques.
- 5) Nalia Maalim from Kalebor near Nabwin.
- 6) My mother Ipusi Lorogoi and also a legendary woman called Kaliapus from Natoo.
- 7) Kaleba fro Kakuma. Also the late Losiki Korobe from Kaakem.
- 8) Akile Liang from Kaitekadle and myself.

Q15. What is the purpose of kitchen art in Turkana tradition?

- 1) To store and serve food.
- 2) To store, serve, scoop food.
- 3) To store, serve food and for milking.

Q16. What is the purpose for the kitchen art you make?

- 1) Personal domestic need/ Others domestic need.
- 2) Personal domestic need.
- 3) As a Hobby
- 4) Personal domestic need/ Others domestic need/As a hobby.
- 5) Personal domestic need/ As a hobby

Q17. Are there specific reasons why you decorate the way you do?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Ofcourse

Q18. Explain the specific reasons why you decorate the way you do.

- 1) To make the container attractive to visitors who then assume the contents must be good.
- 2) To make the container beautiful.
- 3) To make the container more beautiful.
- 4) To boast of my creative sense to others.
- 5) Decoration is just for beauty.
- 6) Just for beauty and it is not even mandator}' to decorate.

Q19. Where did you learn how to do it?

- 1) Mother
- 2) My agemate
- 3) Mother/ observing and imitating others.

Q20. Name the materials you use to make kitchen art.

- 1) Wood, skin from domestic animal, iron chisel, stone
- 2) Wood, nylon threads, skin from domestic animals
- 3) Wood, Skin from domestic animals, beads
- 4) Wood, skin from domestic animals.

Q21. Where do you get the materials to make your kitchen art"?

- 1) Forest, domestic animals, found objects.
- 2) Trees in the mountains, skin from domestic animals.
- 3) From trees in the mountains.

Q22. Is the material special in any way?

- 1) Wood from the tree Ekuruchanait specifically/leather from cow specifically
- 2) Wood from the tree Ekuruchanait.
- 3) Ekadeli Lokurumo is light for making fat containers/Ekuruchanait does not crack easy.
- 4) Yes
- 5) Esekon. Ekuruchanait, Ekadeli, Emegen are the only wood that can make kitchen art.
- 6) Ekuruchanait has a beautiful yellow colour and best quality.

- 7) Burnt dung mixed with blood is special because it makes a permanent black dye.
- 8) Ekuruchanait is hard wood and rare.

Q23. Do you have to treat your material in any special way whether before using it or after making the art?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Q24. What do you use for this special treatment?

- 1) Animal urine, animal fat
- 2) Burnt dung of camel mixed with blood, animal fat.
- 3) Fat from domestic animals.
- 4) Burnt dung mixed water.

Q25. Where do you get your tools?

- 1) Make own tools.
- 2) Young men in the village make.
- 3) I buy my tools.
- 4) I make own tools/buy

Q26. Do you sell your art?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

3) No, but I can sell if I could if I had many.

Q27. If you do, who buys your art?

- 1) Friends and neighbours
- 2) Women who cannot make their own.
- 3) Locals and Foreigners who visit Turkana.
- 4) Women who live by the lake because they don't make kitchen objects.

Q28. Do you buy kitchen art from other artists?

- 1) No
- 2) I can buy
- 3) Yes

Q29. Are there women who cannot make kitchen art?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Yes, many.

Q30. Some artists use similar decorations. About how long have these standard styles been in existence?

- 1) Many generations ago.
- 2) Before the days of Oxfam.
- 3) Older than World War 11.
- 4) Possibly as old as the Turkana.
- 5) Very old
- 6) As old as my mother's lineage.

7) Very long and changing over time.

Q31. Do artists from different villages know each other?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Some
- 3) Not always because of movement.
- 4) Yes because they get married in different villages and move and meet.

Q32. Do you need to consult anyone before you make an object?

- 1) No
- 2) Yes
- 3) sometimes

Q33. Please explain that you consult.

- 1) Viewers help me identify mistakes and improve on them.
- 2) Another artist can critic my work.
- 3) A relative critics my work

Q34. Do you need to consult anyone at any stage of production?

- 1) Yes I ask passersby to critic work in progress.
- 2) Yes Comments improve quality of work.
- 3) Yes
- 4) Yes I consult anytime I want.
- 5) Yes but it's not essential

Q35. Do artists from different villages work together?

1) Sometimes

- Never
- Always
- Sometimes

Q36. In a display of several products made by different women, would you be able to pick out the different 'hands' (artist's work)?

1) Yes

- Yes
- No

Q37. If you have answered yes above, please explain how you would be able to pick out the different 'hands'.

- i. Observing the style used.
- ii. Individual style of every woman is unique.
- iii. The artist style is just like an individual's handwriting and can be told apart.
- iv. Markings made are different from artist to artist.