KAMURATANET AS AN EDUCATIONAL SELF-REGULATING SOCIAL MECHANISM OF BEHAVIOUR MANAGEMENT AMONG THE KALENJIN IN KENYA: TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

BY

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

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ABSTRACT

African cultural practices and traditions provided individuals with socially mediated contexts of behaviour adaptation and learning.With Westernization most children today have few structures to learn social self-regulating. The role of cultural structures, such as Circumcision (*Yatitaet* in Kalenjin) was explored for its potential educational value and how it provided initiates with contexts for self-regulating behaviour management. The main purpose of this study was to carry out a qualitative research into *Kamuratanet* as an Educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin and derive a conceptual model based on the findings.The specific objectives of the study were to: identify and locate the concept of education in the *Kamuratanet* context; identify characteristics of educators in the *Kamuratanet* context; examine the influence of *Kamuratanet* on social behaviour management on learning content;describe structures employed by *Kamuratanet* in implementing social behaviour curriculum; identify educational contexts used by *Kamuratanet* in dispensing its self-regulating social behaviour content and finally describe the inbuilt self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management deployed in *Kamuratanet*. The theoretical foundation of this study hinges on three premises: Functionalist perspective originated by Emile Durkheim; Social Cultural Theory by Lev Vygotsky; and the Social Learning Theory by Albert Bandura. The study was qualitative, informed by Interpretivist paradigm and guided by Ethnographic research design.Purposive and Snowball sampling procedures were used to get participants with experience, deep knowledge and an understanding of the Kalenjin cultural systems of sociolization. Twelve participants informed the research where data was generated through intensive face to face semi-structured oral interviews. Consequently, a multi-method approach was used in data analysis in order to enhance findings.The findings of the study determined existence of educational self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management that have also been used in this study to derive a conceptual model for behaviour management,relevant to the psychology of African behaviour management.The conceptual model-Structural Collectivist Behaviour (SCB model)- is derived from Self-regulating social structures employed by the Kalenjin to collectively regulate the behaviour of community

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all those who appreciate the function of traditional African methodologies of behaviour management as construed in the African customary practices. Indegenous African approaches to behaviour management need to be re-examined for their usefulness during this transition period when the moral fabric of our societies is under threat.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Lelit, my Principals at Kipsaos and Simotwo secondary schools respectively: to them I say, 'love is the greatest of all the gifts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of abbreviations used in the study and what they represent.

EFA- Education for All

MDG'S – Millennium Development Goals

ADEA- Association for Development of Education in Africa

UPE- Universal Primary Education

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization

UNFPA- United Nations Populations Fund

CDF- Constituency Development Fund

FGM- Female Genital Mutilation

HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

FPE- Free Primary Education

DSM- IV – Diagnostic and Statistical Manual- Published By American Psychiatric Association- 1994

PTSD- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

NGO- Non-Government Organization

NCSK- National Council of Woman of Kenya

NCSW- National Commission on Status of Women

FIDA- International Federation of Women Lawyers

CLARION- Center for Law and Research International

SCB-Structural Collectivist Behaviour

LOCATING MYSELF IN THE STUDY

Having taught for over 30 years in various secondary schools and colleges in the pre-dominantly Kalenjin Counties in Kenya, the behaviour of the Kalenjin youth before and after circumcision became a matter of concern. I noticed that the behaviour of the youth changed significantly following circumcision *(Yatitaet).*Most of them ceased to participate in the usual children play activities witnessed in school, became reserved, focused on academics and sometimes stubborn.I further noticed that it was easier to distinguish the Kalenjin students from the non-Kalenjin students on the basis of their behaviour whether they were circumcised or not.Indeed on average they are reserved and appear maturer.

My earlier Masters research on "The influence of Nandi circumcision on aspirations for higher education." provided partial answers which established that *yatitaet* indeed had significant influence on the learning behaviour of its graduants.My Masters Degree research however raised more questions than answers. I wondered whether the observed behaviour could be attributed to the Kalenjin mode of circumcision/*yatitaet*, I asked myself, "Could *yatitaet* explain such behaviour? But why the observation among the uncircumcised?"I did not have the answers. Since even the uncircumcised Kalenjin also exemplified distinct behaviour, I realized that the behaviour patterns go beyond circumcision. I therefore became conscious as a scholar that if one wanted to understand the underlying causes of the distinct behaviour then the need to carry out an indepth research was imminent.

Subsequently, I realized that circumcision *per se* was not the only factor that determined

the behaviour of the Kalenjin youth.Relatively, I found it prudent to study *Kamuratanet* which approximates an educational self-regulating behaviour management mechanism which though seeks validation from *yatitaet*, serves as an intergenerational procedure that goes beyond circumcision and sets behaviour and knowledge standards that distinguish the Kalenjin.Based on my observations, I thought that the phenomenon that shaped their behaviour needed to be studied and understood. Thus, a reflection on the cultural values and norms which served as the basis of the behaviour management and a regulating agent needed to be studied to identify the determinants of behaviour that seemed to decisively shape the behaviour of the Kalenjin youth.Certainlythere was need for a critical appraisal of the process. It also became apparent to me that sufficient examination of *Kamuratanet* may yield socially derived principles and models that could enlighten Kalenjin cultural psychology. Further, of specific interest are the self-regulating strategies that have ensured the self-regulating behaviour management capacity of *Kamuratanet*.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the background of the study- *Kamuratanet* as a self-regulatingsocial behaviour management strategy among the Kalenjin. It also presents the purpose, statement of the problem, objectives of the study and research questions. This chapter further presents the limitations and justifications for the study and finally proposes a conceptual and theoretical framework that guides the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Kamuratanet is a Kalenjin traditional process of teaching its members appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards expected of its cultural members. (The Kalenjin speakers are a Nilotic group-Highland Nilotes-of the African race that originally occupied what was formerly referred to as North and South parts of Riftvalley Province of Kenya). Though carried out throughout an individual's lifetime, the imminence of *Kamuratanet* is formalized during *yatitaet/*circumcision and subsequent initiation (*tumdo* for men or *soet* for women). Yet, *Yatitaet* is not equal to circumcision because it is associated with many rituals and contexts which are used to emphasize learning contents of *Kamuratanet*. Indeed, following*Yatitaet,* initiates are secluded so as to focus their minds towards the learning contents envisaged in the *Kamuratanet*.

Certainly, *yatitaet* and *tumdo* played a significant role in initiating individuals from childhood to adulthood. On the contrary, because of their practical nature, *yatitaet* and*tumdo* are much more referred to in Kalenjin semantics compared to *Kamuratanet* which is a process and consequently more abstract. However, the interdependence between *Kamuratanet* and *Yatitaet* makes any attempt to discuss one feature without the other untenable in this study.In addition because of their unique roles and peculiar usage, this study prefers to use the terms *Kamuratanet, Yatitaet* and *tumdo* as opposed to the distant meanings provided by their supposedly equivalent translations in English.

The virtues and practices envisaged in *Kamuratanet* continues to thrive through time demonstrating resilience in the face of alternative social regulation mechanisms like the modern Western oriented school practices. Indeed, attempts to replace traditional rites of passage with more modern, Christian or Western oriented approaches to initiation have yielded little success. For instance, Mbiti (1986) points out that Taylor (1871) invented the term animism in his book *'Primitive Culture'* which underlines the primitivity of African religious practices. Mbiti reflects: "One of the dominating attitudes in this early period was the assumption that African beliefs, cultural characteristics and even foods were all borrowed from the outside world… African soil is not so infertile that it cannot produce its own new ideas" (1986, p.6).

These colonial attitudes made some early African Christians to attempt to abandon African cultural practices in favour of European or Christian styles but this was shortlived (Kenyatta, 1965; Ngugi 1986). More recently, some elitist Kalenjin groups made concerted efforts to remove *Kamuratanet* through Christian oriented approachessuch as *Tumdo ne leel*(Chebet, 2007).*Tumdo ne leel* is an attempt to mimic *Yatitaet*based on Christian principles, yet the

controversy on the proper rite of passage continued.Today, the urban Kalenjin, particularly in Nairobi and Eldoret have started organizing *Yatitaet* for their sons based on *Kamuratanet* standards but embracing modern standards of hygiene.This initiative is pioneered by what is now known as the Kitengela and Kapkruger groups in Nairobi and Eldoret respectively.They also purpose to teach mothertongue to the urbanized youth.Similarly, many Kalenjins in diaspora now also bring back their sons to be initiated on the *Kamuratanet* standards.

Clearly, with the onset of Western education and Christianity, new patterns of social interaction emerged that seemed to negate the role of *Kamuratanet* processes in managing and regulating behaviour particularly for the youth.It is however apparent that inspite of the Westernized approaches,the principles of *Kamuratanet* continues to holistically influence the Kalenjin social patterns and ways of behaving.

On the other hand Mbiti (1986) explains that*Yatitaet* which is an aspect of *Kamuratanet* marks the "period of education and introduction to tribal knowledge and wisdom", (p.129). As a developmental process entrenched within the Kalenjin context, *Kamuratanet* guides and sets expectations among individuals from childhood to adulthood. Assessed from the point of view of Developmental Psychology, *Yatitaet* is an important transition from childhood to adulthood.

On the contrary, during colonialism, Western observers misconceived the nature of content presented in the African practices as they were unable to unpackage or decode the cultural meanings loaded in the dramatic contexts.Moreover,lamenting about this negative perception, Ruto-Korir(2010) says that "if these were recognized and implemented as part of the art of teaching as well as building our psychological heritage, we, in the African continent could tap on this culturally diverse heritage"(p.329).Indeed the Western Religious practices trivialized

African practices and pitied them against Christianity. From the researcher's experience, the dramatic episodes and rituals presented by *Kamuratanet* in various social contexts are only stylistic devices through which educational concepts and cultural heritage are transmitted.

Moreover, during and even after colonization, the Europeans introduced their civilization through modern education, cultural and religious practices while condemning African cultural practices as founded in *Kamuratanet*. Chebet, (2007) says "the introduction of western culture through Christianity and education in the 19th century marked the beginning of a struggle to change African culture… causing immense conflict between the Europeans and Africans" (p.7).

This demonstrates the resilience of the Kalenjin practices as envisaged in *Kamuratanet*.Unlike Chebet who is an insider to *Kamuratanet*, Western researchers misconstrued African practices right from the beginning.For instance, while writing an introduction to Snell (1954), Charles Eliot says, "the community sense of mutual good characteristic of primitive groups…" (p.xii); equating Kalenjin communalisn to primitivity clearlyindicates a negative perception of the Kalenjin values. Consequently, this study subscribes to the sentiments described by Smith (1999) and cited by Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008), which says; "One of the greatest failures of critical pedagogy… involves the inability to engage indigenous scholars (p.ix)".Therefore, as an insider, I purposed to apply the principles of critical pedagogy in order to objectively evaluate and appraise the pedagogical techniques of *Kamuratanet* while attempting to avoid bias.

What remains a puzzle to this study is the re-emergence of *Yatitaet* on *Kamuratanet* standards even among the Urban Kalenjin and those in diaspora. In addition, this studyis persuaded by

an apparent knowledge gap in the study of aspects of Kalenjin culture in relation to educational psychology.In fact, the current study is the first attempt to engage Kalenjin indigenous practices in relation to educational psychology.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This section contextualizes *Kamuratanet, Yatitaet* and *tumdo* while showing their relationships and points of departure.The section also describes attempts to defeat *Kamuratanet* and *Yatitaet* by engaging new Westernized approaches to initiation and the controversies that followed and finally states the unresolved puzzle that validates the study.

To majority of the Kalenjin, *Kamuratanet* is a clutural practice largely seen as a timed ritual. In this study however, *Kamuratanet* is conceptualized as a process not an act.As a process, *Kamuratanet* has lasting residual impact going beyond generations:older generations owe it to the next generation.*Kamuratanet* therefore, as a vehicle of Kalenjin cultural knowledge and standards propels itself in a cyclic rather than linear form.

However, the intensive introduction of the western civilization through education, culture and religion posed a serious threat to African cultural practices such as those propagated by *Kamuratanet*(Chebet, 2007; Kenyatta, 1965;Ngugi, 1986). On the contrary, Block (1973) says the traditional methods of teaching used are what Westerners would call, 'mastery learning' where failure was non-existent. "Before the advent of the Europeans, African indigenous education was quite adequate in so far as it met the requirements of the society at the time", (Ociti, 1973, p.105). However, for many years, western education, religion and science have remained inconsistent with the African cultural practices by portraying those who adhere to them as primitive (Mbiti, 1986). In refuting the thoughts expressed by western scholars

regarding African systems of education, Ociti elaborates that since the Africans knew no reading nor writing, theywere perceived to have had no system of education andconsequently no content and methods to pass to the young.On the other hand Ruto-Korir (2006) is understandably disturbed by the exclusion of African educational approaches from the world of academia and asks, "Were there no traditional systems of education or consequent traditional theories of learning?"(p.331). Ruto-Korir agreeably provides an answer to this thought provoking question in the same page, "…yet, even before the advent of western thought and civilization, many traditional african societieshad their way of 'thought-behaviour systems' as predominating interactions".Similarly, Ociti explains that such limited views emanated from scholars who thought that Africa was 'Tabula Rasa' with respect to educational institutions and processes, interpreted education in terms of Western civilizations and that if one took away western civilization, African education ceased to exist.The negative perception applied to all African civilization.This study however limits itself to the case of the Kalenjin.

According to this study therefore,the problem is two fold:first; available research-listed under section 1.6, Justification of this study- has not addressed itself to examining the pedagogical skills and techniques employed in the dispensation of knowledge within the context of *Kamuratanet* and secondly; the social regulation approach is a challenge in the midst of less understood systems of schooling;schooling which has a limited career focused lens.In this regard,*Kamuratanet* promises to widen this scope by incorporating other critical developmental aspects that tie learning to behaviour regulation and thereby converting abstract knowledge into a way of life as envisaged in *Kamuratanet*.

This study observes that the principles of *Kamuratanet* still hold much influence on general perceptions of the masses, including those of the western educated among the

Kalenjin.Undoubtedly,this has remained so despite the rising challenges of westernization through religion and schooling. This study argues that the position of *Kamuratanet* has remained steadfast because it serves a purpose for which the modern western educational practices have not been able to provide a substitute and that the findings of the study may reveal these limitations.Moreover, Obanya (2008) explains that, "culture and education are inseparable, as they are simply two sides of the same coin. The two concepts can infact be said to be indistinguishable, as the primary definition of education is acculturation" (p.2).

The intention of this study therefore was to rediscover the specific educational components of behaviour management and regulation embedded in *Kamuratanet*and how this engenderedappropriate behaviour. This might offer an opportunity for psychologists to evaluate *Kamuratanet* and to derive appropriate strategies of behaviour management within cultural psychology, moderate and blend them with modern behaviour management approaches. Consequently, the self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management in *Kamuratanet* would complement modern knowledge on behaviour management and could be applied within an illuminative cultural context where the values and aspirations of recipients are respected.This makes the study of *Kamuratanet* a worthy adventure.

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin people in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

i)   Locate the concept of education in the Kalenjin*Kamuratanet* context.

ii) Identify the characteristics of educators of Kalenjin*Kamuratanet.*

iii)   Examine the influence of Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* onlearning subject content.

iv)   Describe the structures employed inKalenjin*Kamuratanet* in implementing its social behaviour curriculum.

v)   Identify the educational contexts used inKalenjin *Kamuratanet* todispense self-regulating social behaviour content.

vi)   Describe the inbuilt self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management deployedin*Kamuratanet*.

1.5 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

i)   How was educationconceptualized within the context of Kalenjin*Kamuratanet*?

ii) What were the characteristics of the educators of *Kamuratanet?*

iii) In what ways did *Kamuratanet* influence the learning subject matter among the Kalenjin?

iv) What structures did *Kamuratanet*use to implement its social behaviour curriculum?

v) What strategies did*Kamuratanet*employ in dispensing its self-regulating social behaviour content?

vi) Which are the self-regulating mechanisms deployed in *Kamuratanet* in managing behaviour?

1.6 Justification of the Study

This study sought justification on the basis of two critical issues regarding *Kamuratanet*: First, available research on Kalenjin cultural practices has not addresseditself to linking

Kamuratanet to educational self-regulating processof behaviour management among the Kalenjin.For instance, Hollis, (1909) and Peristiany,(1939)explorated features of Kalenjin culture without drawing any educational features from them.Snell, (1954) only sought to explore the structure of Nandi customary law and its applications. Kipkorir and Welbourne (1973) looked at the operationalization of aspects of Marakwet culture including *Kamuratanet*,conceptualized as a rite of passage and not as an educational process, while Chepkwony (1997) and Rono (2002) attempted to draw parallels between Kalenjin culture and Christianity.

In addition, Chebet and Dietz (2000) focused on culture, traditional practices and developmental issues.Again, Chebet (2007) focuses on the role of female circumcision in the process of initiating the girls from childhood to adulthood responsibilities.Sambu (2007) made a comparative study of the Kalenjin culture and Egyptology. Lastly, Yegon (2012) carried out a psycho-social interpretation of the male circumcision ceremony (*Yatitaet*) with the aim of examining its effects on personality development and adjustment.Contrary to all the above, the current study sought to evaluate *Kamuratanet* as an indigenous educational self-regulating social process of behaviour management.

Secondly, the self-regulating mechanisms are a challenge in the midst of less understood systems of schooling.Yet unlike modern schooling;*Kamuratanet* may provide educational strategies within and beyond the current school system.The study sought itsjustification based on the two premises.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Although African traditional education has been negatively projected by most of the western

pioneered literature,notable the works of Taylor(1871), Hollis (1909) Snell(1954)which portrayed African practices as primitive, most Africans still subscribe to the cultural practices.Subsequently, the concepts of childhood and adulthood, are aggregated against the cultural standards set by *Kamuratanet* among the Kalenjin.Moreover, the self-regulating mechanisms set by *Kamuratanet* impose on the members an obligation to satisfy the cultural standards. Consequently, this implores upon researchers to explore the various methodologies that make the cultural standards so resilient to competing forces brought by Western oriented religion and education. This studytherefore acknowledges the notion that African cultural practices had effective strategies for behaviour management.Certainly, the power of *Kamuratanet* as a cultural outfit with self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management should be demystified and analysed in order to engage a larger audience and make this knowledge available to the universal audience.

Similarly, by decoding the various features of *Kamuratanet*, identifying the various self-regulating features of behaviour management that have sustained *Kamuratanet*, the study has opened up the cultural process for external scrutiny, examination and understanding. Certainly, in the present global village, this study will enable members of other cultural and academic persuations to understand the Kalenjin world view and their behaviour regulation methodologies.

Equally, the behaviour management strategies and skills explored in this study may help to re-engage the Kalenjin youth in purposeful, goal oriented and productive mannerisms. This is because, by understanding *Kamuratanet*, the behaviour of the Kalenjin youth will be better understood and supported. The findings of this study will help break the impasse created by the gap between cultural ways of behaviour management and the attempt to harmonize the

divergent perceptions. The techniques and skills employed by *Kamuratanet* may also be moderated to complement the behaviour management strategies of modern educational psychology. The challenges of transition from the cultural ways of behaviour management vis-avis modern trends that have culminated in an intergenerational apathy- nowregarded as old fashioned- may be minimized. Strategies of *Kamuratanet* may also serve as a convergence point and a prerequisite in enhancing morality through the self-regulating techniques of behaviour management.This study brings to the fore the value of borrowing and intercultural dialogue necessary inthe present global village perspectives.

1.8 Scope

This study was primarily concerned with *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin in Kenya.In this study, attempts are made to investigate *Kamuratanet*within its traditional context. To achieve this, the study purposefully sought the recollections of an audience that interacted with Kalenjin culture in its original form, mainly aged 80 years and above (refer to table 3.1on informant profile)

Primarily, this study investigated *Kamuratanet*from an indigenous conceptualization of its educative component. This is because the modern Kalenjin still subscribe to principles of *Kamuratanet,* in conducting all critical matters such as marriage, child naming,child-rearingand socialization practices, conduct of matters related to death, inheritance and overall perceptions on schooling.Thus even within a Western dominated and overtly acknowledged Western oriented lifestyles, the Kalenjin unique identity originates from their pride of *Kamuratanet* as their cultural unifying social entity. However the gist of *Kamuratanet* procedures remains the domain of the elders who indeed are its custodians.

This study was carried out in Uasin-Gishu County and involved 12 respondents; 6 men and 6 women.The respondents were purposively selected for the study based on their perceived expertise on*Kamuratanet*.Most of the respondents were aged above 80 years old which enabled them present their views on *Kamuratanet* in its original form. Though their memory was slow, they needed patience and attention to enable them reconstruct their recollections.The age factor was critical in ensuring lived experience and comparative connections before colonization and after.

1.9Limitations to the Study

The perception of respondents may be influenced by their socio-economic status, educational levels, religious affiliation and memory.To get a balanced and objective representation of *Kamuratanet*,my research sample targeted participantswho had gone through modern school systems,the traditionalists and those that subscribe to non-traditional religious orientations and even those who formerly served in formal employment capacities in the modern government set up.Moreover those who served as *poyop-tum* (ritual leaders of *Kamuratanet*/gurus in *Kamuratanet*) were also consulted.To ensure their dwindling memory and failing hearing ability did not influence my findings negatively, I took time to listen to my respondents patiently and made several visits to them to corroborate their previous conversations, which were similar in all cases.I also used source triangulation where I invited several respondents to a common venue to discuss the issues they seemed to have provided differing views.

Secrecy among participants could have been a limitation, particularlyfor those aspects associated with *yatitaet* (circumcision) which are generally restricted by oaths of secrecy.To ensure my respondentsopenned up, I distinguished myself as a member of the cultural rite.I introduced myself using the ritual identity signs and language terminology.This allowedme to

make intensive interrogation into the various aspects of *Kamuratanet* as a behavior regulator among the Kalenjin.This study does not divulge the details of the restricted content.

Language could also have been another limitation.To overcome this challenge, I used the local dialect in conducting this study.My mastery of the Kalenjin language created confidence among participants and enabled them participate fully exposing a feeling of mastery,competence and pride.This was empowering to them because they were authoritative in the subject content.To avoid distraction by paper work and technology I used a small tape recorder, the size of the cell phones which most of them own.I also ensured I mastered the questions to avoid referring to written questions all the time.This enabled the interview to continue uninterrupted and remained focused.

1.10 Assumptions of the Study

The research study was guided by the following assumptions:

a) All respondents answered the questions asked truthfully and accurately to the best of their understanding, knowledge and recollection.

b) All behaviour exemplified by the members of the target population reflected a direct or indirect influence of *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin in Kenya.

c) The various *Kamuratanet* rituals observed and/or described are a promulgation of the self-regulating processes of behaviour management among the Kalenjin.

1.11Theoretical Framework

Three theories informed the study: first; the functionalist perspective as developed by Emile Durkheim and refined by Robert K. Merto and Talott Parsons(In Zastrow &Kirst-Ashman,

2001).Second, the socio-cultural theory of Lev Vygotsky as cited by Shaffer and Kipp (2010) and Miller (2011). The third premise is based on Albert Bandura`s social learning theory(Miller, 2011).

a) Functionalism

The functionalist perspective views society as a well organized system in which most members agree on common values and norms. According to the theory, institutions, groups and roles fit together in a unified whole. Members of a society do what is necessary to maintain a stable society because they accept the regulations and rules.

The Kalenjin society was stratified with various cultural forms coming together to form an organized cohesive whole and served as the cultural education and a tool of behaviour management within the culture.Indeed *Kamuratanet* influenced the social role expectations of its members. The introduction of new concepts and ideas by western education and religion caused dysfunctional tendencies which informed the concern of the study.The changes introduced to the Kalenjin system by westernization threaten the prior defined positions of its subjects thus causing anxiety and conflict. The cohesion and functional capacities of the various units of the Kalenjin culture relates well to the claims of functionalism. This makes the theory relevant in trying to understand the predicament confronting *Kamuratanet.*

b) Vygotsky's Sociocultural Approach

 The crux of the socio-cultural perspective as developed by Lev Vygotsky is that children's intellectual development is closely tied to their culture. For Vygotsky, human cognition, even when carried out in isolation, is inherently socioculturally affected by beliefs, values and tools of intellectual adaptation passed to individuals by their cultural custodians (Shaffer & Kipp,

2010; Miller, 2011). According to Vygotsky, children's mind develop as they take part in cooperative dialogues with skilled partners on tasks that are within their zones of proximal development and incorporate what skilful tutors say to them into what they say to themselves.

This theory helps us understand the unique role that *Kamuratanet* serves as a socializing agent and how it influences the behaviour of individuals.This is because *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management defines the cultural standards of the Kalenjin and specifies what is to be learned and how it is to be learned. Yet *Kamuratanet* is faced by many challenges mainly due to Westernization, with its accompanying systems such as Christianity and modern education systems.Any alterations or additions to the pre-existing conditions have consequences to the functions of the whole cultural outfit. This too concurs with functionalism. The individual can thus be well understood within his/her cultural context herein signified by *Kamuratanet.*Functionalism can thus guide the study in exploring the consequences of the new order imposed on *Kamuratanet* by modernity.

c) Bandura's Social Learning Theory

Bandura theorizes that people are cognitive beings and think about the relationship between their behaviour and its consequences (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). The theory emphasizes observational learning and use of models that exhibit behaviours that others will imitate, or acquire through observational learning. *Kamuratanet* expected all adults to serve as models to the developing children, and *Motirenik* (Counsellors and teachers of initiates in seclusion following circumcision) to be role models to initiates.Individual members of one age set were also role models to the younger members of their own ageset and indeed to the subsequent agesets. (An ageset covered a period of 15 years and there was therefore a big chronological

age variation in the membership of an ageset). Therefore the influence of *Kamuratanet* goes beyond initiation to become an intergenerational phenomenon.This makes this theory critical to understanding this study.

Vygotsky's theory underscore the central role of culture in learning and managing behaviour; yet *Kamuratanet* is the epitome of cultural education whose emphasis is on observational learning and use of role models as postulated in Bandura's Social learning theory. Further, the Kalenjin society is structured into units that combine to inform their culture and traditional practices, consequently conforming to the assertions of the Functionalist perspective.The three theories thus form a concomitant concurrence for guiding the study: Functionalism addresses the structural aspects of *Kamuratanet;* Vygotsky's theory clarifies the role of culture in human development, while Bandura's Social learning theory focuses on the learning strategies.

1.12 Conceptual Framework of *Kamuratanet*

Kamuratanet involves educational, social and religious teachings of society's core values which form basic doctrines in which every adult in the society is expected to be knowledgeable about (Chemitei & Ogoma, 2012).*Kamuratanet* learning processes are formalized during circumcision and initiation but its influence goes on throughout the individual's lifetime from childhood to old age. Initiation among the Kalenjin is the intermediate stage between *Yatitaet* (circumcision) and *Tumdo* (ritual).

Circumcision among the Kalenjin is accompanied by several rituals (*Tumwek* plural for *tumdo* or *tum*)discussed in detail in chapter two and the data chapters in this study.The initiation rituals are carried out in *Menjo*(Seclusion) alongside special learning instructions referred to as *Karureiwek*

Kamuratanet comprise the overral socialization processes of teaching and learning from childhood to old age. During late adolescence the youth go through *Yatitaet/*circumcision and seclusion where they undergo formal teaching-*Karureiwek*-and their prior knowledge is given new meaning. *Karureiwek* are limited to seclusion following *Yatitaet.*Furthermore, the initiates in seclusion go through various rituals *(Tumwek)* which relate specific aspects of social roles expected of the initiates in the society once they leave seclusion. *Tumwek* are not limited to seclusion. Many rituals are performed on individuals from childhood to old age.For instance, very old people performed a ritual that was seen as holly suicide *(kepa sieu)* when a full cycle of the agesets was reached (refer to figure 2.2) and wanted to pave way for the new agegroup with whom they share a name.The conceptualization of *Kamuratanet* can be summarized as follows:

Figure 1.1 Relationships between *Kamuratanet, Yatitaet* and *Tumdo*
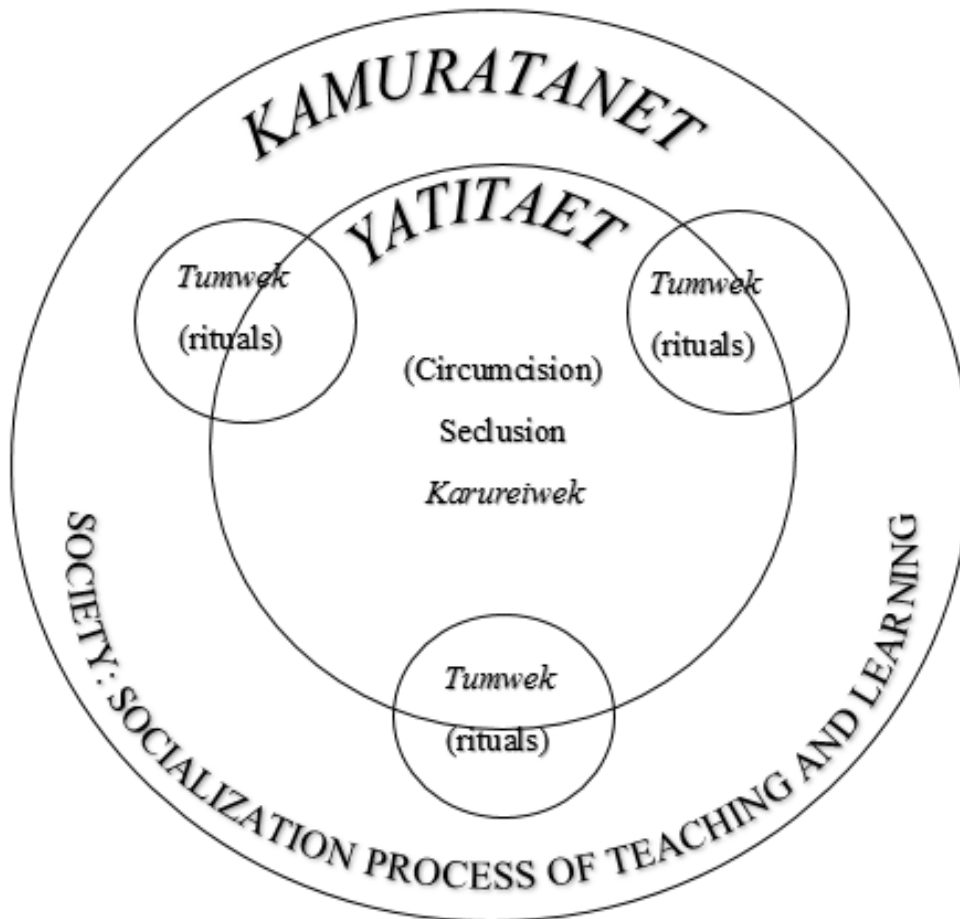
Karureiwek are special teachings only carried out in seclusion.The English equivalent word is "ripeners"implying ripening the initiates so that they can become adults.

1.13Definition of Terms.

The terms below are defined according to their usage in this study.

Kamuratanet: In this study it refers to Kalenjin traditional educational process of teaching its members appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards expected of its cultural members. Contents of *Kamuratanet* are formalized during *Yatitaet/*circumcision. Though basically associated with circumcision, the learning process goes on throughout an individual's lifetime and uses various social contexts to disseminate its contents.

Yatitaet: Literally means circumcision - the act of circumcising.In this study however it goes beyond circumcisionbecause it is accompanied by seclusion and associated rites where many rituals*(tumwek)*are preferred on the individual based on the standards articulated in*Kamuratanet.*

Tumdo: Literally means ritual. In this study*Tumdo* comprises of ceremonial rituals (*tumwek-* plural for *tumdo*) which serve as learning contexts of *Kamuratanet.*This is the practical unit of *Kamuratanet* where individuals undergo various activities and rituals that constitute practical lessons on behaviour and what is expected of them in their respective life stages. In initiation,*Tumdo* is often used in reference to male initiation ritesor rituals, while *soet*is used in reference to female initiation rites or rituals.Like *Kamuratanet, Tumdo* goes beyond seclusion and refers to any other ceremonies where rituals are performed such as child naming ceremony, engagement ceremony, marriage ceremony, or even a special prayer procession- *Keker pei*-performed by naked women following prolonged drought. Each social function has its own form of *tumdo.*

Self- Regulating Mechanisms: Refers to the capacity to control something by means of rules.In this study, it refers toautomated structures of *Kamuratanet* that obligate members of the community to take specified corrective steps as strategies to deter, ridicule, caution or even punish individuals who behave in ways that contradict the standards set and specified in*Kamuratanet*.

Behaviour management: To control or to be incharge of behaviour. It also means to keep behaviour under control.In this study it refers to specified actions and ways of conduct to be observed by the Kalenjins as instructed by principles in*Kamuratanet.*

Social Mechanism:refers to structures and contexts that are used in*Kamuratanet* in implementation of prescribed social order and behaviours.

Education: The process of teaching, training and learning to improve knowledge and develop skills.In this study, it refers to social, religious, behavioural, attitudes, skills, virtues and the entire academic content designed in*Kamuratanet* to guide the behaviour and conduct of the members of the Kalenjin cultural group in all life contexts.

Educators(*Motirenik):* A person who is an expert in the theories and methods of education. In this study it refers topeople with sound knowledge and good behaviour as determined by elders based on the standards established by *Kamuratanet.*

Curriculum: In this study it refers to the contents of education as determined by *Kamuratanet*.

Initation: Once circumcised, the initiates go through various rituals. A combination of circumcision and associated rituals constitute initiation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter first examines the global view of circumcision. Second, the chapter defines and locates the concept of education within the context of *Kamuratanet* as a self regulating mechanism of behaviour management. Third, the chapter also describes the qualities of educators in the *Kamuratanet*context. Fourth; it discusses the influence of Kalenjin*Kamuratanet*on social behaviour management learning subject matter. Fifth; it describes the structures employed in Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* in implementing its social behaviour curriculum. Six, the chapter identifies the educational contexts used in Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* to dispense self-regulating social behaviour content and finally describes the inbuilt self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management deployed in *Kamuratanet*.

2.1 The Concept of Circumcision

This section examines the global concept of circumcision to determine the various meanings and connotations associated with it in various social contexts as a background to understanding the role of *Yatitaet* within the context of *Kamuratanet*.

2.1.1 The Global View of Circumcision

The historical conditions in which circumcision arose are obscure. Hodges (2001) explains that the practice probably began around 4th century B.C as attested by statutes and paintings depicting circumcision among Sumerians, Ethiopians, Phoenicians, Babylonians and Egyptians. Hodges further says that the frequency of circumcision in these periods and its possible social significance remains unclear. Circumcision can however be subdivided into

two forms: religious and secular (Mark, 2010).Circumcision in the African context is basically religious (Dunsmuir & Gordon, 1999).

2.1.2 Circumcision in the African Context

> The distribution of circumcision and initiation rites throughout Africa, and the frequent resemblance between details of ceremonial procedure in areas thousands of miles apart, indicate that the circumcision ritual has an old tradition behind it and its present form is the result of a long process of development (Wagner, 1949, p.335).

This section first gives a brief historical description of circumcision in the African context; second, it states its significance within the African social structure, third, it provides the defining criterion or common elements of the circumcision rituals and finally cites three cases- in West, South, and Eastern Africa-to augment the description presented. This will provide a better understanding of *Yatitaet* and *Kamuratanet* so that we can appreciate how social behaviour and learning is influenced.

The general study of African circumcision has been carried out by a number of scholars among them are Kenyatta, (1965); Makila, (1986); Mwamwenda (1995); Nangoli, (2000) and Senoga-Zake (2000). For instance, according to Akivaga and Odaga cited in Wanyama (2006), circumcumcision is a very important ceremony in communities that participate in it. Agreeably, Wanyama says "that anybody who avoids it or who is circumcised in hospital is looked down upon and rejected by the society because of going against cultural norms that direct and correct behaviour of the community members"(Wanyama, 2006, p.4).

According to Wagner (1949), most African communities practiced circumcision. Wagner says that circumcision in ancient Egypt was thought to be a mark of passage from childhood to adulthood.In addition, Wagner says that the alteration of the body and ritual of circumcision was supposed to give access to ancient mysteries reserved only for the initiated.In terms of the current study, this can be equated to the secrecy associated with circumcision rituals in *Kamuratanet* and which serve as self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management.

From Egypt, Wagner adds that, the tradition of circumcision was adopted by Semitic people and other neighbouring communities such as the Moabites, Ammonites, Ethiopians, Israelites, Edomites, Phoenicians, and Syrians etc.On the other hand Caldwell (1995) says that circumcision was a practice of societies speaking Proto-Bantu languages and that circumcision came to be general amongst Bantu speakers quite anciently.Moreover, Marck (2010) adds that circumcision amongst Bantu speakers defined a change in status at a time of earliest European entry into Africa.In addition Marck says that circumcision marked a clear break between childlike behaviour and elevation to warrior status.This model suggests too that circumcision possessed self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management.

According on Marck (1997) African circumcision is performed on older children and involves a defining criterion of stereotyped rituals consisting of the following elements:

a) Seclusion of the initiate – isolation from women and unclean children.Initiates are isolated for a variable period of time to enable them heal and be taught the behavioural procedures acceptable to the group.

b) Excision of the prepuce – closely linked to the notion of blood sacrifice.This involved removal of the prepuce or excision of part of the clitoris to symbolize sacrifice in shedding blood.

c) Test of collective or individual endurance after circumcision: Initiates are put through difficult exercises that always remain secret to the members of the cultural/religious group.

d) Wearing of special costumes – (see Appendix 1.1).Initiates wear special costumes during seclusion.Some even paint their faces with white or red soil to disguise their appearance.

e) Sometimes the adoption of a new name marking the child's true birth.The end of seclusion symbolizes a rebirth.Initiates are given new names to mark a new beginning.

Ritual circumcision is practiced across many cultures and is one of the most resilient of all traditional African practices, (Stinson, 2009).According to Stinson, the Niger-Congo speaking people practiced circumcision which occurred in young warrior initiation schools, and further points out the schools of Senegal and Gambia which he says were not so different from those of the Kenyan Kikuyu and the South African Zulu. In addition, the initiation rituals involved dramatic episodes in seclusion which serve to mystify the rituals, causing them to be permanently committed to memory.To this study, this reinforces the self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management like in the case of *yatitaet* in the context of *Kamuratanet.*

2.1.3 Circumcision in Southern Africa.

Gollaher (2000) says that among the Xhosa speaking people for instance, circumcision is performed on boys aged between 15 and 25 years of age and marks transition from boyhood-*ubukhwenkwe*- to manhood- *ubudoda.*This study equates this role to Yatutaet among the

Kalenjin where circumcision marks a transition from *lakwandi/*childhood or *ng'etandi/*boyhood *to chitondi/*adulthood or *murenondi/*manhood. Like in the case of the Kalenjin, Gallaher explains that to the Xhosa, circumcision as a rite of passage is a socially significant act, resulting in integration into community and assurance of acceptance and respect from other community members. Moreover, Schlegal and Barry (1990), point out that circumcision is an important social device in dealing with adolescent behaviour. Schlegal and Barry also add that the training and preparation provided at the initiation schools enables them to shift from childhood behaviour to more complex behaviour expected in adulthood.This sentiments concur the gist of the study on *Kamuratanet* where *Yatitaet/*circumcision is not just a physical act but indeed a context for educating the youth and inducting them into new socially acceptable behaviours.

Furthermore, Crowley and Kerner (1990) say that it is in initiation where young Xhosa men receive instructions on courtship and marriage practices. They disclose that cultural expectations regarding social responsibilities and their conduct as men in the community are transmitted and following initiation, men are afforded numerous privileges associated with their status.Besides, Crowley and Kerner point out that men who have been through initiation are distinguishable by their social behaviour and a particular vocabulary they learn during their time in the bush. Agreeably, circumcision in this context can be used to moderate behviour. On the other hand, Gollaher elaborates that circumcision marks the formal incorporation of males into Xhosa religion and tribal life.To this study the case of circumcision in South Africa provides an appropriate illustration of the African conceptualisation of circumcision as an educational strategy for initiating children to adulthood. This role is very similar to that of *Yatitaet* in the context of *Kamuratanet* as practiced by the Kalenjin. Like in

the case of *Yatitaet,* circumcision among the Xhosa defined the identity of individuals and possessed self-regulating procedures for behaviour management.

2.1.4 Circumcision in Western and Eastern Africa

To some West African groups such as Dogon and Dowayo, circumcision is taken to represent a removal of 'feminine' aspects of male (Marck, 2010). Furthermore, Marck says that circumcision according to these groups is a way of turning boys into fully masculine males.Similarly, like in the case of circumcision among the Xhosa in South Africa, circumcision in West Africa meets the general criteria for African circumcision and specifically the conditions suggested by Crowley and Kerner (1990).

On the other hand, according to Wagner (1949), circumcision in East Africa is a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. For instance, Wagner says that amongst the Kikuyu people of Kenya and the Maasai people of Kenya and Tanzania, circumcision has historically been the graduation element of an educational program which taught tribal beliefs, practices, culture, religion and history to the youth who were on the verge of becoming full-fledged members of society.This underscores the importance of circumcision in fostering social collectivism and regulating behaviour similar to *Yatitaet.*This study argues that such concepts can be recalled, moderated to reflect current reality and incorporated into the moderm school system where managing the behaviour of the youth is a challenge.

2.1.5 Modifications on Structure and Practice of Circumcision

This section discusses the attempts made by various groups in Kenya to pacify the stringent circumcision procedures in order to conform to the challenges of modernity, mainly in urban areas.

In the African traditional set up, circumcision was carried out in rural areas where there were many environmental contexts that supported the rituals associated with these rites of passage (Marck, 2010).With urbanization and "modernity", the practice is faced with numerous challenges. Yet according to Marck, circumcision particularly for the boys remains absolutely relevant for the circumcising communities. This study argues that circumcision whatever form it took in the African set up constituted a socially accepted way of educationg the youth so that they could take up their adult roles and careers in socially accepted ways. This is a featurecthat is lacking in modern educational system which consequently produces irresponsible adult. This study therefore is an attempt link the critical features of cultural education to modern system of education,

Stinson (2009) says that to a majority of African communities, initiation whatever form it takes, for example removal of teeth among the Luo of Kenya or circumcision among various other communities plays an indispensable role in social identity of individuals. Faced with the challenges of modernity, Stinson says various attempts have been made to pacify the stringent structure and practice of circumcision while retaining its role.Indeed no one is allowed to suffer the indignity of remaining uninitiated in spite of the changed environment of operation.This challenge affects all the circumcising communities in Kenya.

In matters relating to modification of the stringent circumcision procedures, Kiberenge (2012) in a feature appearing in one of the daily news papers discusses the challenges faced by the urban population in Kenya in relation to the rite of circumcision and their attempts at adapting to the new environment. Kiberenge explains that   parents in urban areas find it hard to take their teenage sons upcountry for circumcision and the subsequent initiation process.Further, Kiberenge explains that while some still take their sons to the rural areas for circumcision,

others find themselves in an awkward situation to deal with.For instance, taking boys to the rural villages for their rite of passage does not always work as many did not understand the local languages and some of the cultural practices and beliefs that are taught to them are virtually alien. However, Kiberenge says circumcision still defines   the social acceptability of the person.

Consequuently, according to the Newspaper report, parents in the urban areas have crafted a modification of the structure and practice of the rite with an aim of retaining its role. To suffice the need for an urban youth friendly initiation program, the News paper report says a group of elites in Nairobi led by Regina Wanderi joined hands with 14 families, and life Counselors in 2004 to formulate a cultural simulation rite that offers a complete package comprising of circumcision for boys and counseling and training for both sexes . They named it IRAP (initiation to responsible adulthood program). According to IRAP girls are taken through an alternative rite of passage and a symbolic 'cut' to initiate them in to womanhood. Though this approach is initiated by members of Kikuyu community it is open to others willing to join them.

According to the IRAP structure, before initiates are taken in the counsellor's custody, they hold three seminars with the parents to agree on the ground rules. Top among those rules are those that ban family visit and use of mobile phones during the eight day session. The IRAP approach can be equated to seclusion in the cultural respect. Seclusion created a 'vacuum' in the thought process of the initiates, which could be filled with the new knowledge provided under the auspices of the rite. Like in the cultural rituals IRAP initiates are made to sing songs of courage before they are circumcised just as they do in the cultural rite.

The report says that during this critical period boys and girls are taken through various lessons separately. The topics revisited include; understanding their changing bodies and roles, sexuality, womanhood and chastity, dangers of premarital sex, drug abuse etc. Boy and girl initiates sometimes share common lessons. This concurs with the educational and behaviour regulation role of *Yatitaet* in *Kamuratanet* context. In addition, the report says since those groups are multi-ethnic the parents are expected to teach their children their respective cultures and customs.In the context of*Kamuratanet*, this would allow the initiates to integrate the lessons in seclusion to the lessons taught by various actors, and more importantly parents, before seclusion.

Similarly, *Yatitaet* procedures among the Kalenjin has in some circumstances been modified to accommodate the needs of its members (Sambu, 2007; Chebet, 2007). For instance some Kalenjin elites have come together mainly in the urban areas to form circumcising teams for their sons (Researcher's experience).Prominent among the teams are the Kitengela group based in Nairobi and the Kruger farm group based in Moiben, Western Kenya.The two groups have attempted to integrate Christian values and modern hygiene standards within the traditional circumcision practices.For instance the Kitengela initiative is headed by Kalenjin religious leaders, yet on the contrary attempt to harmonise the Christian approaches to cultural methodologies in order to make its graduants acceptable to both sides and more importantly to maintain connections with their cultural values and heritage. This was done following a realization that the youth who were initially circumcised purely on Christian standards faced hostility and rejection from those who went through traditional initiation (Chebet, 2007). As a result, most of them were traumatized by the rejection and were forced to seek re-initiation within the traditional *Kamuratanet* standards. Only time will tell if the integrated approach

will be seen to meet the threshold for acceptance by the traditionalists relative to *Kamuratanet* standards.

2.2 Definition and Location of the Concept of Education in the Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* Context.

This section defines and locates the concept of education within the Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* context. It is also important to state here that old literature was purposefully reviewed to allow the study to capture adequately what could have lost due to the challenges of modernity especially in relation to *Kamuratanet.*

To the Kalenjin*Kamuratanet,* education starts from early childhood and continues through old age.It is a holistic undertaking concerned with cultivating the required skills, knowledge, attitudes, virtues, religious orientation and moral standards as specified by *Kamuratanet* standards.Parents and indeed adults are obligated to teach the younger generations.However*Yatitaet/*circumcision which was followed by seclusion marked a time of formal education and a reference point in terms of cultural education.Thus,in circumcision/*Yatitaet* all prior instruction received by the youth was consolidated and given new meaning relative to cultural expectations.

For instance, Chebet (2007) in her book, 'A curriculum of *Tumndo Ne Leel*: a coming of age concept' notes that for a long time, the Kalenjin have defied campaigns from the church and state to end female circumcision. In addition, she oberves that some Christian believers and public servants alike condemned the practice in public but individually condoned it because when their daughters attained marriage age, the missing link from childhood to adulthood compelled them to perform the rite secretly. Clearly, this situates the critical role of *Yatitaet* as

an educational unit of *Kamuratanet* that prepares the youth for adult responsibilities.

In *Kamuratanet, Yatitaet/*circumcision and *tumdo/*initiation ritualprovidesa major educational link for transition from childhood to adulthood (Snell, 1954; Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973; Mbiti, 1973 and Sambu, 2007). Certainly, initiation stipulates the expected social roles in readiness for the new adult responsibilities and regulates the behaviour of all individuals relative to the acceptable morals and behavioural standards (Chemitei & Ogoma, 2010). Faced by the tricky situation, Chebet (2007) sought to design a new approach to girls' initiation ostensibly because of the apparent gap and indirectly acknowledging that the situation for the boys who undergo cultural circumcision -*Yatitaet*- is fine. Chebet has this to say about the new approach:

> This new approach of introducing change among Kalenjin communities without totally discarding their traditional culture is a noble idea, which serves, as a unifying factor for communities, which though share one culture, have been drifting apart with time. The differences in level of development have been attributed to politics, environment, land terrain and access to formal education, which affects each community differently. None of the issues above could bring the Kalenjin communities together more than this new approach of initiating girls, (2007, p.4).

Arguably, Chebet hopes to use the new approach to foster the Kalenjin values propagated by *Kamuratanet* as a thread that holds the Kalenjin community together by setting and fostering similar ways of behaving.Accordingly, *Kamuratanet* learning contentsas formalised through initiation is the single strongest unifying force for the Kalenjin and could be used to set and define the community's agenda.This agrees with the behaviourists' definition of learning which constitute change of behaviour (Ndurumo,2002).In addition, Chebet in describing the nature of the educational contentsagreeably explains that the rite defines the moral code and social ethics of the Kalenjin which is tied to the custom that symbolize the unity of the whole community.

Similarly, *Kamuratanet* asan educational cultural self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management captures this reality in that its contents are critical in modifying individual behaviour patterns of the Kalenjin people.Moreover, on the eminence of cultural education in regulating the behaviour, history and the destiny of the human kind, Levinson and Ember (1996) explains:

> As a concept, cultural control not only gave rationale for European expansion and colonialism, but it also rationalized why they behaved as they did where they went in relation to conquest, genocide, slave labour and exploitation of natural resources.This concept was later implanted in the third world as a goal to be emulated if they wished to modernize (p.266)

In essence cultural education doesnot only influence the way we perceive the world, but also has the capacity to replicate itself.Indeed, culture has an educational capacity and in it the knowledge that directs and informs the society. In relation to this, Mead (1928) argues that the amount of knowledge and education obtained is filteredthrough cultural screens that select stimuli for attention.Consequently, the stimuli receivedin form of education effectively define the longer experience, the object, person or idea and the general perceptions of

individuals.This is certainly the effect of *Kamuratanet* to the members of its cultural constituency.

Agreeably, Mead adds that cultural rules organize the field of experience into categories and make education or experience manageable by generalizing about certain similar experiences and by placing them together.This is the role played by *Kamuratanet* in organizing the experiences and perception of the Kalenjin as corroborated by Sammut et al.:

> Human beings, by virtue of socially and culturally shared representations of roles, unified in a culturally constituted practical knowledge, show up as intelligible in the same way that objects in our environment do …Culturally constituted objective serves to structure automatic non-conscious interaction (Sammut et al.2010,p.132).

Arguably therefore, it is through cultural education that "human beings have become ontologized as rational animals or as information processors", (Taylor, 2006).Clearly, it is on the basis of cultural knowledge that people discover the meanings by grasping the underlying pattern and the implicit frame of reference that people have learned.Furthermore, Kraeber and Parsons (1958) emphasized the structural aspect of culture when they identified them as patterns of values, ideas and other symbolic meaningful systems.In addition, Goodenough (1957) also explains that culture concerns the forms of things that people have in their minds which function as sets of plans for ordering behaviour. These attributes are embedded in *Kamuratanet* and as an educetional vehicle of culture serve to determine the individual's behaviour patterns.

In the same way, Kelly (1955) points out that in order to make sense out of human behaviour, we must begin with the person's definitions of the situation and adds that a feature of such meaning is the principle of contrast.In relation to this principle, *Kamuratanet* as an educational concept provides the background or frame of reference that informs our behaviour patterns

(Chemitei & Ogoma, 2012).Besides, Greenhouse (1986) and Boungarther (1988) explain that cultural education is used as a masking device, a legitimizing strategy or a model for social life. Furthermore, on cultural education, Dumont (1977) also argues that culture provides a blue print for social organization and social life. This is yet again clarified by Lev Vygotsky's sociocultural theory which focused on how culture – the belief, values, traditions and skills of social group – is transmitted from generation to generation. Vygotsky's postulation is domesticated by Gathura (n.d) who explains that traditional education attempts to dissuade young men from practices designated by culture as women's activities right from childhood and they learn to establish the belief that there are separate roles for men and women. Yet social development is a better facilitator of all human socio-political and economic advancement.

Gathura (n.d) further explains that the traditional education had a lot of faith in strong family units which depended on stable marriages. Gathura further elaborates that though both men and women needed each other to set up a family, nevertheless cultural education assigned the woman vicarious roles where the man made binding decisions without necessarily consulting his wife. Contestable as this may be, culture purposed to create a center that holds; that could be used to regulate the behaviour of its members.This is the promise that *Kamuratanet* strives to deliver through its behaviour management strategies.

In this respect the study argues that *Kamuratanet* is in the best position to alter the mind set of the Kalenjin by domesticating concepts of the Western oriented type of education into its educational units. It may provide a forum and an appropriate context for focusing on the behavioural goals of the Kalenjin relative to modern academic attainments.The self-regulating properties of *Kamuratanet* for instance can be employed to cultivate a sense of ownership

giving rise to positive and self directed interest in modern education (Sambu, 2007).

2.3 Characteristics of Educators in the Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* Context.

This section describes the characteristics and roles of educators in the Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* context.

The teachers of *Kamuratanet* whose voices were loud mainly during *yatitaet* were known as *Motirenik*. In the English sense, the term tutor has closer attributes to *Motiriot* (plural: *Motirenik*).The initiates are put under the tutelage of those already initiated and had further won the confidence of the community members as appropriate role models. However, a seniortutor and his assistant are fully charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the programmes are adhered to to the letter. Once a youth has been chosen for initiation, he or she loses his/her freedom and becomes a captive to the tutors who served as role models until initiation is complete, (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973). The tutors are charged with the responsibility of turning children into men or women.

Similarly, Kipkorir and Welbourn point out that with good tutelage, the initiates go through a hard time during the rite. Tutors are harsh; keep a day and night watch over initiates.Besides, according to Sambu (2007), three key personalities work as the main tutors to the initiates namely:

  i. *Poyoptum or korgoptum* -ritual leader for men and women respectively.
  ii. Two *Motirenik*; senior and junior- tutors/counselors/educators
  iii. Those that have gone through *Kamuratanet*rituals, specifically circumcision.

According to Sambu, these people had to be *Lipwoop*, that is, unblemished and perfect in every way. They were role models whose qualities were above reproach.Similarly, they were

to be perfect in every sense and posses a good track record where their previous clients or initiates were seen to be successful. Infact, even deaths in their nuclear families made them unclean and disqualified them from such roles. In the traditional society, the role of *poyoptum* and *motiriot* was reserved for people who exhibited the following attributes:

   i.   *Tegis*-respect/ integrity

   ii.   *Aiyepin*-generous/hospitable/unselfish/kind

   iii.   *Tolosiet*-politeness/kindness/generally good behaviour.

The above characteristics are discussed in detail in Chapter four under moral principles.An observation of this study however is that today these roles have been taken over by the lowest in the social strata: people who are ready to sleep in the "bush" or spent time with initiates so as to profit from the food provided to the initiates while the 'elites' are preoccupied with economic endeavors.This is because the modern role models are too busy pursuing their professional endevours or businesses and consequently fail to commit time to participating fully in the initiation programmes. This leaves the process under the management of the unemployed; least educated andis willing to share the challenges of *menjo*(seclusion) with the initiates.

2.4Influence of*Kamuratanet* on Social Behaviour Management Learning Subject Matter

> To be in a viable culture is to be bound in a set of connecting stories, connecting even though the stories may not represent consensus (Brunner as cited in Hammack, 1990, p.507).

The general objective of this study was to investigate *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin.In this section, the connection between culture and psychology relative to learning is established since the domain of these concepts is behaviour. The section further describes how *Kamuratanet* influences the social behaviour learning content. This is critical because,*Kamuratanet* in this study is described as a Socio-educational cultural process designed by the Kalenjin to set acceptable knowledge, attitudes, moral standards, and guide and regulate the behaviour of its people.

Inthe learning context of *Kamuratanet*which is the driving force behind Kalenjin culture, children did not learn by going to school with other children, neither did their parents formally teach such lessons as weaving and hunting (Ociti,1973). Instead, they learned by actively participating in culturally relevant activities alongside more skilled partners who provided necessary aid and encouragement (Gauvain, 2001; Rogoff, 1998).

Miller, (2011) further explains that guided participation as an informal apprenticeship in thinking in which children's cognitions are shaped as they partake, alongside adults or other more skillful associates in everyday culturally relevant experiences. Barbara Rogoff (In Shaffer & Kipp 2010) believes that cognitive growth is shaped as much or more by these informal adult-child transactions. As a strategy of *Kamuratanet*, this approach also helped in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of the youth resulting in greater social participation.

Nevertheless, African approaches towards acquisition of knowledge have been trivialized.Ngugi (1986) argues that African realities have for far too long been seen in terms

of tribes and therefore dispised:

> This misleading stock of interpretation of the African realities has been popularized by the Western media which likes to deflect people from seeing that imperialism is still the root cause of many problems in Africa…The effect of cultural bomb is to annihilate a peoples belief in their names,in their languages, in their environments,in their heritage, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.It makes them see their past as one of wasteland and a non-achievement and it makes themwant to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves, for instance, with other people`s languages rather than their own (Ngugi,1986,p.x).

Indeed, in relation to learning,*Kamuratanet*influences behaviour management content in different ways; first, in *Yatitaet*/circumcision, it is presented as a physical symbol; a mark of social approval; transitioning from childhood to adulthood.Second,in *tumdo*(seclusion) after circumcision, it is presented through verbal instruction and dramatization through rituals to be observed by initiates;Thirdly,*Kamuratanet* is further presented as an educational procedure applied from childhood to old age where adults and significant others serve as role models. Fourth, *Kamuratanet* sets tools of behaviour regulation and management and sets standards of acceptable conduct and draws the blue print for the behaviour of the Kalenjin. Finally, it is a system which possesses internal mechanisms of self-regulation.Thus *Kamuratanet*provides a frame if reference for learning. According to this study therefore, though no literature has related *Kamuratanet* to education, it is clear that it influences behaviour management learning subject matter in form and content.

2.4.1 Relationship between *Kamuratanet* and Culture

Kamuratanet is the vehicle through which Kalenjin culture is propagated from one generation to the next.Indeed, to this study *Kamuratanet* provides the chain that bind together Kalenjin people of different generations into an identifiable social entity.

*Kamuratanet*as a cultural educational construct, structures learning procedures, governs and regulates behaviour and further sets social standards and expectations.Consequently, the psychological significance of *Kamuratanet*is investigated.In this connection, Zastrow and Kirst – Ashman (2001) postulate that to understand human behaviour, there is need to analyze the multiple systems in which an individual is involved. To them, the systems consist of families, groups, organizations and communities. Indeed *Kamuratanet* consistsof various systems, the most significant being *Yatitaet/*circumcision and initiation.A system in this study is described as a set of elements that are interrelated to make a functional whole.

2.4.2 Link between *Kamuratanet* and Education

Barker (1999) describes culture as the customs, habits, skills, technology, arts, values, ideology, science, religion and political behaviour of the larger society in which the individual live.These features constitute the contents of educational programmes of any social group.Thus, through the provision of meaning, narratives from salient content of the mind reveal the link to a community of shared stories and practices (Bruner, 2008).For this reason, culture influences individual thinking and ultimately community psychology.On the link between culture and personal narrative Gjerd (2004) says:

> By querying this process, cultural psychologist gain access to larger process of social reproduction as it unfolds.Because personal narratives reveal the positions of subjects within a matrix of power relations and the internalization of a discourse at any given moment, they provide windows into the process person-culture co-construction.A cultural psychology that privileges the study of personal narrative, concurrent with the

study of the social cultural context within which individuals construct narratives, thus illuminates the dynamism of culture and its ongoing contestation (p.139).

Yatitaet, which is a component of *Kamuratanet,* marks the epitome of Kalenjin enculturation, which starts from birth. It is therefore plausible to say that "children in various cultures learn skills valued by the culture" (Miller, 2011, p.175). Consequently, culture defines the education and educational needs of any social group. Miller further notes that;

> Culture cannot be separated out and treated as an external factor; Culture is everywhere and it serves to organize all experience.Mind and culture cannot be separated.We need to not only identify differences in practices in different cultures but also to understand the process by which culture operates in all settings (Miller, 2011, p.174).

According to Miller culture organizes everyday experiences and nurtures social development by providing a blueprint for societal expectations.

In terms of socialization for instance, infants are treated differently based on cultural gender role expectations from birth (Carroll & Wolpe, 1996; Hyde & Delamater, 2000). This not only relates to the nature-nurture argument on human growth and development, but it also explainshow culture shapes personality. Santrock (1999) adds that the father's role in the family, availability and nature of support systems, and perspectives on disciplining children vary greatly among cultures.Similarly, for the Kalenjin, *Kamuratanet* assigns members of the Kalenjin cultural group their roles and responsibilities in the social strata. For instance *Kamuratanet* clearly spells out parenting standards and expectations.

2.4.3 Link between *Kamuratanet* and Behaviour

Cultural variations involving expectations and values prescribed by each culture may influence the behaviour of its members by shaping their life scripts.Scripts are life plans formed during childhood based on early interactions with parents and significant others which

indeed informs our definitions on what is acceptable and what is not acceptable(Harris,1969).

Subsequently, *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism shapes the personality of the Kalenjin.This affirms the power of culture over individual and group psychology and in the same manner re-emphasize the role of *Kamuratanet* in regulating the behaviour of the Kalenjin.Clearly, culture has profound psychological effects which are manifested in day to day behaviour of individuals.

2.4.4 Infuence of *Kamuratanet* on Cultural Roles

In most societies, roles are culturally determined.For instance, Zastrow and Kirst −Ashman, (2001) points out that male have a number of traditional gende-role expectations in the society. They are expected to be tough, fearless, logical, self-reliant, independent and aggressive. In addition, a man should have definite opinions that affect society. On the contrary, the female isa home maker; expected to be obedient, warm, and motherly.Similarly, *Kamuratanet* sets gender roles and social expectations for the Kalenjin.

On the power of culture, Plato, cited in Conford (1966) offers a social psychological insight by pointing out that the overwhelming majority of individuals are incapable of resisting the voice of culture that sorrounds them.According to Plato, these include their values,beliefs,and perceptions which he argues will always tend to mirror those of the

nurturing culture.These aspects of culture are promulgated through the educational systems of communities such as *Kamuratanet*.

Based on the above discussion, it is apparent that educational contents such as those provided *Kamuratanet* enables its members to function well in their social arena to remain psychologically healthy.Agreeably, Levinson and Ember (1966) postulate that cultural beliefs are discernible in multiple genres of a society's discourse and serve as the source of context for specific constructions.

Further, Fromm (1992) observes thatsubscriptionn to culture automatically elicits behaviour in the way that the particular culture expects.Fromm notes that the individual must wish to do what they must do.In addition, Fromm says that if any of them had to decide on day to day basis they would probably decide just as often as not against the social demands, thus threatening the good functioning of society.

This clearly captures the self-regulating aspects of culture which are employed by people influenced by *Kamuratanet*.Culture therefore provides a blue print for expected behaviour and the individual must act almost automatically in keeping with the norms of their society.Consequently, a social behaviour trait must become a character trait.Similarly,*Kamuratanet* influence automates the cultural standards in the Kalenjin and ensures the psychological health of individuals as suggested by Fromm:

> For the social purpose, human beings must have the objective of their social character.For the ends of man, for his well-being and his self realization; he must create a society that will fulfil the goals of the human race. A society will be healthy if it tends towards the creation of a social character that approximates the universal human character; the more the discrepancies there are between the social demands and the human demands, the worse the society will be (Fromm,1992,pp.163-146).

2.5.0Educational Contexts used to dispense Self-Regulating Social Behaviour

Management Contents

> Through the culture of circumcision,society organizes its members into hierarchies and groups with defined, distinctive roles.The culture directs and determines all aspects of human behaviour, interactions and believe systems.It is passed from one generation to the next, through articulated rituals, language and symbols (Darby,2008,p.172).

This section first describes the Kalenjin concept of circumcision/*Yatitaet* as a segment of the wider educational programme among the Kalenjin*Kamuratanet*. Second, this section presents a step by step description of the structural units that constitute *yatitaet* and their implications relative to the study.

2.5.1 Foreword to Educational Contexts in *Kamuratanet*

Hornby, (Ed) (2015) in The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary describes circumcision as the act of circumcising; the religious ceremony when somebody, especially baby is circumcised. The word circumcise is further explained as; to remove the foreskin of a baby or a man for religious or medical reasons. According to Kipkorir and Welbourn,(1973) circumcision, referred to in Kalenjin as *Yatitaet* represent the most critical unit of the Kalenjin traditional education programme herein conceptualized as *Kamuratanet.*Sambu (2007) adds that to the Kalenjin, the word *Kamuratanet* is a complex term that denotes a series of activities and meanings.It incorporates learning and the entire education a child goes through to become a Kalenjin.The climax of this learning process is realized in *Yatitaet*.On the other hand the position of this study is that *Kamuratanet* is a life long process unlike circumcision and initiation which are limited to seclusion period.

Besides, for the Kalenjin, it is possible for one to be initiated without being

circumcised(Researcher's experience).Indeed,under special circumstances, persons have been initiatedwithout having to go through the 'cut'; removal of foreskin or excision of part of the clitoris.These may include individuals who had previously been circumcised under traditions that are not recognized by *Kamuratanet*.These may include circumcision based on Christianity or other cultures other than that of the Kalenjin.However, a derogatory term was used to refer to such initates; *Chepkinuriat*-meaning one soaked in water- and the act described as *Kenur,* meaning to be soaked in water.Nevertheless, such individuals enjoyed equal rights, privileges and status once seclusion period was over.

According to Chebet, (2007) the Kalenjin terminology for circumcision is *Tumdo*.Nevertheless, the appropriate terminology adapted in this study for the word circumcision in Kalenjin is *yatitaet*. However, in many instances, the word *Tumdo*(noun) has been used to refer to initiation which goes hand in hand with *Yatitaet* in seclusion. Magesa (1998) clearly captures the definition of the concept *yatitaet*to the Kalenjinwhich include; seclusion – separation-transition-physical impression – removal of foreskin from the penis/or excision of the clitoris, integration and covenant.

Variously, Snell, (1954) and Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) prefer to use the term initiation to circumcision. This term too may not be precise as Kalenjin prefer many initiation ceremonies (*Tumwek*, plural for *tumdo/tum)* in an individual's lifespan. For instance one may be initiated into the warrior group, junior elder etc. Even with the function here described as circumcision – *yatitaet*– individuals go through various stages of initiation units. Consequently, this study adopts the term *Kamuratanet* to incorpprate

all procedures prescribed by the Kalenjin in fostering learning and managing the behaviour of

its members in their lifetime.

Once circumcised and initiated, a Kalenjin was assigned to an age set. Sambu (2007) points out that the age-set assumed by the initiates does not merely play a nominal role; it is a point of reference for each member's commitment to his fellow initiates and to the community at large. Besides, Sambu says each member of an age-set has to live up to the expectations the community has towards each age-set.As a matter of fact, Sambu says initiation to the Kalenjin, is not social prestige but beginning of definite social responsibilities.

Moreover,Chebet and Dietz, (2000) say that circumcision did not only involve the act of cutting off the prepuce of male's or female's genitals, but was a culmination of the cultural socialization process which started right at birth. Ineed they point out that circumcision involved religious indoctrination of the society's core values which formed the basic doctrines in which every adult in the society was expected to be knowledgeable about. *Kamuratanet and Yatitaet* should thus be understood in these contexts.

Hollis, (1909) indicates that during the pre-colonial days, boys circumcision festivals were held every 7 ½ years when most youths were between the ages ten and twenty. He says younger boys were only circumcised if they were fairly rich, orphans or if their fathers were old men. In addition, Hollis says the commonest age for circumcision was between fifteen and nineteen. However, there are conflicting reports regarding the amount of time set out for seclusion after circumcision.For instance, Snell (1954) points out that in times of peace and plenty, seclusion lasted up to six months.On the contrary, Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) say that traditionally three months were sufficient for seclusion.

 Nevertheless, by 1964, a month was considered sufficient, and the training was less

intensive.Consequently the importance of initiation had been seriously undermined by Western Education according to Kipkorir and Welbourn.Despite this it is important to point out the fact that Kalenjin traditional circumcision (*Yatitaet*) has maintained its basic structure and teachings to this day, which proves the resilience of these features of culture and the need for a fresh look at the purposes they serve. This study concurs with the functionalist perspective and consequently argues that the behavioural disillusionment experienced among the youth today is a result of undermining cultural structures of behaviour management.The past can thus be called upon to help pasify modern behavoiural challenges, albeit in a different way.

TABLE 2.5: *Yatitaet* **Time Table**

RITUAL	FUNCTION	ACTIVITY	
First ritual	First function: preparation	Involving relatives Involving neighbourhood	
	Second function: introduction to *yatitaet*	Shaving heads clean Drinks strong purge Dressed in girls attire Seeking uncle's permission	
	Third function: *cheptilet/aiyuet*	Coronation-special attire Test of endurance (not specified*) Going to kimosop (not specified*) Confession and forgiveness	
	Fourth function: circumcision/*yatitaet*	*Poyop-tum/korgop-tum* perform first operation using *kipos*/special knife Observation for cowardice (*kip-ite*) Operation completed *Kimusanyit* buried (not specified*)	

RITUAL	FUNCTION	ACTIVITY
Second ritual	Lapet ap eun/washing hands (cleansing)	Literal washing of hands Offering foreskin to God Initiates given new names Girls clothes exchanged for special attire- *nyorkit* Healing/tutorials/gender based tasks
Third ritual	*Suiyet*	Special dance held Initiates go to kapkiyai-river Go back to their huts through father's home
Fourth ritual	*Rikset*	Bull roars (not specified*) Friction drums (not specified*) Questions for test of knowledge Given new names *Ng'etunot* feast in father's home assigned agesets and agegrades Boys join worrior class Girls ready for marriage

The table above is a summary of events that constitute circumcision (yatitaet) schedule among the Kalenjin. It is a contextual estimate of rituals that constitute yatitaet (circumcision) as pillars of Kamuratanet.

2.5.2 Contextual Organization of *Yatitaet*

It is prudent to state that circumcision /*Yatitaet* is the most significant unit of *Kamuratanet* among the Kalenjin.One therefore can not purport to understand *Kamuratanet* without acquiring sound knowledge on the various structures and contexts of *Yatitaet/*circumcision.Nevertheless, though a global phenomenon, circumcision has different meanings and roles for various communities and societies that practice it.

To appreciate the role of *Yatitaet* as a critical educational segment of *Kamuratanet* it is important to understand the various contexts used to dispense the self-regulating social behaviour contents. Consequently, this section gives a step by step description of the contextual organization of *Yatitaet.*

2.5.2.1 Preparation for Circumcision and Initiation in *Kamuratanet* Context

Overall preparation for the rite takes several years. However a month before the event, old women start collecting milk which they put in big jars (gourd) for the initiates consumption after operation. It was generally taken mixed with blood, (Hollis 1909).Hollis says that days immediately before the operation, initiated brothers and significant others build up the courage of the initiates by mocking them.This is because it is a great shame to cry during the operation, not only to the concerned but to his whole family. Hence, initiation was at once an individual and family as well as a corporate concern: individual because it makes children into 'persons' in the full social sense; family because of the responsibilities involved; corporate because youth are initiated as a group from each locality (sambu, 2007).As a context of learning, the preparation informed the initiates of the seriousness of the task ahead of them.

In addition, Sambu says that as preparations pick up, the youth are sent to inform the relatives

and significant others with emphasis on maternal uncles without whose presence the rituals cannot be conducted. The old women also used this period to prepare the gowns from goat skin to be used by the initiates during seclusion (Hollis, 1909).

2.5.2.2 Ceremony: First Ritual of Initation in *Kamuratanet*

Hollis (1909) and Snell (1954) say that preparation for initiation takes a lot of time, efforts and resources.This is because all family members and relatives are involved in preparation. Besides, Hollis adds that in the long run, the entire neighbourhood is involved.The education of the youth was therefore a socially collective obligation. Nevertheless, the actual implementation is structured into specific rituals which are implemented on specific days. Indeed two rituals can be performed in a single day, yet some could be several days apart.

2.5.2.3 Function One of *Yatitaet*: Construction of Hut/*Menjet*

According to Hollis, the ceremony is commenced when the moon is in the first quarter. In this respect, the boys are handed over by their fathers to a number of elderly men called *Motirenik* three days before the operation. "Once a youth has been chosen for initiation, they lose their freedom and become captive totheir tutors, who are charged with the responsibility of turning children into men" (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973,p. 45).They add that Tutors then proceed with their boys to a neighbouring river that has plenty of forest on its banks, and set to work to build a hut, *menjet*. Hollis says that in this hut two men live with the boys for about six months after the operation.As an educational context, this brought the realization that the initiates were now self-reliant and nolonger dependent on their parents.

2.5.2.4 Function Two of *Yatitaet*: Shaving the Head

On the morning following the erection of the hut, tutors pour some milk and water mixed with

salt on a stool or *ng'echeret* which has a depression in the centre and rub a little on the boy's head as they sit outside the ceremonial home/ *kot ap tumdo* (Hollis, 1909). They then shave boys' heads -to signify the beginning of a new dawn (Sambu, 2007) and having collected all the hairs, throw them away towards the rising sun (snell, 1954). Hollis adds that after being shaven, the boys are given a strong purge which is made from *segetet, usuet* or *sukumeriet* trees (Archasia).

In addition, during the course of the morning, warriors visit the huts and seize and take away with them the entire boy's clothes and ornaments.Subsequently, young girls pay them a visit and give them some of their own clothes (*ingoriet ap ko*) and ornaments. Finally, having attired themselves in these, the boys who now receive the name of *torusiek* (initiates) start off to inform their maternal uncles and other relations living in the neighborhoods that they are going to be circumcised and invite them to be present.Sambu explains that if they have no maternal uncle living, a maternal cousin may take his place. Sambu further cautions that without the sanction of a maternal uncle or his representative no operation can be performed. The maternal uncle must be present on this occasion.This study explains the scenario as a self-regulating mechanism of fostering collectivism and maintaining the connections, relevance and authority of the maternal relatives- who are not considered clan members- for the purpose of regulating behaviour and achieving social cohesion.

2.5.2.5 Function Three of *Yatitaet: Cheptilet/Sumbererio* (Song andDance)

For the purpose of simplicity, I will illustrate this section using the rite performed on boys but it is important to note that the same procedures were replicated for girls though occasionally some aspects of rituals were given different names, for instance *yatitaet* for girls was specified by the term *soet.*

According to Hollis, the next day dances are held which are called *Cheptilet* or *aiyuet* for boys (and *Sumbererio*ortien*forgirls*).Moreover, the boys are still dressed as girls and wear a bunch of *sinendet* (ficus) on their ears.However, towards the evening, they are led away by the warriors who make them sit down and scrutinize their faces and eyes to see whether they are likely to behave in a cowardly or brave manner when they are operated on.Consequently, should the former be anticipated the performance which is called *Kaponyony* is repeated several times.Eventually, when the boys have been passed by the warriors, their girlfriends give them bead necklaces to wear. Other rituals which are not critical to this study are performed on the initiates with the purpose of altering their mind set.This helps them take the coming lessons with commitment.

Eventually, each boy appears before the old men and asks for permission to be circumcised. The ordeal is called 'Going to *Kimosop'*,*Kimosop* being the name of the old man wrapped in furs.This scarring scene prepares the initiate to make a full and honest confession of past mistakes which consequently will not be repeated.This is therefore a self-regulating strategy of behaviour management since a time to make confession lay ahead particularly for the uncircumcised.This implores upon parents to take keen interest in the discipline of their children to avoid embarrassment when the time for confession came.

Kipkorir and Welbourn add that they are asked to confess all the sins which they have committed, whether incest or contempt of elders or breaking of taboos. They initiates are warned that if they failed to make a full confession, there would be excessive bleeding during the operation and the wound would take long to heal and death may ensue. Hollis says that should the old men believe the initiate was not speaking the truth, a little eleusine grain is secretely dropped on the fire and when it explodes, he was warned to be careful as he was

displeasing the spirits of the dead.Subsequently, when the old men are satisfied with their examinations, the boy describes the cow which he or his father was willing to pay for the permission, and the *Kimosop* nods his head.The boys were then led back by *Motirenik* to their hut by the river whereby they waited until 5: am, time denoted in Kalenjin as *kakiyat korik*(houses are being opened). As an educational context the ordeals associated with the rituals mystifies the learning procedures of *Yatitaet* making them stick in their memory.

2.5.2.6 Function Four: Circumcision/*Yatitaet*

Hollis says that at the hour, the warriors and the old men collect together round the *menjet*/huts, and the boys are brought out before sun rise (*kaech*-5 to 6 am) for the operation to commence. In the mean time, the boy's face is carefully watched by the surrounding crowd of warriors and old men to see whether he blinks or makes a sign of pain.A similar exercise is performed on the girl's genitalia by a female traditional expert-*Korgop tum.* Should the initates in anyway betray their feelings, they are dubbed cowards and receives the nickname of *Kip-ite.*Hollis says this is considered a great disgrace and no *Kip-ite* may ever attend another circumcision festival or be present at children's dances. Those boys who are brave receive presents of bunches of ficus plant species. After this operation, the boys remain under the watch of their *motirenik* in *menjo/*seclusion where they live quietly for the next few weeks.This context cultivates courage and the detasteful name *Kip-ite* given to those who show cowardice serves as a deterrent measure and self-regulating mechanisms for those who do not measure to the standards of *Kamuratanet.*

2.5.2.7 Second Ritual of *Yatitaet*: *Lapet ap Eun (*Cleansing) in *Kamuratanet*

Hollis says that for the first four days after circumcision, the initiates may not touch food with

their hands, but must eat out of a half calabash or with the help of a leaf of a tree. Furthermore, they are fed on delicacies and may eat anything they fancy including meat and milk.However, during these four days, nobody may go near them – to avoid contamination – except their *motirenik*. At the expiry of this period, the L*apet ap eun* (cleansing) ceremony is held. Moreover, their hands are washed and the girls' clothes are exchanged for women's garments, called*nyorkit*, which together with a *merenget* (necklace), are provided by their mothers.

The boys are then given new female names and may now use their hands when eating, but instead of the ordinary pieces of hide which serves as plates, their food is dished in honey barrels and they must drink out of gourds instead of cups.Furthermore, they may still see nobody except young children who bring food.Kipkorir and Welbourn say that during the next three months or so, whilst the boys are recovering they spend their days shooting birds (to sharpen their shooting and hunting skills which was needed as a warrior), which they attach to a special kind of head-dress called *Kimaranguchet* to display their hunting ability.

2.5.2.8 Life in *Menjo* (Seclusion)

When the wounds are fully healed, the educational part-*Korureiwek*- of the initiation begins. In addition, Kipkorir and Welbourn explain that one month after the operation the initiates and the *motirenik* sing a series of special songs-*Kaandaet.* Besides being educative, *Kaandaet* also keeps record the praises of those who were brave during the operation.This is also the context for formal education on all cultural issues.To facilitate learning, certain structures and designs are made to symbolize familiar places and aspects of life.Further, each common object is given a code name which is used only during seclusion and known only to those who have passed through it. Kipkorir and Welbourn add that the initiates are regularly tested in their knowledge of this vocabulary and strangers visiting seclusion the place are also tested before

admission.Consequently, ignorance means exclusion or, if they can prove forgetfulness, suitable punishment is administered.In fact, they may be caned or required to supply firewood, food or beer to the *motirenik*.Again this is a self-regulating measure of ensuring contents of *Kamuratanet* during initiation are not forgotten.

Nevertheless, initiates undergo rigorous physical exercise.Certainly, life can be unpleasant. Similarly, Snell (1954) adds that instruction is given in social behaviour, where the difference between a 'child' and an adult and proper treatment of wives or husbands respectively discussed.Actually, obscene language is commonly used to ensure no ambiguity in communication for effective learning. To ensure the learning contents and rules on conduct are obersved, warriors frequently visit the *menjet* huts after dark and sound their bull – roars (*Tolgugut*).The initiates were thus conditioned to observe the accepted behaviours spontaneously which concurs with the main theme of the study.

2.5.2.9 Third Ritual of *Yatitaet*: *Suiyet*

Hollis says that the period of seclusion lasted eight weeks, after which the *Motirenik* and initiates held a dance called *Suiyet*. At the end, the initiates go to the river – *Kapkiyai* – (refer to appendix 3) where more rituals are performed to remove the white clay which they used to colour their bodies to disguise their appearance throughout the period of seclusion. From the river, they go back to their huts, through their father's home to greet them and announce successful completion of the rituals. They shielded their head and face using *Kimaranguchet* (Refer to appendix5). *Kimaranguchet* served as a graduation gown to celebrate a mission concluded.As they strode from the river through their father's home, they sang a song of celebration, *Suiyet,* and the procession is also known as *Suiyet*.All interested parties came to witness this occasion as it was considered to be of great significance.This was a moment of

joy for both the initiates and their relative.The initiates were now considered ripe *(kakorur)* and ready to undertake warriorhood roles.

2.5.2.10The Fourth Ritual of *Yatitaet*: *Rikset*

Hollis (1909) says that at the end of seclusion period the initiates and *motirenik* held a ritual known as *Rikset*. For this function, a large house is set aside for the purpose and the initiates, dressed in *nyorkit* are shown in one at a time. At the entrance stands one or two warriors who, as the *motirenik* enter, say *motir ole oi (motirenik* say *oi).* Then the warriors then seize the initiate by hand, fasten a leather string to his little finger, and ask him a question, the answer to which is only known to a person who has gone the procedures of circumcision/*yatitaet* in the *Kamuratanet* context.Furthermore, in order that the boy shall not forget the answer, the string is given a sharp jerk which nearly dislocates his finger. While this is taking place, two or three old men are performing on what Hollis refers to as friction drums called *ng'etunyik* (literal: lion) in the hut. Once all the initiates have entered the hut, they are shown both friction drums *(ng'etunyik)* and bull-roars (*tolgugut*) and taught how to play them. They have now left the *menjet* for good and they spend the next three days in the house in which the *motirenik* further enlighten them to their duties.Finally, the *ng'etunot*(feast to signify a task accomplishment) is then held by the boys' parents. Each boy returns to his father's home, and is expected to put he learnt into practice.Everyone would be watching and this again served as a self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management.

2.5.2.11 Significance of *Yatitaet*in Behaviour Management in *Kamuratanet* Context

> Every man is where he is by the law of his being.The thoughts which he has built on his character have brought him there, and in the arrangement of his life, there is no element of chance, but all is the result of a law which cannot err (James Allen, 1901).

This section discusses the significance of *Yatitaet*and associated rituals as cultural self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management in the context of *Kamuratanet.*

Among the Kalenjin, the youth- both male and female- were circumcised to immobilize them in order to be taught what was contained in their cultural curriculum.The interplay between circumcision and the dispensation of the Kalenjin educational cultural curriculum is what is conceptualized here as *Yatitaet*.As noted before, Barker (1999) describes culture as the customs, habits, skills, technology, art, values, ideology, science and religious and political behaviour of the larger society in which the individual lives.Further, Rundell and Fox (Eds) (2002) in Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners add that "culture is a set of ideas, believes and ways of behaving of a particular organization or group of people" (p.338). Relatively therefore culture may be explained as the moulding and socializing agency of the society.It is the education that shapes the behaviour of people.

Among the Kalenjin, *Yatitaet*marked the culmination and concretization of all learning given to a child from birth (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973). Indeed, initiation, presented as *tumdo,* a unit of *Kamuratanet*, should not be seen as an event but a lifelong process.Initiation is a unit of *Kamuratanet* for transitioning youth to adulthood.Similarly, *Kamuratanet*in this study is conceived as a broadeducational system for inducting individuals into the customs, traditions and values of the tribe and the climax is reached through circumcision (*Yatitaet)*.

 As a cultural agency, *Yatitaet/*circumcision is considered the peak of learning (Chebet & Dietz, 2000). They elaborate that the objective of traditional education was to mould and fit young people into their place in society. The idea was to instill and perpetuate the society's cultural heritage as a means of holding the fabric of society together.In addition, they explain

that as a cultural requirement, the youth through *Yatitaet*were taught to master the environment and how to exploit it for survival in terms of resources and security. Chebet and Dietz further note that contents of *Yatitaet* included instructions on the network of the society's institutions, folksongs, tales, riddles, proverbs, dances, games, ceremonies, festivals, trade, customs, norms, standards, laws, language, believes and values. Moreover, religion, politics, law and social communal relationships were interwoven, (Ochieng, 1990).

In reference to the academic aspect of *Kamuratanet,* Chebet and Dietz again say that the individual's schooling' was continued by a moral, scientific and political development which time alone provides and provided only to the person who perseveres as it demanded a sustained effort amounting to a lifestyle, an attitude towards life, society and the universe. Education in this context therefore regulated the way of life for its members.

The idealization of *Yatitaet*among the Kalenjin today remains what it was over a century ago as captured by Hollis (1909) and Snell (1954). Snell says that as much as initiation was obligatory, it was anticipated eagerly as the threshold of warriorhood and status within the tribe. He points out that initiation conferred the youth's age grade and entitled them to take his father's name and also to engage in the manly pursuits of war. Relative to the focus of this study therefore, initiation was an occasion for formal instruction on the responsibilities of adulthood and the rules of conduct, whose goal was to regulate and behaviour.Clearly, nothing has changed much.Infact the principles of *Kamuratanet* are still respected and initiation is still obligatory and is expected to satisfy the goals stated by Snell. Nevertheless time and contexts have changed.The implementation of *Kamuratanet* may therefore need to be adapted to reflect current reality away from Hollis' and Snell's contexts.

Initiation still provides members of the Kalenjin community with an invaluable chance to induct its youth on the proper code of conduct, rules of engagement and societal expectations. As a cultural member of *Kamuratanet*, and a long serving educationist, I have observed that initiates are normally quite vulnerable and ready for change and essentially take their lessons in seclusion seriously. However the lessons are conducted by the most ignorant vis-à-vis the current levels of technological sophistication and the new rules of engagement as dictated by current realities.Consequently, the community needs to redefine the character traits needed presently by an individual in order to serve as a role model in relation to the traits considered appropriate in the traditional set up.The role confusion sometimes provides a contradiction that confuses the Kalenjin youth resulting in indiscipline in institutions of learning. This study may therefore sensitise the Kalenjin on the need to adapt *Yatitaet* to the needs of modernity where roles are fused by encouraging its modern educated elites to take charge.

Ngugi(1986) shares this view though on the contrary thinks a few African elites are disillusioned and perceive indegineous practices as primitive.Ngugi captures this mood clearly when he says, "unfortunately some African intellectuals have fallen victims- a few incurably so- to manipulations of imperialism" (Ngugi, 1968, p.x).Thus, Kalenjin elites should take a leading role in reaffirming the relevance of their cultural procedures as conceptualized in *Kamuratanet*.

Invariably, the present youth look forward to circumcision and initiation with awe and zeal (Chemitei & Ogoma, 2012).Besides, initiation as crafted within*Kamuratanet*provides the threshold for acceptance and status within the tribe (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973). For instance, at the end of the ritual, Kalenjin youth comeout with new adult role ascribed to them and for all practical purposes, the boys become courageous and fearless. This study proposes

that suchattributes are needed in confronting the challenges of life even today if well understood and utilized.

Indeed, in the*Kamuratanet* context, one had to observe acceptable moral and behavioural standards to be accorded the respect, responsibilities and rights which membership of the social group brings (Sambu, 2007). Sambu explains that *Kamuratanet* stratified the community into various social groups such as agesets *(ibinda),* agegrades *(siritiet),* warriors (*murenik*) etc.These units served as self-regulating strategies of behaviour management.The groups observed variable sets of rules as specified in K*amuratanet* (Snell, 1954).

Thus, if the traditional man, with limited knowledge in modern psychology was able to craft out a structure that could instill good qualities in the youth, then the modern trained personnel should be able to achieve this with ease particularly now that the youth are perceived to lack in the attributes envisaged in *Kamuratanet*. Chesaina, (in Sambu, 2007) elaborates:

> The age set assumed by the initiates does not merely play a nominal role; it is a point of reference for each member's commitment to his fellow initiates and to the community at large. Each member of an age set has to live up to the expectations the community has towards each age set. This is because in the final analysis initiation is not a social prestige but the beginning of definite social responsibilities, (p. 145).

The impact of *Kamuratanet* on individual psychology was so immense that at times it allowed men and women to proudly commit sanctioned suicide. Sambu, (2007) explains; ''Therefore if you live too long (>120 years) you will have to commit 'holly suicide' *(kepa sieu)* in order to be reincarnated in proper time with your agemates'' (p. 144). One was only allowed to go through a full cycle of the age set system and once your age set name reappears, after about 120 years, you had to pave way.The holly suicide was referred to as *kepa Sieu/*going to *Sieu,*where individuals rolled to death from the tip of the hill while singing.To the study, this confirms the capacity of *Kamuratanet* to regulate behaviour even where decisions on life and

death is involved. This study argues that such power can be cultivated and redirected towards attainment of community, national or indeed any other social goals as may be required (Ociti, 1973).

In relation to the suggested psychological control of *Kamuratanet*, Nader, cited in Levinson and Ember (1996) explain: "Research illustrates the relative power of cultural control as compared to social control.Cultural control is impersonal and deeply embedded.Those who exercise control through culture are often unaware of doing so"(p.266).In conclusion therefore, *Kamuratanet* as a cultural agency is at our disposal for use.Besides, aspects of *Kamuratanet* can be adapted and modified for use as a tool to synergize the productive capacities of the youth. *Kamuratanet* thus serves as a locus of behaviour regulation. According to Sambu, *Kamuratanet* teaches values such as honesty, courage, and respect for everyone, the virtue of hardwork, displine and dedication to tasks being undertaken by the cultural community. It also specifies duties and social roles to individuals. These can be borrowed, redirected and propagated within the tenets and demands of modernity.

Nevertheless, the role of *Yatitaet* remains robust as was evident in an attempt to link *Yatitaet* to the athletic prowess of the Kalenjin.In this regard, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) analyst while describing the prowess of Kalenjin athletes on June, 2, 2015 drew parallels between endurance acquired during initiation and their success in athletics. The analyst rightly described the Kalenjins as a culturally pain enduring minority tribe that dominates the long distance races in the world.Consequently, virtues of*Kamuratanet* need to be cultivated as facets of behaviour regulation.

2. 6. 0 Inbuilt Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in

Kamuratanet

This section examines three major approaches that serve as inbuilt self-regulating social

mechanisms of behaviour management. The approaches include: agesets and age grades,

virtues and taboos.

2.6.1.1 Age Sets as Tools of Behaviour management in*Kamuratanet*

Sambu, (2007) argues that perhaps nothing demonstrates ancient Kalenjin philosophical

genius better than the high precision and complex traditional division of society into age sets

and age grades. Accordingly, the Kalenjin evolved a system of eight age sets, *ibinwek* which

are divided into two houses or groups.According to Sambu these houses are *Kapkorongoro*

and *Kipkoimet.* Butthe two houses are meshed together so that both operate as one. So the

order of occurrence, shifting every fifteen years is as follows: *Korongoro, Kipkoimet,*

Kaplelach, Kimnyige, Nyongi, *Maina, Chumo, Sawe* then back to *Korongoro* 120 years later

and the cycle begins all over again.Moreover it is important to mention here that women too

had age sets that went hand in hand with the male age sets as diagrammatically illustrated in

figure 2.2

Figure   2.2 Kalenjin men and women agesets

NYONGI

Chebarkamai

KIPNYIGE

Chelemei

MAINA

Silingwich

KAPLELACH

Kusanja

CHUMO

Chebingwa

KIPKOIMET

Chesur

SAWE

Chesiran

KORONGORO

Chemasinya
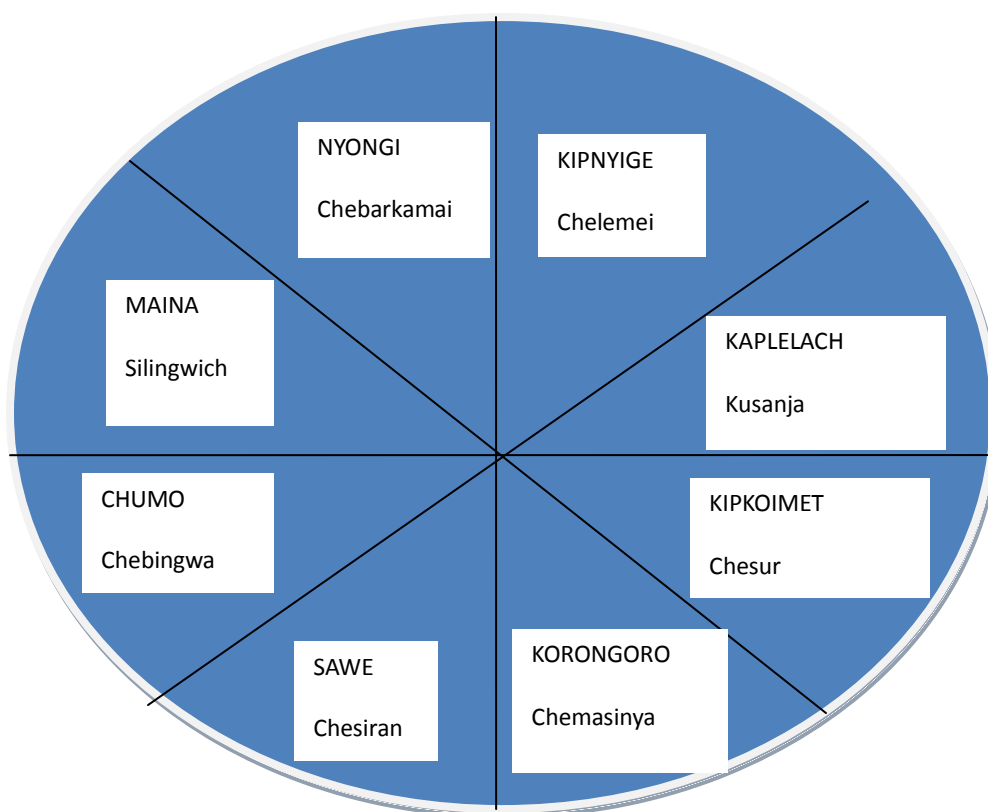
Key: The age sets transcribed in capital are for male while the corresponding age sets transcribed in small letters are for female.

In addition Sambu says that the two houses are enmeshed and do rotate in such a synchronized fashion that it is not possible to tell that they are identified as two distinct houses. Moreover the entire system of eight agesets rotates anticlockwise at the rate of one revolution in 120 years. The age sets are pruducts of *Kamuratanet* based on *Yatitaet*/circumcision. Thus, each age set is circumcised over a period of 15 years.Critical to this study is the fact that agesets cultivated a sense of brotherhood where its members acted as true brothers and watched over each other to ensure none misbehaves as that would bring shame to the entire group.

2.6.1.2 Age Grade *(Siritiet)*as Behaviour Regulating Strategy of *Kamuratanet*

Sambu (2007) and Snell (1954) further elaborate that each of the eight Kalenjin age sets is

further sub-divided into four cyclical age grades *(Siritiet,* plural, *Siritoik)* which were ushered in every four years in the following order: *Chongin, Kiptaru, Tetagat* and *Kiptoin.* This can be diagrammatically illustrated as in figure 3.

Figure   2.3 Kalenjin age grades
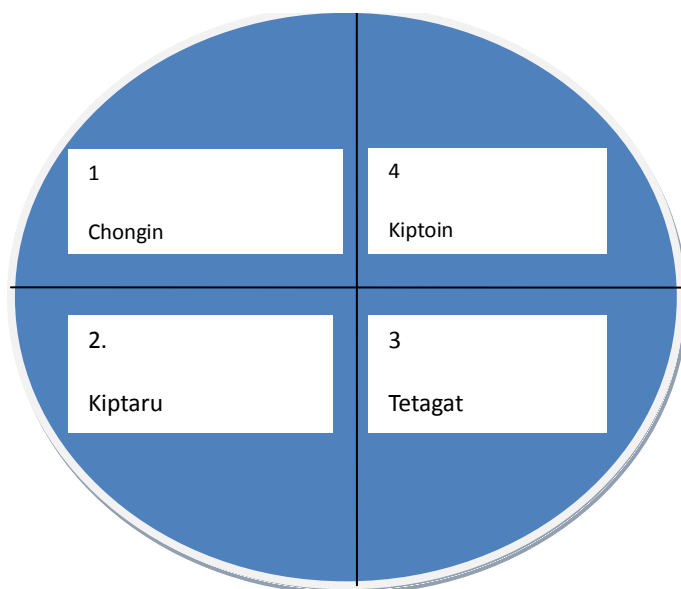
The age sets provided self-regulating systems where each member ensured his age set and grade was viewed positively. Snell says that a nickname relating to some idiosyncrasy of the members of the *Siritiet* or commemorating an event which occurred at the time of their circumcision was widely used. Each member therefore worked hard to ensure their ageset or grade acquired a good name and this consequently served as a self-regulating process of behaviour management.

Snell further explains that between members of the same age set was a powerful sentiment of unity and mutual obligation which cut across the community. Warriors of a recently initiated age grade were formally charged with military protection of the tribe at a ceremony known as *saketab eito* at which the retiring warriors in turn acquired the status of elders and therewith

the right to participate in the civil and judicial administration of the community.Subsequently, the age set system also exercised control upon marriage in as much as a Kalenjin man was not allowed to marry the daughter of a Kalenjin of his own age set since he was regarded as a brother (Sambu, 2007).

In conclusion, having briefly examined *Yatitaet/*Circumcision procedures within the context of *Kamuratanet,* one cannot fail to notice its philosophical grounding, practical nature and holistic approach to the preparation of its youth and maintenance of a cohesive functional society.The rituals comprised activities that were less than ordinary in order to capture the attention of the initiates and make the entire procedure look mysterious.The study observes that the power of the rituals rested on this premise.

2.6.2 Virtuesas ToolsofBehaviour Management in *Kamuratanet*Context.

The institution of *Kamuratanet* sought to ensure that all members of the culture adhered to set standards.These comprised ethical, religious and moral standards, knowledge and skills all of which defined the behaviours expected of its members.The virtues serve as the cultural agency for regulating these behaviours.Some of the self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management presented as virtues of *Kamuratanet* are examined in this section.

Kamuratanet strives to impart virtues and values which are essentially expected of all its members. Snell (1954) says good conduct is highly esteemed and expected of everyone particularly those whohave been circumcised.Furthermore; one also ought to be kind to others. The value of a good moral life is not only seen as essential in preserving the individual but community too. The virtues taught and emphasized during seclusion play a central role in the life of the community (Sambu, 2007).For this reason, all members of the society are expected

to adhere to the norms as taught and any person who disrespects them is liable to punishment as the rituals also set up self-regulating mechanisms that ensure obedience to the norms.Indeed, it is important to note that the norms and virtues apply to both men and women. Consequently, the virtues serve as automated mechanisms for checking the collective behaviour of its members as clearly stated in the following excerpt:

> … once the stage of taking everything that happens to them as real is reached, there is every indication that each initiate never wants to go back to the previous life for they know for sure that they cannot live in this world with the previous mentality, status and responsibilities.They believe that this is a real transition that must be borne whether one likes it or not.By this time, initiates seem to have adapted to the life in the camp and this process will co-exist with a basic change in personality (Yegon,2012,p.107).

2.6.2.1The *Aiyepindo* Concept in *Kamuratanet*

Everyone who undergoes *Yatitaet*is expected to be *aiyep*. A person said to be *aiyep* is generous, hospitable, unselfish and kind (Chepkwony, 1997).As a provision of *Kamuratanet* therefore, all Kalenjin people are expected to be *aiyep*. A selfish person is described as *ng'ok*, a distasteful term. According to Chepkwony, *Aiyepin* is not only restricted to provision of food, but implies total willingness to welcome and accommodate even a stranger for days or weeks. Besides, an *aiyep* (verb for *aiyepin* or *aiyepindo*-noun) person is expected to assist both those in need and the poor. In this way, *pananda* (poverty) is removed from man. On the contrary, this virtue is not envisaged in the modern westernized schooling where the principles of capitalism such as competition and individualism are adored (Obanya, 2005), thus conflicting with the *aiyepin* virtue of *Kamuratanet*

2.6.2.2 The *Tolosiet* Concept in*Kamuratanet*

Another virtue which forms the bedrock of the teachings under *Kamuratanet* is *Tolosio* or *Tolosiet* (Chepkwony, 2007).*Tolosiet* means politeness, kindness and generally good

behaviour. A person who is *tala* (verb form of the noun *tolosiet)* is of good character. The virtues are taught to both men and women.Orchardson (1961) clearly captures the prominence given to this virtue during marriage ceremony. He writes about the father, who especially stresses to his daughter '…that she must entertain guests without restriction, particularly her relatives and relations –in –law so that the husband will not earn the stigma of meanness'(Ochardson,1961,p.76).

Consequently, a person who fails to assent to the above virtue has themselves to blame. In addition, Snell (1954) says that when one loses *Tolosiet* (noun) to the extent of committing incest or sodomy, the offences is described as, *sogornatet* and the offender as *sogoran*. The term is so distasteful that the actor may not earn respect from anybody.According to Chepkwony, the person is to be avoided and treated as an outcast but elaborates that "children who commit such an offence are taken through purification *-tisisio-* ceremony which normalizes the situation" (Chepkwony, 1997, p.161).*Tolosiet*as a concept is consequently an inbuilt,self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management.

2.6.2.3 The *Tegisto* Concept in *Kamuratanet*

Chepkwony (1997) says that in the real sense, *tegisto* is encompassed in the virtue of *aiyepindo*.This is because a person who is *aiyep* has *tegisto*. *Tegisto* means respect.However *Tegisto* goes goes beyond respect. *Tegisto* also denotes integrity. In addition, Sambu (2007) says that a person who has *Tegisto* is one who follows the strict rules which govern behaviour as expounded by the cultural standards of behaviour as established in *Kamuratanet.*

Foremost, *tegisto* is owed to parents (Chepkwony, 1997).Further, Chepkwony explains that parents here mean father, mother, uncles, aunts' etc.Nevertheless; these people are not only

recipients of *tegisto* but are also expected to exude *tegisto*. This does not however mean that *tegisto* is limited to some people but it ought to be expressed to all members of the society including strangers.

Besides, Chepkwony explains that *tegisto* should be shown to different sexes. A man for example should show respect to a young wife because although, she is much younger, she takes the age of her husband. For that reason, great care is taken when speaking to those of the opposite sex because they could be senior to you or could even be a sister by clan. Sambu adds that children too are supposed to be shown *tegisto* because it is through good example that they can emulate and learn and exude to others in future. In the final analysis *tegisto* is due to all members of the community.On the contrary, Western Education and religion has a blanket condemnation for African cultural practices (Chebet &Dietz, 2000). Yet, *tegisto* is one feature that should be cultivated.

In the final analysis one who successfully exudes *Tegisto*, *Tolosiet* and *Aiyepindo* is considered *Lipwoop* (holy) and attains what the Buddhists refer to as *Remananda Raya* meaning a confidential associate of Lord. They are referred to as *Poyotap Tumdo* and serve as mediators to *Asis* (God) in all rituals. From this we infer the fact that it is difficult to divorce any Kalenjin traditional practice from religion. This is true because *Asis* (God) is shown not only to be transcendent and imminent but a personal God who is symbolized by the *Mabwaita* (alter) in every home and every ritual.

Certainly, *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin has faced many chellenges since the entry of colonialism yet still attracts a majority of the members of the Kalenjin population. Even those who proclaim

the new faith-christianity-are greatly guided by the virtues and principles of *Kamuratanet* as manifested in marriage, gender role stereotypes, taboos, death and burial rites etc (Sambu,2007). The focus of this study is to discover the specific teaching and learning principles that have managed to sustain *Kamuratanet* and attracts so much trust and commitment even among those who ostensibly object to it in the pretext of the new faith, technology and westernization (Chebet, 2007). To this study the same principles could be applied to education and behaviour management.

2.6.3 Taboos as Tools of Behaviour Management in the *Kamuratanet* Context

This section examines the role of taboos and religion as self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management in regulating and monitoring behaviour as conceptualized by *Kamuratanet*.This was also an objective of the study. According to the Hornby (2015), the term taboo is described as "a cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing" (p.1219). In this study, the word taboo is used in this sense.

2.6.3.1 The Role of Taboos *(Etanik)* in *Kamuratanet* Context

Taboos serve as instruments to preserve communal secrets. According to Chepkwony (1997) taboos are common phenomena among African communities.Chepwony explains that to achieve peace and prosperity members must strive to live in harmony with each other and with other creatures in the universe.Similarly, taboos help to enhance the preservation of the "awe-aspiration" aspect of the faith and traditions by creating fear and respect among those who would otherwise break the practice with impunity (Sambu, 2007).

Taboos are used to train children and to restrain adults on what they ought not to do as well as

what to do. In addition Chepkwony says that, taboos ensure that the norms of the society are preserved and maintained. Thus, they do not only strengthen tenets but also serve as a mechanism of integration and certainly a self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management.

Consequently, those who do not adhere to the cultural tenets stand cursed (Sambu, 2007). Indeed, every circumcision ritual ends with pronouncement equated to oathing (Hollis, 1909). Snell (1954) adds that there are simple and elaborate curses.Some curses are short and are pronouncements by individuals. However, when a circumcised man is unyielding to normal social sanctions, he is committed to a long elaborate ritual performed by elders of a particular clan (Chebet, 2007). Some of the pronouncements of simple curse are:

Barin Asis: May God kill you

Mein mat: May you not procreate

Barin ilet: May lightening kill you (Asis's agent)

It is believed that the above curse words have no effect when pronounced against children or innocent people. Children in this context refer to uncircumcised persons since one is considered a child until he or she is circumcised regardless of age.The net effect of the taboos and curses is fanatical adherence to rules and regulations associated with *Kamuratanet* procedures.As a matter of fact, taboos serve as self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management in the *Kamuratanet* context**.**

2.6.3.2Religion as a Tool of Behaviour Management in the Context of *Kamuratanet*

The art of circumcision with its related rituals are operationalized by specialists or teachers known as *Motirenik*. Chepkwony (1997) describes *Motirenik* as ritual leaders and devotees of

religion. Indeed in the context of *Kamuratanet, Motirenik*are the living embodiments of religion. The community has entrusted them with the upkeep of cultural and religious affairs. *Motirenik* know in great details and precision the timing, requirements, procedures and invocation of each particular rite.

To the Kalenjin, *Yatitaet/*circumcisionis a rite of passage from childhood to adult hood.In addition, it is a mark of identity for membership in the society and above all, a religious function. Thus *Motirenik* do not only serve the function of inducting the youth into responsible adults but also serve a variety of other religious functions.These include:

Chebiosetab sigisio − is the *motiriot* responsible for all rituals related to pregnancy, birth and naming rites.Birth is thought to connect the living with their ancestors.

Poyotap Tumdo − is the overall *Motiriot* personified by an old man who presides over all rites of passage, purification and sacrifices.

NB: From the researcher's experience, women *Motirenik* play other roles apart from presiding over women initiation rites and ceremonies related to child birth. They are bestowed with the responsibility of conducting rites of crisis which are performed during prolonged drought, epidemics and healing.They lead women in seeking appeasement through prayers more so since the Kalenjin God *(Asis/Cheptalel)* was conceptualized as a woman.

As a religious function, the Kalenjin believed that curses would automatically befall those who went against the principles and virtues of *Kamuratanet* or even those who divulged the contents of the rituals of *Yatitaet*.This therefore served as an inbuilt strategy of regulating the behaviour of individual members.

2.6.4 Conclusion

As communities embrace scientific sophistication, they need to take their culture with them. Custom and culture is complicated and reaches out beyond male and female and transcends to coming generations. At a more critical view, culture seeks to enhance equity, justice, fairness and morality.Yet, *Kamuratanet* has self-regulating mechanism of ensuring adherence to these social ideals.These ideals need to be embraced in our school systems.On the other hand, Eurocentric views on interpretation of African cultural practices which have resulted in stigmatization of the practices should not be over looked. Effects of colonialism on the practices should never be under estimated.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

> Since we can never reckon that we understand a thing till we can give account of it's "how and why", it is clear that we must look into the "how and why" of things coming into existence and passing out of it (Aristotle, cited in Sorokim, 1970, p.38).

3.1 Introduction

First, this chapter justifies the deliberate choice of qualitative approache.This chapter introduces the lens through which the study is conceived-paradigm.Again it justifies the adoption of Interpretivism as a paradigm to guide the study. This chapter also discusses the methodology employed and goes ahead to link the study to Ethnography.The chapter further describes how dependability and trustworthiness is achieved.In addition, the geographical location of the study and its significance is explained.A brief profile of research participants is also provided. The chapter also explains how data was collected and analyzed. Finally, a conclusion is also drawn.

3.2 Research Design

Maree (2008) describes research design as the plan on how to proceed with a research study while Creswell (2002) add that a research design is a plan for doing research involving procedure for collecting, analyzing, and reporting research.Similarly, Bryman and Bell (2011) describe a research design as a framework for the collection and analysis of data. Again, they point out that a choice of design reflects the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process. While agreeing with all these positions, the study adopted Crofty's (1998) procedure on research design as it is most suitable for the study. Crofty came up with four interrelated questions to consider when deciding on a research design to employ:

i) **What epistemology?** In other words, what theory of knowledge is embedded in the theoretical perspective that informs the research- objectivism or subjectivism? This study subscribes to the views of Bryman and Bell on the need to employ qualitativismwhere the ultimate reality is subjective. In this study reality is subjective, tied to context and value loaded (Hughes, 1990). Subsequently, the study considers context and people's views and values critical to understandind the concepts.

ii) **What theoretical perspective?** In other words, what philosophical stance lies behind methodology- positivism, interpretivism or critical theory? This study subscribes to interpretivism. This is because social reality is subjective and dependent on people's value and phenomena. Moreover, this philosophical orientation allows for the investigation of various meanings ascribed to a social phenomenon in diverse contexts (Bryman& Bell, 2011). Consequently reality evolves contextually in response to lived realities encountered in the field settings (Creswell, 2003).

iii)   **What methodology?** In other words, the strategy or plan of action that links methods to outcomes that govern our choice. This study is concerned with understanding of human action rather than with forces that are deemed to act on it (Bryman & Bell, 2011).This study sought to expore the lived experiences of research participants within their subjective understanding in specific contexts. This therefore governed the methodology that was adopted where data was in form of words and not numbers.This study adopts ethnographic case study.

iv)   **What methods?** In other words, which techniques and procedures does the study propose to use- questionnaire, interview, focus group etc.? This study adopted face to face interview with open ended questions to prompt qualitative responses, rather than numerical responses (Madil & Gough, 2008)

Deriving from the above questions, this study employed a qualitative approach and ethnographicstudy in terms of methodology.

3.3 Qualitative Research Approach

> If the purpose is to learn from the participants in a setting or process the way they experience it, the meanings they put on it, and how they interpret what they experience, you need methods that will allow you to discover and do justice to their perceptions and the complexity of their interpretations. Qualitative methods have in common the goal of generating new ways of seeing existing data (Morse & Richards, 2002, p.28).

Qualitative approach stems from anti-positivist approach. It is holistic in nature and aims to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life (Creswell, 2007). It refers to research that elicits participant's account of meaning, experience or perceptions (Golafashani, 2003).

 Patton (1999) observes that while statistical analysts follow formulas and rules, qualitative

analysis is a creative process that largely depends on the insights and conceptual capabilities of the analyst to recognize patterns in data.Indeed, the main goal of this study was to capture the sense that lies within *Kamuratanet*, the structures within it and how they influence the behaviour of the Kalenjin. This study is therefore an exploration and elaboration(Creswell, 2007) of *Kamuratanet.*For example, a slogan of *yatitaet* (circumcision) as regularly stated in *Menjo* (seclusion site) states that *"konyit ko oo, tee muren ak tany"*which translates to "respect is magnanimous, it is equal to men and cattle". Cattle in this context refers to women.Said in the context, the statement elevates the concept of respect to levels where violation can not be tolerated.It also becones on the initiates to safeguard their newly acquired social roles as men or women while also predicating the significance of cattle in this pastoral community. Thus, the research purpose is best answered by, qualitative methods (Morse & Richards, 2007) which allow the researcher to explore the deeper meanings and insights as dictated by words, phrases, actions contexts and even the subjective understanding of respondents.

Another motive that favoured a qualitative study is to "privilege indigenous knowledge, voices and experiences" (Smith, 2005 p. 87).This is because the principles and contexts that inform the socialization of the Kalenjin as a social group received less attention in the mainstream literature.Moreover, Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008) note:

> Such inquiry should meet multiple criteria. It must be ethical, perfomative, healing, transformative, decolonozing and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue, community, self-determination and cultural autonomy. It must meet people's perceived needs… such a framework lays the foundation for the Decade of critical indigenous inquiry (Denzin et al. 2008 p.2).

Apart from complementing the available literature by filling an apparent knowledgegap, the study on *Kamuratanet* will be heard from an insider's perspective.

Besides, qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic

approach to its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, to put this in perspective, the researcher carried out the study within the informant's 'natural habitat' and also in the indigenous language in order to capture the sense in its natural environment without any form of intimidation.Certainly, this is particularly true for the study since the participants were old people whose focus would easily get distressed by unfamiliar environments.The old participants are mainly conservative and a change if environment would likely distract their coherence and clarity of mind as they focus on abstracting the salient aspects of *Kamuratanet.*

Again, this also agrees with Galafashani (2003) that qualitative research uses naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context, specific setting and that the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomena of interest. The researcher therefore developed research questions from which a conversational approach was facilitated to allow the participants to express their ideas. No attempt was made to manipulate the respondents in any way but clarifications were only sought where necessary.

Indeed, because of the qualitative approach, this study benefits from gaining contextual information and developing insights that would be lost to the stringent statistical methods in quantitative approaches. Furthermore, Marshall and Rossman (1999) suggest situations suitable for qualitative research:

i)   When research cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons. This study is mainly expost facto with lived experiences. It also deals with features guarded as 'tribal secrets'.

ii)   Delves in indepth complexities and   processes- *Kamuratanet* processes are too complex for statistical testing.

iii) Focusses on informal and unknown societies or innovative systems- some *Kamuratanet* features are loaded with secrecy and members may not divulge adequate information unless an in-depth study is carried out.

iv) Focusses on informal and unstructured linkages and processes in organization- *Kamuratanet* procedures are clouded with secrecy to 'outsiders'; the structures are covert, only understood by its members.

3.4 Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

> The study of the social world requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of human against the natural order… the crucial point is that the task of causal explanation is undertaken with reference to the 'interpretative understanding of social action' rather than to external forces that have no meaning for those involved in the social action (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p.17)

A paradigm is important in research.Huitt (2011) describes a paradigm as a pattern or model of how something is structured and how the parts function.In addition,Kuhn (1970)elaborates that "a paradigm is a cluster of beliefs and dictates, which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done and how results should be interpreted" (Cited in Bryman & Bell 2011, p.24).Consequently, Interpretivism as a paradigm suffices the needs highlighted by Huitt and Bryman and Bell and therefore guided the conceptualization of this study**.**

Basically, "Interpretivism is dependent on Constructivist ontology"(Goldkuhl, 2012, p.5).According to Bryman and Bell (2011, p. 22):

> Constructivism is an ontological position which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors.It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision.

On the other hand, Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) say that the aim interpretive research is to

understand how members of the social group, through their participation in social processes, enact their particular realities and endow them with meanings, beliefs and intentions of the members help to constitute their actions.This is the critical goal of this study. Based on interpretivism paradigm, "the world is not conceived as a fixed constitution of objects since meaning can only be derived from the subjective understanding of research subjects and their contexts" (Goldkuhl, 2012, p.5).Goldkuhl furthersays that ontology and epistemology are intertwined in interpretivism because knowledge –understanding meaning- is so essential in the ontological assumptions of the constitution of the world.Goldkuhl adds that interpretivism involves;

> …the back and forth movement between the whole and its parts…in an interpretative study,it is essential to create a holistic understanding of its parts.The understanding should emerge through dialectical movements between the holistic understanding and the understanding of singular parts" (Goldkuhl, 2012, p.6).

Coming from a positivist orientation, conceptualizing a different paradigm together with its unique methodology was perhaps my most challenging task in this academic adventure.In realigning my paradigm search, I was also greatly guided by my Supervisor, Prof Rose Ruto-Korir whom apart from providing verbal guidance and moral support during moments of academic dilemma also supplied me with enormous reading materials.Furthermore, in my paradigm reconceptualization, I was also guided by Bryman and Bell (2011) who states that:

> Interpretivsm is taken to denote an alternative to the positivist orthodoxy that has held sway for many decades. It is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (p.17).

Unlike positivism that put emphasis on explanations of human behaviour (cause-effect) (Wright, 1971), this study focuses on understanding of human action, rather than the forces that are deemed to work on it (Bryman & Bell, 2011).This fits well with the current study

whose primary motive is to explore the subjective understanding of the various contexts of *Kamuratanet* in regard to how they motivate and shape the behaviour of its members.The study therefore acknowledges the centrality of the role of the researcher in the study.Subsequently,specific contexts of *Kamuratanet* become the focus to understanding the settings.

3.5.0 Research Methodology

3.5.1 Ethnographic Research Design

Ethnography is a systematic study of people and cultures (Lichtman, 2013). Thus, it is the study of an intact cultural or social group (Creswell, 2007).Clearly, the Kalenjin in this study represent an intact social group as the entity is held together by a common socio-educational structure, *Kamuratanet*.According to Morse and Richards (2002), "ethnography provides a means for exploring cultural groups" (p.48). In addition, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) explain that although there are hundreds of definitions of culture, most include the notion that culture consists of the "beliefs, behavours, norms, attitudes, social arrangements and forms of expression that Ethnographic form describable patterns in the lives of the community or institution" (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, p.21). However, Morse and Richards further caution agreeably that "the key to good ethnography is the researcher's awareness of his or her own cultural values, beliefs and biases and the way they influence what data are collected" (p.52).To do this, the researcherfirst acquired sufficient information on the subject matter by reading and discussing widely on issues related to *Kamuratanet*. This was aimed at expanding the horizons and focusing the research in a way that would minimize personal biases and idiosyncratic perceptions of*Kamuratanet*.

Besides, this is a case study because it focused on one culture: Kalenjin culture as delimited

in*Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of bahaviour management.As a member of the cultural setting under review, the researcher considered the design appropriate as ethnography enhanced easier access to information. This is because, issues related to *Kamuratanet*, with specific reference to *Yatitaet/*circumcision are treated as secrets reserved for members. Consequently, the informants did not hesitate to test researcher's membership using*Yatitaet* identification codes before divulging the information they regarded sensitive. The researcher however took cognizance and caution from Taylor (2002) that, "if a researcher starts feeling at 'home' and all sense of being a stranger is lost, the critical perspective can be diluted" (p.39). Thus, to Taylor, the delicate balance needed between the relatively objective observer and the subjective participant is necessary. Though the researcher may not fully concur with the first premise of Taylor's assertion thatone need to be a stranger to a culture to be objective, the study argues that the motivation behind a study is more critical, although a risk of bias is eminent if the researcher is not keen to observe reflexivity.

Furthermore, Taylor's position also contradicts Creswell's (2007) assertion that the researcher is expected to become involved in a prolonged immersion in the life of the community in order to discern people's habits and thoughts as well as decipher the social structure that binds them together.In addition, Garson (2008) says that typical ethnography is holistic and should enable the researcher to describe all the symbolic meanings and relationships. Certainly, an ethnographic researcher should be able to explain the shared, learnt patterns of values, behaviour, beliefs and language of a culture shared by a group of people (Ghodsee, 2013).If thisclaim is true, then the researcher's position as a member of the cultural outfit under review is an added advantage. Indeed, the researcher's participation in the *Kamuratanet* procedures

may enable him as a scholar to decode the learnt patterns of values, behaviour, beliefs and language of the Kalenjin.

Moreover, according to Taylor (2002), psychologically, ethnography is very interesting in itself in that it bears a close resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of their world in everyday life. In line with Taylor's suggestions, this study was characterised by:

a) Gathering data from a range of sources, mainly through face to face interviews, conversations and observations.Furthermore, during the period of the study, the researcher purposefully attended several *Yatitaet* rituals as an attempt to develop greater insights of the practices.

b) Studying the behaviour in everyday contexts rather than experimental conditions: this being the seventh year since the researcher made *Kamuratanet*an area of academic study, the researcher has developed keen interest and insights in observing the behaviour of those that subscribe to the principles of *Kamuratanet*.Consequently, the initially ordinary occurences became fodder forserious academic discourse.

c) Using a semi-structured approach to data gathering. This allowed stategic prompts with informants so that the key issues emerged gradually through analysis.

In addition, Creswell (2003) says that data analysis is mainly interpretive involving descriptions of phenomenon. Similarly, in this study, the researcher has provided verbatim reports alongside their interpretations and emerging themes. In fact, the verbatim reports are presented in the indigenous language and translations provided. This was done to ensure the message and tone remains intact.

3.5.2 Trustworthiness of the Research Methodology

Trustworthiness refers to "scientific inquiry that is able to demonatrate truth value, provides the basis for applying it, and allow for external judgement to be made about the consistency of its procedures and the neutrality of its findings" (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Further, Bashir, Afzal and Azeem (2008) note that qualitative researchers are of the view that the term validity (as used in quantitative research) is not applicable to qualitative research. However they acknowledge the need for some kind of qualifying check of measure for ascertaining research findings. Moreover, to them, many qualitative researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terms, such as quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Davis & Dodd, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seal, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001).Differentiating between qualitative and quantitative aspects of validity, Lincoln and Guba note that "qualitative inquiry is subjective, interpretive, and time and context bound, "truth" is relative and 'facts' depend upon individual's perceptions…reliability and validity are terms that belong to the positivist paradigm, and qualitative researchers should use different terminology" (In Morse & Richards, 2002, p.167). Golafashani (2003) further states that if trustworthiness can be maximised, then more credible and defensible results may lead to generalizability.

To ensure trustworthiness of the research findings, the current study used a combination of the following strategies as recommended by McMillan and Schumacher (2006).

    i)   Prolonged the consistent fieldwork which allows analysis and corroboration to ensure match between findings and participants. The subject of research has been of interest for over seven years. Apart from being a member of the cultural outfit under investigation, the researcher also carried out a quantitative study on a related

area.This helped in conceptualising and focusing the study.However, indepth investigation of this study lasted seven months; a time of intensive interaction with respondents. This clarified theunderstanding of various concepts and allowed the study to come up with findings that are trustworthy.

ii) Triangulation: The researcher took three of the most knowledgeable informants to a common place where they discussed, clarified and reviewed the findings. This was done to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings.

iii) Mechanically recorded data involving use of tape recorder for subsequent replaysin order to capture the sense and meanings provided before transcribing. This gave the researcher an insight that guided transcription, translation and analysis.The tape recorded data also ensured undisrupted flow of interview thereby maximizing complete preservation of data collected and within the tone of interviewees.

iv) Member Checking: Involved going back to participant informants and asking them to review the synthesis of the interviews. This aimed at ascertaining the accuracy of the data presented.

v) Participant language verbatim accounts to obtain literal statements of participants: verbatim accounts were recorded and transcribed. Translation was done and expert advice on the precision of translation was sought.

3.5.3 Dependability of the Researchmethodology

Dependability refers to the degree of congruence between the explanations of the phenomena and the realities of the world (McMillan & Schumacher, cited in Bashir, Afzal & Azeem, 2008).The equivalent term in quantitative research is reliability (Galafashani, 2003). Trochim (2006) explains that the traditional view of reliability is based on tha assumption of

replicability or repeatability.Trochim however argues that it is not possible to measure the same thing twice. Thus the idea of dependability emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs. Consequently, in dependability, the researcher is responsible for describing the changes that occur in the setting and how these changes affected the way the researcher approached the study.

However, validity and reliability remains the qualitative researcher's goal (Sparkes, 2001). For this reason, equivalent and appropriate terms have been suggested such as trustworthiness and dependability (Lincoln &Guba, 1985). To ensure dependability of the findings, the study employed the following strategies as suggested by Denzin (1997):

i)   Combine the symbolic meanings with patterns of interaction: This was done by seeking to clarify from informants how the various coded words and phrases eg.*Kimarsi* were operationalized in their day to day life.This is explained in chapter four.

ii) Observe the world from the point of view of the subject: the researcher purposefully listened keenly to understand the issues that rose from the participant's point of view.

iii) Link the group's symbols and their meanings with the social relationships: *Kamuratanet* uses many physical and abstract symbols.An example of a physical symbol is the roaring bulls *(tolgugut)* and immersion in a pool of water *(Kapkiyai).* Abstract symbols include uttered statement with symbolic meanings.These symbols provided stable interrelationship with cultural meaning.

Furthermore, ethnography aims at gaining a deeper insight of a people's knowledge and

social culture. To ensure dependability of the information solicited, and avoid bias,the researcher also observed the following guidelines as described by Lichtman (2013).

a) Expert knowledge required: the researcher read widely on qualitative research to understand its principles.

b) Sensitivity level- the researcher deliberately chose to be attentive and listened keenly in order to get insights of sensitive to the subjective understanding of the informants even when they said whatseemed contradictory to what he knew.

c) Access: some of the respondents were stubborn particularly when they realized the researcher intended to interrogate them on what was considered sensitive socio-cultural practices. To overcome this situation, the researcher introduced himself using appropriate cultural terminology and explained the purpose of the research. However, they had to test the researcher to ascertain that he was indeed a member and had gone through *Yatitaet*. Sometimes some wondered why the researcherwas interrogating them on what he should have known as a cultural requirement. Consequently, the researcher had to clearly explain the purpose of the study.The researcher allowed them to test him on the secret identification criterion that is used to determine those who have gone through *Yatitaet* (circumcision) which is considered critical for those who subscribe to *Kamuratanet.*

d) Duration: The researcher made several visits to the participants.The initial visit was limited to introduction, farmiliarisation and seeking an appointment. The subsequent visits were for research. Depending on the concentration span and clarity in communication thye researcher made between one to three visits to the participants before concluding the task. Each engagement lasted between one and three hours.The

researcher always promised to go back to them if more information was needed. Lichtman (2013) says that building trust with informants is necessary for obtaining rich data.

In conclusion, the researcher wishes to state that the suggestions from my supervisors, the guidelines on qualitativeresearch, `specifically those provided by Lincoln and Guba, and Litchman provided insights that enabled him to come upwith dependable findings.

3.6The Geographical Location of the Study

The study was carried out in Uasin Gishu County, formerly Uasin Gishu district in Kenya (refer to appendix 2a). Uasin Gishu County is a vast area comprised of six constituencies, namely Kesses, Kapseret, Ainabkoi, Moiben, Soy and Turbo (refer ti appendix 2b). Uasin Gishu lies in a central position in relation to all other counties that are predominantly occupied by members of the Kalenjin communities in Kenya, namely: Baringo, Tranzoia, Nandi, Bomet, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Nakuru and Kericho. The county is a convergence zone for all the Kalenjin sub-tribes and therefore rich in information.This is supported the respondents disclosure that they had lived in various parts of Kalenjin land outside Uasin-Gishu. All the Kalenjin sub-tribes are fairly distributed across the county, since it is not only centrally located, but also accessible to all the sub-tribes (refer to appendix 2). The population of the Kalenjins in the county stood at 894,179, whilethe population of the non-Kalenjin stood at 156,807 based on report by Kenya Bureau of Statistics (2009). To the east of Uasin Gishu county is Nandi county (indigenously occupied by the Nandi); to the Northwest is Kakamega (indegenously inhabited by the Luhya), to the north is Tranzoia (a cosmopolitan county housing mainly the Luhya and the Kalenjin); to the West is Elgeyo-Marakwet county (indigenously occupied by the Keiyo and the Marakwet); to the South West is Baringo county

(indigenously occupied by the Tugen and Pokot) and to the South, is Kericho county, occupied by the Kipsigis.Therefore, although the research was limited to Uasin-Gishu its findings may be generalized to cover the entire Kalenjin as a social entity that is nolonger bound together by any geographical boundaries yet identify with the principles of *Kamuratanet*.

Being part of what was referred to as the white highlands in the colonial days, the county is well accessible.Main roads go through it therefore promoting not only the interaction and integration of the members of the various Kalenjin sub-groups, but also invited settlement of non-Kalenjin communities into the region.Uasin-Gishu also experiences favourable climatic conditions, adequate and evenly distributed rainfall making it attractive to all the Kalenjin sub-groups since they practice mixed farming- dairy farming and agriculture.This also allows them to carry out their social activities regularly and consistently unlike in the areas that experience harsh climatic conditions where some *Kamuratanet*programmes such as *Yatitaet* (circumcision) are sometimes suspended due to drought.

3.6.1. Rationale for study context

Kamuratanet is a complex form of traditional education programme for the Kalenlin as a cultural process. The Kalenjin initially occupied the former Rift-Valley province of Kenya where they were bound to common traditional practices as articulated in *Kamuratanet*.Today, members of the Kalenjin cultural group live across the world and are nolonger bound by any geographical boundaries (Sambu, 2007).The group however maintains its identity as a social unit bound together by *Kamuratanet* as a cultural social process (Chemitei & Ogoma,2010).For instance, during the initiation of their children, most members usually take their children back to their rural areas for the exercise.

First, Uasin-Gishu county was deliberately chosen for the study because geographically it lies in a central position vis a vis the other Kalenjin dominated Counties in Kenya, (refer to appendix 2). Secondly, Members of all Kalenjin Sub-groups are adequately represented in Uasin-Gishu unlike the other Kalenjin dominated Counties which are associated with specific Kalenjin sub-groups. Consequently, the findings of this study may be generalized and applied to the entire Kalenjin cultural group.

3.7 Research Population

The target population of the study comprises the Kalenjin speakers in Uasin-Gishu county who numbered 894,179(Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2009). For practical purposes, the study was limited to Uasin Gishu County, where members of all the Kalenjin sub-groups are well representedBased on the argument presented under section 3.6 on geographical location.However, though the target population comprised of the Kalenjins in Uasin Gishu, the findings of the study can be generalized to include all the Kalenjin in Kenya who are still entrenched in the practices.Based the report by Kenya Bureau of Statistics released on 24th August, 2009, the population of the Kalenjin stood at 4,967328.

3.7.1Study Sample and Sampling Procedures

Morse and Richards (2012) report that "the choice of the best method always comes from the research purpose", (p.24), warning that:

> …the choice is never entirely open. It is constrained by something: the researcher's familiarity with methods, the researchers resources or sometimes, the data themselves… when choice of method seems constrained, it is important that the researcher understands the process by which he or she selects a method, and that the researcher sees the selection as deliberate and as reflecting research purpose (Morse & Richards, 2012, p.24).

Consequently, the study employed a two stage procedure comprising purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Kinoti (1988) explains that in purposive sampling, those included in the sample are more or less handpicked because of their experience and insight. However, Kinoti cautions that a major challenge in using purposive technique is a risk of bias in selecting research sample. Nevertheless, to avoid being biased, researcher consulted community members to determine those people with sound knowledge on the cultural phenomenon. A criterion for selection was based on their roles and contributions to *Kamuratanet* procedures, particularly in *Yatitaet/*circumcision.The researcher was able to single out four members deemed as experts. At this stage, the reaearcher then employed snowball technique where the identified "experts" led him to those whom they believed possessed more information on the subject matter.

For this study, the study engaged a total of 12 respondents.The researcher stopped further inquiry when the respondents seemed not to add any more value to the reports already obtained and the research questions had been sufficiently responded to.Creswell (2007) points out that qualitative inquiry or investigation usually involves very few cases compared quantitative research which requires atleast 30% of the target population to be engaged.

3.7.2.1 Participants in the study.

The participants in this study comprised of 12 respondents selected through purposive and snowball techniques.Since *Kamuratanet* is a programme that affects male and female among the Kalenjin in equal measure, the sample consisted of six male and six female.These participants were purposively selected due to their expertise (Morse & Richards, 2002) and participation in traditional and community social procedures.This is in agreement with

Creswell (2002) who advocates for inclusion of participants who are "information rich" (pp.193).

Initially four participants were purposively selected. After identifying the experts, snowball technique was employed where the four were resourceful in identifying the other eight participants.Indeed, all the research participants came from the Kalenjin cultural group. Table 3.1 below is a summary of the characteristics of the study respondents.

3.7.2.2Participant characteristics

Table 3.1 Below provides a description of the participants engaged in the study

N o	Name	App. Age	Gende r	Residence	Residenc	Edu c	Occupation
1	Magut	60 years *Chesur*	Female	Tachasis/ Moiben	Nandi hills	Form 4	Crusader *Tumdo neleel*
2	Sortum	90 *Chumo*	Male	Burnt Forest	Iten	-	Traditionalis t
3	Salina	56 years *Chemasin.*	Female	Kapchorwa	Tambach	Form 4	*Tumdo neleel*
4	Esther	60 years *Chesur*	Female	Ainabkoi	Kocholwo	Class 8	Female *Motiriot*
5	Matelon g	Over 80 'Sawe*	Male	Chagaiya	Kericho	Class 3	*Poiyop tum* Ritual leader
6	Kugu (P. 2016)	Over 90 *Chumo*	Male	Timboroa	Torongo/Tinet/Nandi	-	*Motiriot* Circumciser
7	Soti	Over 70.*Chesir*	Female	Chagaiya	Kamwosor	-	Female *motiriot*

8	Chebwai	Over 80 *Chebingwa*.	Female	Lingwai	Kapsabet/Chepterit	-	Female *Motiriot*
9	Sitenei (P. 2017)	Over 100.*Maina*	Male	Ainabkoi	Kocholwo/Nyaru	-	Medicine man
10	Kiptanui p. 2016)	Over 90 *Chumo*	Male	Kapsengwet	Ainabkoi/Nyaru/Eldoret	Std 8.	Retired chief
12	Kanapt.	87,*Sawe*	Male	Matharu	Eld/Nakuru	Dipl.	Settl.officer

The above are "experts" in various aspects of *Kamuratanet* within their respective gender group.The respondents have lived in various parts of the Kalenjin country and their experience captures the conceptualization of *Kamuratanet* in areas occupied by all Kalenjin ethnic diversity. Their age and indulgence in various *Kamuratanet* practices gives them the information required in this study. Use of pseudonyms was not necessary as all the informants expressed a wish to be identified in their recorded interview. However only one name is used which causes ambiguity in identification.

3.7.3 Data Collection Methods

To obtain the required data, a number of methods of data collection were used.

3.7.3.1 Secondary Data

Various literature was reviewed on the specific area of interest so as to sharpen the focus of the researcher on the area of study.Though not much has been documented on this specific area, theworks of Hollis (1909), Snell (1954), Mbiti (1986), Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973), Chebet and Dietz (2000), Chebet (2007), Sambu (2007), Yegon(2012) and a few others helped the

researcher in focusing the semi-structured approach to data collection.The literature reviewed focused the conceptualization of *Kamuratanet* and enabled the researcher to extract some conclusive ideas on the subject matter.This method also helped the researcher eliminate some personal biases.The information already documented however did not have a direct link to the problem at hand but was quite useful in drawing inferences. The literature available did not explore *Kamuratanet* as an educational concept among the Kalenjin- a knowledge gap that this study sought to fill.

3.7.3.2 Participant Observation

Another method that was employed in this study is participant observation.This technigue required that the researcher spend time in the activities and culture of the society in question to obtain accurate information (Morse & Richards, 2002). To get appropriate information for this study, I keenly observed the rituals associated with *Yatitaet* in various seclusion sites with a goal of developing insights into*Yatitaet* as a major feature of *Kamuratanet.* In this case, as an insider and as a participant, I was able to gather information that augmented the information provided by respondents. Morse and Richards add that the advantage of this approach is that as an insider the researcher could speak the local language and was therefore able to engage in group discussion with participating members who were able to provide and clarify information with ease.

3.7.3.3 Key informant interviews in the study

The study also employed key informantface to face oral interview technique.In this regard, purposive and snowball techniques were used to identify key informants who were considered knowledgeable in various aspects of *Kamuratanet,* specifically *Yatitaet*.In addition, these people also served as gatekeepers to various cultural undertakings and their participation in the

study is considered crucial.

3.7.3.4 Tape recording

Matters concerning circumcision are particularly loaded with secrecy and oath taking.Consequently, a new environment is likely to alter the responses provided by interviewees.The researcher therefore visited the interviewees in their homes and other places of their choice. For instance, one interviewee preferred to be interviewed as she herded her cattle in a forest near her homestead.The rest preferred to be interviewed in their homesteads, either inside or outside their houseses. To avoid any tensions and distractions that would be caused by note taking, the researcher used a small tape recorder to capture every word provided by respondents.This was done after securing permission to record from the respondents.Certainly, the major advantage with this technique is that it allowed uninterrupted flow of information. In addition, it also allowed the researcher to listen to the verbatim data as many times as possible so as to decode the manifest and latent meanings of words and phrases used by respondents.

3.8Research Instruments

For the purpose of this study, the researcher developed a questionnaire comprising six lead questions (refer to appendix 4) and subsections in consultations with supervisors at Moi University. This study concurs with Madil (in Madil & Gough, 2008), who says that, "Interviews seem designed to tap lived experience, and particularly, the semi- structured format is the most popular method of qualitative data collection/generation in psychology" (Madil & Gough, 2008. p.256)

Open but guided interviews were used while striving to strike a balance between retaining

interviewer control and approximating normal conversation (Bardsley, Wiles & Powell, 2006). Consequently, the researcher moved iteratively back and forth in data generation in order to clarify the emerging issues.Subsequently, the structured questionsonly served as guidelines that allowed the study to explore the emerging issues more interactively. Nevertheless, Pink (2004) cited in Korir (2010) cautions that "the size and meaning of visual tools can influence data generated" (p.127). In this case, the researcher used a small recorder the size of a phone to which the respondents were accustomed to and therefore could not have the capacity to influence the findings. The recorder was placed strategically so as not to distract the attention of the participants. The study was carried out between May and December 2014.

3.9Analysis of Data

> Qualitative researchers can and do defend their own work as solid, stable and correct. It is these claims that give qualitative research legitimacy and thus the right to be funded, to contribute to knowledge, to be included in curricula, and, most important to inform policy and practice (Morse & Richards, 2002, p.168).

Groenewald (2004) prefers the term explicitation to analysis of data.Groenewald argues that analysis means "breaking into parts and therefore often means loss of the whole phenomenon" (p.17). In addition Hycner (1991) states that explicitation implies, "an investigation of the constituents of a phenomenon while keeping the context of the whole" (p.161).Whereas the study concurs with Groenewald and Hycner, it is much more persuaded by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) who regard analysis as the "systematic procedures to identify essential features and relationships"(p.9). Indeed, the major task of this study was to systematically identify variour features of *Kamuratanet* and relate them with inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management.Subsequently, analysis is therefore a way of transforming data through interpretation which also is in line with the paradigm guiding this study. In analyzing data however, the study found it suitable to use the simplified version of

Hycner's (1999) explicitation which involves five steps as follows:

i. Bracketing and phenomenological reduction- in this study, this involved minimizing researcher's own presuppositions and not allowing the researcher's meanings and interpretations to influence data analysis (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994; Sadala & Adorno, 2001).

ii. Delineating units of meaning-here it refers to the bracketing of the researcher's personal views and preconceptions (Miller & Crabtree, 1992). In the studythe researcher madea deliberate and purposeful opening up of the pnenomenon "in its own right with its own meaning" (Fouch, 1993, cited in Groenewald, 2004, p. 19)

iii. Clustering of units of meaning to form themes- In the study this involved "rigorously examining the list of units within the holistic context" (Groenewald, 2004, p.20).According to Hycner (1999), this calls for even more judgement and skill on the part of the researcher. In this study, the narratives presented by interviewees were clustered into themes.

iv. Summarise each interview, validate and modify- a summary of the contextual themes are derived from the raw data obtained from the field.This is best explained by Ellenberger:

> Whatever the method used for a phenomenological analysis, the aim of the investigator is the construction of the inner world of the experience of the subject.Each individual has his own way of experiencing the temporality, spatiality, materiality, but each of these coordinates must be understood in relation to others and to the total inner world (Ellenberger cited in Hycner, 1999, p.153-154).

In this study, the individual presentations were synchronized and realigned with the community and universal conceptualization of the principles of *Kamuratanet*.

v. General and unique themes for all the interviews and composite summary- in this study, the researcher looked for "the themes common to most interviewees as well as the individual variation" (Hycner, 1999, p.154).Groenewald (2004) agreeably states that at this atage, "care must be taken not to cluster significant themes if significant differences exist" (p.21).

Again, Creswell (2007) explains that qualitative research is concerned with understanding rather than explanation, naturalistic observation rather than controlled measurement, and the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider as opposed to the outsider perspective predominant to the quantitative approaches. Statistical condensation of data is therefore not envisaged in this study.

3.9.1 Triangulation in Qualitative Analysis of Data

The lexical definition of triangulation is that "it is a process of using trigonometry in determining an unknown point or location by using the position of two fixed points" (Thurmond, 2001, p.106).In addition, Morse and Richards explain:

> Triangulation refers to the gaining of multiple perspectives through completed studies that have been conducted on the same topic and that directly address each other's findings. To be considered triangulated, studies must "meet"- that is, one must encounter another in order to challenge it (for clarification), illuminate it (add to it conceptually or theoretically) or even verify it (provide the same conclusions). (Morse & Richards, 2002, p.76)

For the purpose of clarification and verification, this study undertook two forms of triangulation: data sources triangulation and methodological triangulation.

a) Data sources triangulation

Triangulation was necessitated by the a few differing views held by some informants and observed in the process of analyzing data. For instance, some informants gave varying

descriptions of '*Kimorigi'* where some described it as a feast while others saw it as celebration of virginity. To clarify this, the researcher went back to the field and took three informants to a common venue to discuss some of these emerging issues. At the end, they were able to agree on the correct meaning of *Kimorigi*.

b) Methodological triangulation

According to Thurmond (2001), methodological triangulation is also called multi-method, mixed methods or methods triangulation. Triangulation refers to use multiple methods in order to reduce biases that stem from any single method. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) highlight the importance of being sensitive to inconsistencies such as divergent views offered by different individuals.For this reason, in the process of data collection and analysis, the researcher determined the inconsistencies and sought to clarify them with the next informants. In qualitative research, analysis of data starts during collection (Creswell, 2007). The study thus employed "an iterative interplay between data collection and analysis (Bryman & Burgess, 2002) and going back to the informants to seek clarification.

3.9.2Coding

Bryan and Burgess (2002) point out that "in qualitative research, everyone uses the term coding but different researchers may mean different things when they use that term" (p.111) noting that all coding ought to allow researcher to simplify and focus on some specific characteristics of the data.They compare coding to labels. To them coding involves reading the transcribed data to develop insights and establish commonalities and variance.This therefore constituted partial analysis of data for the purpose of classification.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher did topic coding where the transcribed data was analyzed in topical paragraphs. On topic coding, Bryman and Burgess have these to say:

> Topic coding is a very analytical activity; it entails creating a category or recognizing one from earlier, reflecting on where it belongs among your growing ideas, and reflecting on the data you are referring to and how they fit with the other data coded there (Bryman & Burgess, 2002, p.117)

Moreover, on content management, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) say that:

>Your writing should not take the reader on a tour of your changing perspectives on your topic. You want to avoid writing in a way that says, "First I thought this, and then I thought that, and then I realized that..." (p. 199)

Consequently therefore, coding helped the researcher develop insights and consolidate the data so as to provide a comprehensive and systematized account of the findings.Correspondingly, Bryman and Burgess say that in topic coding, the researcher aims to delianate sub-groups with a general category.

In this study, the researcher first assigned numbers to the informants, such as; Kanaptany 12. In the next step, the researcher read through the transcribed data to determine emerging themes.The themes were then categorized based on topics and assigned sub-headings. The topics were again assigned numerals for ease of reference. In the final analysis, it became easy to refer to an item, for example Kanaptany 12:7 (12 stand for the respondent, while 7 represent the the topic and paragraph position.This was done to the transcribed version of the findings which were presented in the indigenous language. Again, this was then followed by translation.Furthermore, the translated version was given to a language specialist who is also a native of the indigenous language to verify the precision of translation.

3.9.3 Theme-ing

According toMorse and Richards (2002),once a researcher has identified a theme, he is more likely to see segments of text that are pertinent to them.To them "a theme runs right through data and is not necessarily confined to specific segments of text" (p.21).The approach of Theme-ing yieldedclear patterns within the data collected. Similarly, this is corroborated by Morse and Richards who say that, "sometimes you can achieve the research goal more simply by retrieving two or more codes to locate patterns" (2002, p.122).

On the other hand, Theme-ing allowed the researcher to look at the data more authoritatively. Bodgan and Biklen (20007, p.128) argue agreeably, that "articles and research reports (so far derived) usually offer more stylistic freedom". The condensed data (See table 4.1 & figure 4.1) provided clear and coherent presentation.Thereforethe themes and categories formed provided answers to the study research questions.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

> When designing and conducting research with humans,researchers may face thorny issues centering on research ethics- the standards of conduct that investigators are ethically bound to honour in order to protect their research participants from physical and psychological harm.Some ethical issues are easily resolved…However,most ethical issues are far more subtle(Shaffer & Kipp,2010,p.49)

Qualitative research elicits indepth personal views and perspectives which in most cases involve intrusion into a personal world. Therefore this study was obligated to observed appropriate ethical standards. First, membership to participate in the study was voluntary and informed consent sought, while the right to discontinue participation was explained. Second, objectivity was observed by ensuring only relevant data was soght. Third, the researcher attempted to be fair by ensuring clients retained the right not to answer any question they did not wish to answer. Lastly, the researcher was sensitive to respondent's views and consequently interviews were discontinued when fatigue was suspected.

3.10.1Confidentiality

I guaranteed the confidentiality of participants by using only one name and not disclosing the specific geographical locations of the participants.On the contrary,all the participants felt proud to participate in documenting the Kalenjin heritage and indeed wanted their full names to be included. For ethical reasons however I only used one name to satisfy their curiosity and to avoid over identification.This is agreement with Thody (2006, p.138) who says,"cite the

source if anonymity has not been requested".Thody however gives cautions that "the interviewees should have given permission for you to quote their words but other people to whom they have referred to have not" (p.129). In addition, only a voice recorder was used. According to Shaffer and Kipp (2010), "researchers must keep in confidence all information obtained from participants" (p.35).My presentation does not therefore expressly identify my participants.However, where photographs were used(see Appendix 1), the identity of the participants was concealed.Besides, Pink (2005) cited in Ruto-Korir (2010) explains that "visual data should be carefully weighed-up alongside the ethical issues they raise in relation to the discipline-specific ethical codes of conduct" (p.134).

3.10.2Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent

According to Bogodan and Biklen (2007), voluntary participation and informed consent should guide any research study. Shaffer and Kipp are of the opinion that "informed consent should be obtained preferably in writing" (p.35). However, most of my respondents were old men end women whose skills of writing were limited or lacking. Consequently, I explained to them the purpose of the study in detail. All expressed an enthusiastic willingness to participate.I considered their tape recorded verbal consent sufficient. Moreover, I also explained to them that they were free to terminate participation any time they felt like doing so. No form of deception or coercion was used.

3.10.3Sensitivity to Participants

I explained to the participants the purpose of the study and sought appointment for interview in a venue, space and time convenient to them.The interview schedules were conversational to allow free participation. I also observed the participants for fatigue and did not hesitate to stop the interview sessions to be continued on a different day.The elderly participants did not

always shy from saying they were tired whenever this point was reached. For some participants, I had one interview session while I had two and even three sessions for some based on the richness of their information and clarity of their ideas. Each interview sessions lasted between two and three hours.Complete interviews took several sessions which also helped the elderly participants to reconstitute their memory.For elderly participants, they were easily fatigued when the study strictly focused on specific issues instead of allowing them to freely narrate their story. Where this became evident, I recasted the focus to more popular topics to make them relax and eventually revisit the same questions basing them on different contexts and settings, for example instead of focusing on discipline as a concept, I would recast the question by asking how the agesets ensured the social code of conduct was adhered to which apparently was a popular topic.

In the initial stages, the participants were anxious as they anticipated difficult questions but soon settled down when they realized that the conversational approach and semi-structured questions and prompts did not task them with difficult questions. I

Acknowledged the rights of the participants as explained by Morse and Richards (2002, p.205):

> … the right to be fully informed about the study's purpose and about the involvement and time required for participation,the right to confidentiality and anonymity,the right to ask any questions of the investigator, the right to refuse to answer any questions and the right to withdraw from the study any time.Participants also have the right to know what to expect during research process,what information is being obtained about them,who will have access to that information,and what it will be used for.

3.10.4 Research Authorization

Moi University gave permission to conduct my research through letter Ref:MU/SE/PGS/54 (see Appendix 5). I then applied for research permit and receivedauthorization through research permit serialized: NACOSTI/P/14/7393/1235(see Appendix 7).The County Commissioner and The County Director of Education- Uasin-Gishu County acted on NACOSTI's authority while respondents also gave me permission to conduct research with them.

3.11Conclusion on Research Design and Methodology

> "If there were only one truth, you couldn't paint a hundred canvases on the same theme" (Pablo Picasso, 1966).

The goal of the study was to capture the sense that lies within *Kamuratanet*, explore, elaborate, and systematize its meanings and significance to the Kalenjin relative to *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management.To do this effectively, Interpretivism as a paradigm guided the entire study since the ultimate reality in this phenomenon is contextual. People's values and ways of perceiving are critical to the study. Interpretivism allowed the researcher to play a central role in interpreting the various meanings in actions, words, phrases, etc as derived from respondents. Qualitativism was therefore appropriate in data collection and analysis for the study. Qualitative data

analysis methods used are important in deriving appropriate meanings while strategies embodied in trustworthiness and dependability served to diminish researcher bias and subjectivity.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA PRESENTATION

4.0 Kalenjin Concept of Education in *Kamuratanet* Context

> For Vygotsky, human cognition, even when carried out in isolation, is inherently sociocultural, affected by beliefs, values and tools of intellectual adaptation passed to individuals by their culture (Shaffer & Kipp 2010, p.281).

First, the chapter presents data from various study respondents and discusses how the Kalenjin in their socio-cultural set up conceptualized education within the context of *Kamuratanet*. Second, this chapter identifies the specific segments that constituted education among the Kalenjin. Third, this chapter also clarifies what the cultural education *(Kamuratanet)* meant or denoted in relation to self-regulating aspects of behaviour management vis a vis the modern conceptualization of education. Finally, this chapter answers the six objectives of the study

4.1 Data Presentation

In this study, individualrespondents gave illustrations of their understanding of the subject matter-education. Having sorted out data as discussed in chapter three, it is important to reiterate that in the coding procedure, respondents were assigned numerals, for instance, Sitienei was coded as respondent number 9.Thematic categorization of data was also done and assigned numbers. Therefore, code 9.1 represents theme/point number 1(one) of Sitienei in the transcription schedule. Details of participant codes are given in chapter three, 3.7.2.2: Participant characteristics, while details on theme/point coding are provided in 3.9.4: Coding.

As I entered into Sitienei's house at around 10 a.m, I found the oldman relaxing in his bed. After greetings and brief introduction-I had earlier sought appointment-the oldman who lived alone in a small grass thatched, mud wall house asked me to serve myself a cup of tea.The tea was placed near the fire place and still hot. Firewood and household utensils were scattered all over in the warm but smocky house. As I sipped the cup of tea, while sitting on a wooden log, the old man sat and the interview commenced.I realized the oldman had hearing problems and I therefore had to raise my voice. Yet, once he understood the question, he was quite articulate in answering.

The following excerpts are extracted from the verbatim transcription of data.The data is subsequently analysed in a tabular form.

Verbatim: *Ki mii ano konetisiet age nebo Kalenjin nema Kamuratanet. (*Sitienei 9.1)

Translation: 'There was no other education for a kalenjin outside *Kamuratanet*. (Sitienei 9:1)

Verbatim*: Kiingen nee lakwa? Chii nemakiyatitako lakwa* (Kanaptany 9.3)

Translation: what did a child know? A person who had not gone through circumcision was a child. (Kanaptany 12:3)

Verbatim: *Kimii ng'otutik choo chemakiputei* (Kiptanui 10.1).

Translation: we had our rules which could not be violated. (Kiptanui 10:1)

Verbatim: *Ki ineti sigik lagok, chepto ak kamet, werit ak kwan*. (Chebwai 8:1)

Translation: Parents taught their children, the girl by the mother, and the boy by the father.

Table 4:1 Key themes in conceptualization of *Kamuratanet* (Kalenjin Educational Cultural Curriculum)

Themes	Interpreted and translated codes	Data	Source
Absoluteness of the educational value	What other teaching was there outside *Kamuratanet*?	*Kii mii ano konetisio agenema Kamuratanet* No other education outside *Kamuratanet*	No. 9:1 Sitienei (male)
Maturity: *Yatitaet*/circumcision brought maturity	Child/uncircumcised	*Kii ingen nee lakwa?* What did a child know?	12:3 Kanaptany (male)
Standards to be observed and to be violated	Governed by rules	*Ng'atutik chemakiputei* Rules not to be violated	No. 10:1 Kiptanui(male)
Gender based education effected by parents	Parental role in education of children	*Chepto ak kamet.* The girl with mother.	No 8:1 Chebwai(female)

A summarized analysis of these data can be presented as follows:

4.2 Locating education in *Kamuratanet* context

The first objective of the studysought to define and locate education in*Kamuratanet* context.*Kamuratanet*is conceived as web of many socio-cultural features that were used to facilitate learning and manage behaviour among the Kalenjin.The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines education as a process of teaching, training, and learning, especially in schools and colleges to improve knowledge and develop skills. Similarly, in *Kamuratanet,* educationis conceptualized as a holistic social phenomenon, for provision of knowledge and

skills but is also interwoven with identity, spirituality and behaviour (Mbiti, 1986; Cbebet, 2007).

Kamuratanet like schools provided contexts for learning.This partially agrees with Watson (cited in Shaffer and Kipp, 2010) who explains that how children turn out depend entirely on their rearing environments and the ways in which their parents and other significant people treat them. Likewise, in *Kamuratanet*, parents were assigned the responsibility to serve as initial teachers, a role whose failure attractedrebuke from the community.

From the data, concepts that distinguish *Kamuratanet* as education include the assertion that 'there was no other education outside *Kamuratanet* (9:1), 'a child knew nothing, implying that *Kamuratanet* provided knowledge (12:3) or parents were obligated to tuition their children (8:1)by gender etc.Subsequently, critical to this study is the realization*Kamuratanet*is conceptualized as an all important adventure perceived as absolute for its members.Furthermore, *Kamuratanet* content was designed to satisfy the needs of society based on gender. In addition, learning of its content was holistic, clearly enabling individuals to identify and fit into their rolesas members of a cultural group.

Certainly, this aspect of *Kamuratanet* differs from the modern global schooling where education is seen as an individual adventure that fosters competition.On the contrary *Kamuratanet* promoted equality and cooperation among its members.As a matter of fact, *Kamuratanet* is a collective enterprice used to mitigate against social ills and therefore critical in preservation of the cultural community. In spite of these differences however,

both *Kamuratanet* and modern systems of education purpose to equip its graduands with knowledge and skills in order to function well in their respective societies.

To underscore the importance *Kamuratanet*, Chebet (2007), says that the youth were circumcised so as to immobilize them in order to focus their attention to the learning context and content provided under*Kamuratanet*during *Yatitaet.* Chebet notes; **"**The purpose of circumcision was to immobilize the initiates so that the initiates stayed in one place to facilitate initiation. The process of initiation consisted of teaching and guidance that prepared the initiates for new roles within the community" (p.9).

Consequently, circumcision was a technique used by *Kamuratanet* to make the initiates receptive and focused on the subject matter provided. Furthermore, the role of *Yatitaet* (circumcision) in education and modifying the mindset of the youth during the transition period from childhood to adulthood is clearly captured by Yegon, (2012):

> From personal observation, most of the initiates at this stage become extremely exhausted.But from the perspective of the initiates, the horrible and degrading experiences they are undergoing are happening to them according to the code , norms and expectations of the society.This positive thinking seems to be their solace and drive.Similarly, the trust they have in their trainers *(motirenik)*serve the same purpose.This makes them not to regard all these as torture but rather as happening to them not as an individual but as objects of the society (Yego, 2012, p.104).

Similarly, the experiences described by Yegon did much to eliminate individualism while fostering communialism and social collectivism.In fact circumcision /*Yatitaet* provided a forum where all the educational content taught to individuals could become concrete.Indeed, *yatitaet* is the highest institution provided by *Kamuratanet* for formal learning and regulation of behaviour.

Mbiti (1986) agreeably elaborates that, "the initiates*(torusiek)* are now entitled to know every

secret of tribal life and knowledge, a part from what is known to exclusive group", (p129).

Certainly, *Kamuratanet* provided the curriculum and subject matter content. Further, Mbiti

provides a vivid description of the subject content established under *Kamuratanet*.

> They learn something about the weather, about being industrious, about returning borrowed articles, about being kind (*aiyepin*) and polite (*tolosio*) and so on. Knowledge about bringing up children is considered the most important part of the (girl) education. By custom, Nandi (Kalenjin) men may not touch or have anything to do with their children until they are ten years of age or older. (1986, p. 129).

Indeed, according to the respondents, there was no other form of learning for the Kalenjin

apart from *Kamuratanet*.Consequuently, anyone who had not gone through *Yatitaet* was

regarded as a child, to mean immature or uneducated regardless of their chronological age.The

position adopted by *Kamuratanet* contradicts the position held by modern developmentalists

as postulatedby Jean Piaget in what he referred to as stages of moral reasoning (Miller,

2011).According to Piaget, individual progression through the stage of Moral Realism to

Moral Relativism and eventually to Moral reasoning is pegged on chronological age.On the

contrary one is considered immature and uneducated until they go through the full cycle of

Kamuratanet.This provides a unique feature of *Kamuratanet* in conceptualizing education.

The assertions of *Kamuratanet* on prerequisites to maturity are further corroborated by Snell

(1954) and Mbiti (1986). Snell had this to say;

> Initiation was obligatory upon every member of the tribe. Inpractice it was anticipated eagerly as the threshold of warriorhood and status within the tribe…it was the occasion for formal instruction in the responsibilities of adulthood and the rules of conduct (p.37).

Certainly*, Yatitaet* was thought to make people mature and ready to take on adult tasks and roles. "Unless a person has been through the ceremony, he/she really is "nobody", "Incomplete" and still a child, (Mbiti, 1986, p.130).On the contrary, education was absolute. As a matter of fact, every member of the culture was obligated to go through the curriculum that indeed defined a person's social status.Accordingly, uncircumcised boys and girls were never regarded as *chii* (person) but only as children (*lagok*) in *Kamuratanet* context.

Besides, the new status and understanding evolved through *Kamuratanet*; specifically through the segment of *Yatitaet* (circumcision).This is further illustrated by Yego (2012) in the following excerpt:

> … the initiates have a strong sense of comradeship.Infact in seclusion, the group is a community of comrades.This comradeship transcends the common status that goes with ranks, age, kinship position, religious and political groups, and sex.It expresses `each for all` and `all for each`.This is eventually sealed in a ceremonial confirmation that enables this relationship to become a lifetime relationship that is manifested in the age set structure (Yego, 2012, p. 112).

While this study concurs with Yegon, it also adds that the Kalenjin developed self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management for the sense of "community comradeship" to be sustained.Similarly, this concurs with the findings of this study that the Kalenjin were governed by rules (*Ng'atutik*) anchored on *Kamuratanet* alongside set standards to be observed by all members including children who had to be taught by their parents.

Figure 4.1: Location of *Kamuratanet* in Kalenjin Education.

Ng'oki
Bad Omen

Chubisio
Curses

Spirituality

Kirutik
Etanik
Taboos

Tegis
Integrity

Oret
Clan

Aiyepin
Generosity

Outcomes

Kamuratanet/
Education

Yatitaet
Circumcision

Ibinda
Ageset

Tolosio
Politeness

Siritiet
Agegrade

Ngatutik
Rules

Strategies

Korureiwek
Teaching sp

Kotigonutik
Instructions

self regulating
processes

Ibinda Ageset	*Oret* Clan	Confessions	*Ng'oki* Spirituality	*Chepng'ech eriat*	*Kimorigi* Celebration	*Poror* Communal	*Injoget* Punishment	Social Sunction

**(Source: Field
Data)**

Figure 4:1 above is a structural representation to summarize how the Kalenjin conceptualized *Kamuratanet*. The units form a web of interrelated segments which deal with specific facets of behaviour regulation as distinguished by colour. These are the basic units of *Kamuratanet. Kamuratanet* is located at the centre of all social functions and every activity is operationalised on the basis of its principles.

4.2.1 Conceptualization of Education in the Context of Kalenjin *Kamuratanet*

From a psychological point of view, *Kamuratanet* as a facet of culture influences the perception of its cultural members about the world and therefore shapes their responses and consequently regulates their behaviours.Agreeably, based on Gestalt principle on sensation and perception. Palmer (2002) argues that people usually see what they expect to see and not what is really there.This means that *Kamuratanet* focuses attention of the members of its social unit and therefore directs their sensation to specific phenomenon.Understandably therefore, *Kamuratanet* as an educational process informs the perception of the world among the Kalenjin thereby influencing their responses and ultimately their behaviour.

Contrary to Watson (1913),*Kamuratanet* (education) provides rules (*Ng'atutik*) that could not be violated. Whereas learning is defined a change in behaviour as postulated by various educational psychologists,especially behaviourists such as Watson, to the Kalenjin, accepted manifest behaviour was explicitly governed by *ng'atutik*(rules), *kotigonutik* (instructions) and *etanik* (prohibitions),(see figure 4.1).The rules formed part of the teaching –learning content as instituted in various contexts of *Kamuratanet* to be revisited in subsequent sections of this study.For this reason, *Kamuratanet* approaches to education and learning marks a departure from modern global educational systems where recipients choose what they need. In fact,in *Kamuratanet* members had no room to choose. Consequently, the net result of this approach was producing graduants with unquestioning obedience to the social standards as stipulated in *Kamuratanet.*

In addition, behaviour was prescribed in *Kamuratanet.* The consequences were severe for those who failed to meet the standards set by *Kamuratanet.*Besides, social sanctions were prescribed and the individuals branded *sogoran*, a distasteful term for deviant. *Sogoranik*

(deviants) were prohibited from attending various social functions and this kept those who defied the set standards on check.Consequently, if education and learning equals to change of behaviour in the modern understanding and conceptualization (Ndurumo, 2002) then this concurs with *Kamuratanet* whose task is to support individuals modify their behaviour through self-rugulating mechanism-which will discussed in depth in chapter five of this study.

On the other hand, education (*Kamuratanet*) in the Kalenjin context was gender based. A respondent, No. 8:1, like other respondents in the study pointed out that the mothers took charge of the girl's education, while fathers tuitioned their sons. More so, initiationand seclusion for boys and girls was designated for separate and distinct areas of operation focused on gender-based teaching and learning.Certainly, the gender based curriculum distinguishes *Kamuratanet* from the modern schooling where learning is universal for all genders and only focuses on various professions.

Thus, *Kamuratanet* prepared individuals for gender specific roles. Roles were clearly delineated and no ambiguity existed regarding future roles.Certainly, this totally contravenes the current philosophy of education system where boys and girls go through a similar curriculum and in most cases in the same learning contexts or institutions of learning where tuition is provided by members of either gender.Moreover, in the *Kamuratanet* context, the goals of education were distinct for either gender – where boys were taught to be tough so as to provide security and be responsible parents,while the girls were taught to be wives-hospitable, obedient and home caretakers. On this matter, respondent 9.1 says: *"Kikineti ng'eta ateptap muren sikomuch kotiegei lagokchik,kenet tipik ateptap kwonyik sikonai korip konyi"* ("Boys were taught the behaviour of men,to make them dependable to their children,while girls were taught to be women so that they could nurture their homes"). Clearly,

this is contrary to the modern dispensation where boys and girls compete favourably for the same opportunities.

Table 4.2 Analysis and interpretation of the data on conceptualization of education in *Kamuratanet* context can be presented as follows:

Themes	Transalated &Interpreted codes	Data	Source
• Contents of traditional education • Teacher centred learning	• Presence of teaching/learning activities	• *Kii mii konetisietab kipkaa* Therewas indegeneous education	Sitienei 9:1 (male)
• Continuous strategies of gaining maturity.	• Learning/teaching styles – specific • Accepted behaviour	• *Kigiruri ak ketigoni pik* -There was ripening and instruction	Sitienei 9:1
• Aim of teaching	• Focus on accepted behavior	• *Atepto ne mie* -Good behaviour	Sitienei 9:1
• Relevant gender specific instruction self monitoring process. • Fear of curses to be intergeneratinal.	• Gender based education. • Religion (*ng'oki)* as an educational strategy. .	*Kokas kiy nekamwa chii neoo si maam ng'oki.* • Had to obey to adults	Sitienei 9:1
• Education was absolute. • Standards to be observed. • Nurtured integrity.	• Recipients had no choice. • Obidience ensured posterity. • Specified code of conduct Qualityof tutors	• *Ng'otutik ab etanikchekirupei* - Rules and instructions not to be violated • *Motiriot ko kii lipwop* -Tutors were people of high integrity.	Sortum No. 2:18(male)

Education was based on gender. For instance, respondent 8:1: Chebwai, as a woman talked of *Kamuratanet* from the time a child is young and taught by parents. This clearly reflects the child-rearing and home care role obligated by *Kamuratanet* to women. On the other hand, Kiptanui (10:1) describe *Kamuratanet* in terms of rules *(Ng'atutik)*. Kiptanui is a retired chief;

a government administrative officer at the local unit – location. His task was guided by the implementation of government laws. Sitienei (9:1) on the other hand is a practising traditionalist who is least influenced byWesternization and looks at the pristine Kalenjin education – *Kamuratanet* – with nostalgia, "there was no other education for the Kalenjin outside *Kamuratanet"*, he declares.

Respondent 12:3 on the other hand served as a senior government officer in the Ministry of Lands. He distances himself from the uninitiated by saying, "what did a child know'', in other words indicating how much a child was despised in the context of *Kamuratanet*.A child was therefore seen as tabula rasa and what they know is not useful and therefore ought to be educated on ways of life.Clearly, the rules perpetuated by *Kamuratanet* were both universal and gender oriented.The views of respondents reflect their biases which to this study helped to widen the scope of the definition of *Kamuratanet*.This is because their views converge on *Kamuratanet* as an educational dispensation that was used for self-regulation and behaviour management.

Nevertheless, deriving form the data obtained, it is clear that the Kalenjin possessed a well conceived form of education *(Kamuratanet)* albeit it's perceived informal dispensation. In addition, this study revealed that Kalenjin education was based on cultural moral codes regarding acceptable behaviour. Circumcision and initiation formed a critical feature of *Kamuratanet*; it didnot represent the entire process.Furthermore, regarding circumcision, Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973, p. 45) had this to say,

> Once a youth has been chosen for initiation, he loses his freedom and becomes a prisoner to his *motiren* (tutors) until initiation is complete. The *motiren* are charged

with turning "children" into "men and women", and if they do their job properly, the initiates will have a hard time during the rite but will afterwards become useful members of society.

The excerpt from Kipkorir and Welbourn corroborate the findings of this study that education in the context of *Kamuratanet* was mandatory.Indeed, learning under *Kamuratanet* was also teacher centred.On the other hand, it is worth noting that teachers were carefully selected role models and therefore the teacher centred approach was a strategy of behaviour management.In addition, the learning content was diverse and holistic and generally revolved around ways of appropriate living, knowledge, skills and conduct.

Moreover, to ensure that the members subscribed to the various aspects of learning, *Kamuratanet* instituted diverse self-regulating processes and contexts to enforce obedience to the standards set by society. The strategies comprised engaging identified groups through*Ibinda* (ageset), clan (*oret),* confessions, spirituality *(ng'oki)* e.t.c. (refer to figure 4.1). More attention will be given to these contexts and strategies in the later sections of this chapter**.**

4.3Characteristics of Educators *(Motirenik)* **Of** *Kamuratanet*

During circumcision ceremonies, the word *poiyoot* assumes great even mystical, significance and is often uttered in hushed tones… during ceremonies, the word *poiyoot*, if it is uttered without qualification, only refers to the priest (Sambu, 2007, p.201).

This section gives a description of the characteristics of *Motirenik* (tutors) of *Kamuratanet*.

The following verbatim data will clarify the characteristics of a *motiriot* as conceived in the context of *Kamuratanet*.An analyzed tabular summary of this excerpts are provided.

Table 4.3: Summary of Excerpts on Characteristics of Educators in the Context of Kalenjin *Kamuratanet***.**

Themes	Translated &Interpreted codes	Data	Source
Authority figures modeling Boys esteemed in the society- attributed status to parents	To role of teachers Qualities of *motirenik*	- *Ki mii motirenik* - There was *motiriot* - *Kichigil motirenik* - *Motirenik* werevetted *-kikimochei chii nekiindoune werit* One whose first child was a boy was sought.	Matelong 5:1.8(male)
Wrong behaviour influence avoided,(incompetence). Violationof moral standards (incompetence)	Guard against destruction of moral standards	- *Kimagogonyei chii nemining koekumin* A young person could not dare drink beer	Sortum 2:1.6(male)
Competence Set standards	Moral standards High moral standards	- *Kii chii neng'ulat* were pious *Kimagotinyei cholwok* were not sinful.	Kiptanui No. 10:5 (male)
Self regulating mechanisms.	Family history- distintive history of sound moral standard.	- *Kimakemusyin chii nemokigen.* Strangers were not sought.	Arap Kugu No. 7:1 (male).

4.3.1Analysis and Interpretation of Data on Characteristics of *Motirenik/*Educators

Circumcision ceremonies which are segments of *Kamuratanet*are normally presided over by three key people – *poiyot or poiyop tum*(ritual elder)and his two assistants (*motirenik/*educator/counsellor *;plural,*singular,*motiriot)* for male or *Korgoptum*/ritual

womanand her two assistants for the female initiates.The two assistants were regarded as Senior and Junior *motiriot-Motiriot ne-oo* and *Motiriot nemining*(senior/junior counselors/educators).*Poiyoptum* and *Korgoptum* were the ritual leaders who took charge of the rituals and were consulted in every activity during the ceremony (*tum)* in their respective areas of jurisdiction.They performed the actual operation-circumcise- on the genitalia of the initiates.The *senior* and junior *Motiriot* were charged with the responsibility of providing day and night watch over the traumatized initiates following the operation.However, as the wounds of the initiates healed and as the initiates came to terms with the traumatizing rituals accompanying circumcision, the *motirenik* oversaw the guidance, tuition and instruction provided to them in their entire seclusion period.In addition, they served as teachers, role models and guides.In fact, the *motirenik* participated in all the activities that the initiates engaged in and were as a source of encouragement and motivation, more so because the seclusion environment and rituals were sometimes extremely harsh. Nevertheless, the harsh environment was to align the behaviour of the initiates with their new roles and status. Moreover, adults were expected to be people who would withstand any difficult situation without showing any emotion of fear particularly to chidren-*Simo imu lagok*/So as not to scare children, 2:19.Consequently, a good quality of *Motirenik* was manifested in the courage they displayed.

Poiyop tum is normally considered a priest of God. Sambu (2007) adds that on festive occasions, the priest is referred to simply as *poiyo*t, meaning 'father' or elder'. The two assistants – first and second, often accompany the priest when he is on duty. However, during the seclusion and specifically in the seclusion area, any one who has gone through *Yatitaet* is referred to as *motiriot.*

Furthermore, education in *Kamuratanet* context was stratified into three basic categories. Consequently, the educators varied their roles based on context. However, a basic characteristic that gave one qualification to dispense the educational content was their own initiation. One had to have gone through the highest level of the *Kamuratanet* socialization process – *Yatitaet/* curcimcision and initiation. Parents, who were graduates of *Kamuratanet,* wereobligated to teach their children acceptable ways of behaving.Again, parents took blame for any misbehaviour by their children. Respondent No. 2:17, vividly captures – this position:

> *"Sigik kokiineti lagokwa. Ngoyagitu lagok ketepsee chepyoset kwonyik ap ipindanyi,sigindek ko kii motiriot netai".*

Translation:

> "Parents taught their children. If a child misbehaved, the mother would be questioned by women of her agegroup, a parent was the first *motiriot*".

Thus, in terms of educating young children – upto ten years of age-the mother had the greatest responsibility. This is so because Kalenjin men had little interaction with children below ten years of age (Mbiti 1986). Parents' perse had to be custodians of cultural behaviour patterns to avoid punishment – *injoget.*The concept of*injoget* will be revisited in detail in later in this chapter. Parents, like *motirenik* in seclusion area (*menjo*) had to be good role models to their children.

The second category of educators consisted of the larger society. All members of the society *(poror)* who had been initiated were also obligated to teach and monitor the behaviour of the youth vigilantly.Respondent No. 2:4 further corroborate:

> *"Kimagopo chii lakwa. Kipo poror. Maigonye ra ikwer lakwa nepochii"*

Translation.

> "Children did not belong to individuals. They belonged to the community. Today, you can not risk caining anybody's child"

For this reason, everyone watched over the youth. The newly initiated men were particularly mandated to tuition the youth and institute *Kimarsi* (communal sactioned beating) where laxity and misbehavior was observed.Under *Kamuratanet* therefore anyone who had been initiated was an educator and was expected to possess the requisite characteristic to dispense contents of *Kamuratanet*.

Learning in the first two levels was fairly informal.However, at the third and highiest level, learning was formal. It was carried out in *Yatitaet* and *Tum* (circumcision and initiation) where the initiates were removed from society and put under teachers/tutors (*motirenik*) who were appointed to tuition them on the basis of their competence.From the data above, it is apparent that *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management for the Kalenjin, acknowledged the need for teachers to help in implementing its content. The teachers are presented as authoritative figures that were vetted and met the criteria for good role models based on the standards set by *Kamuratanet*. In addition Chebet (2007) sayscharacteristically, *motirenik* were supposed to be beyond reproach and must have genealogical history of the profession.

Motiriot was required to have definite knowledge and training of*Kamuratanet* and specifically *Yatitaet*. Competence is the key word. Depending on context; one could be a parent and a teacher at home, a teacher at the community level and a *motiriot* (tutor) in the context of initiation. Contrary to modern appointment of teachers where content and training in subject matter as manifested by academic attainments is key, teachers under *Kamuratanet* were further vetted to ascertain not only their competence but also their relevance and fitness vis- a- vis the desired outcomes.For this reason, their moral standards were checked, their genealogical history ascertained, their personality attributes considered and their fitness discussed within a

comparative and competitive environment. One therefore had to be known and understood to ensure only the best were in charge of shaping the behaviour and philosophy of the youth particularly during the transition stage represented by *yatitaet* and initiation.Thus, the task of *motirenik* was enormous and required a strong personality who would withstand the challenges associated with initiation.

On female *motiriot,* Mbiti (1986) had the following:

> This teacher known as *motiriot* (pl. *Motirenik*) is the person who accompanies the initiates right through the ceremony, helping them, teaching them new things and sleeping with them. She is their symbol of unty, their counsellor, their source of strength and comfort. (Mbiti,1986, p.128).

The need for a strong personality to drive the initiation programme is further corroborated by Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973).

> *Tarus* (initiates) and *motirenik* (tutors) undergo much vigorous physical exercise and regulated fighting. Life can be unpleasant at *Kaptorus* (seclusion). Instruction is given in social behaviour, the difference between a "child" and "man" and the proper treatment of wives (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973, p.47).

Motirenik too had to be quite knowledgeable. Kipkorir and Welbourn explain that*"Torus* (initiates) are regularly tested in their knowledge of this vocabulary and strangers visiting *Kaptorus* (seclusion) are also tested before admission" (p.47).In fact, from the data and interpretation presented above, it is clear that each member of the community – having gone through *Yatitaet* – participated in educating the youth. As a matter of fact to be a recognized educator, one had to be circumcised (gone through the highest level of *Kamuratanet*).

Parents were however considered the primary educators as a duty sanctioned upon them by the society. As the saying goes; *chepto ak Kamet, werit ak kwan* (the girl with her mother, the boy with his father (Chebwai, No. 8:1), it was the duty of the mother(and significant others relative to gender) to tuition *(itigon)* and direct *(ng'at)* her daughter, while the father did the

same for the son so as to produce a wise person *(ng'ulat)* as opposed to producing a foolish or redundant person *(apusan)* or a deviant (*Sogoran*). On this, a respondent described:

> *Kimagemechei Sogoran anan ko apusan.Kikimochei lakwet ne ng'ulat* (5:3) (A fooling person *(apusan)* and a deviant (*Sogoran*) was not wanted. A wise child was wanted (5:3).

Consequently, if parents failed to play their role effectively in shaping the behaviour of their children, then their children were rated as *apusanik* (plural for*apusan)*, or *sogoranik* (plural for *sogoran*) on a social scale.As a result, members of their agesets (*ibinda)* or more precisely age grade *(siritiet)* would take charge and even punish them for their failure. Indeed, character building not only for children but also for adults/educators too was critical as a strategy of behaviour management.As a result, parents/educators were regularly cautioned and warned to ensure that their children met the accepted standards of social behaviour as noted in the following excerpt:

> *Ngiput ng'otutik komi kimarsi – ipoisie ng'otutik eng metitng'ung. Agot sikin nekaitewer lakwetnyi kegurchini kimarsi. Kipiriei pik ap siritiet* (9:5).

> **Translation**

> If you broke the law, there was *kimarsi* (communal beating). You used the rules that you knew. Parent who did not take good care of their children had *kimarsi* instituted against them. They were beaten by members of their age grade *(siritiet)* (9:5).

Furthermore, if the parents failed to observe the caution, a communal beating *(kimarsi)* was sanctioned against them.In addition, they would also be brought into account in the subsequent circumcision ceremonies where they would be re-initiated (*ke-nurr*) and given tuition in order to cultivate the required attributes of *motiriot* in them.Thus, a parent, who also doubled up as an educator had to display the highest standards of accepted behaviour for their children to emulate.

Motirenik had to be good role models possessing the qualities needed in the youth. In addition,

they were people who observed high moral standard and any deviation was not allowed. They were the standard setters of behaviou in the society.

4.4 Influence of *Kamuratanet* on Social Behaviour Learning Subject Matter

> Toassert that human development is a product of interaction between the growing human organism and its environment is to state what is almost commonplace in behavioural science. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

This section answers the third objective of the study that examined the influence of *Kamuratanet* on social behaviour learning subject content. It explains how unique learning content was created via the institution of *Kamuratanet*. The basic premise for this section is that the Kalenjin learning content or subject matter was specifically derived from *Kamuratanet* which delineated the desired behavioural outcomes for its granduands. The excerpts below answers the question on how *Kamuratanet* was a pivotal point in determination and dissemination of the learning content.

Table 4.4: Excerpts on the Influence of *Kamuratanet* on Learning Subject Content

Themes	Translated&Interpreted codes	Data	Source
Learning content Rules of engagement. Learning through songs.	Songs, guidance, laws, initiation	*Kikityeni, aketigonisiekineti ng'otutik,* people sang, provided guidance,	Soti 7:2 (female)
Gender specific content Between age relationship	- Gender based behaviour - Initiation - Obedience to serious Avoid *ng'oki*	*Karureiwek ak ng'otutik.ateptap muren,.*Good behaviour, initiative, rules, boy to men.	Sitienei 9:1 (male)

Themes	Translated&Interpreted codes	Data	Source
Spirituality			
Adult roles. New responsibilities. Adult conduct.	- Transition form childhood to adulthood. - Given the tools of trade - Adult behaviour	*Kaiegu chii neoo. Ng'otutik ap atepto* You have become and adult instruction on behaviour	Sitienei 9:5 (male)
Themes	**Translated&Interpreted codes**	**Data**	**Source**
- Participation in social and economic life of community - Specified behaviour	- *Kamuratanet* for wisdom - Acquisition of wealth - Specified behavior	- *Kipo ng'omnon* - *Ageporun ng'otit* - *Kipo muren luget* - *Mokimochei sogoran, apusan* - For wisdom - Shown the spear (tools of trade) - Raiding (for cattle) allowed - Deviants	Matelong 5:4,16 (male)

Deriving from the excerpts,*Kamuratanet* had specific objectives as derived from the data above in reference to the influence of *Kamuratanet* on the subject matter content.It is thus evident that learning in *Kamuratanet* aimed at cultivating the followingten virtues which indeed informs its objectives. The objectives are derived from the verbatim excerpts as briefly indicated.

The objectives include:

i) To inculate a sense of wisdom (*kipong'omnon*/for wisdom5:2,5).

ii)   To equip its learners with skills for survival (*luget/*to raid other communities and acquire wealth 5:2,3)

iii)   To instill courage (*Nyigan*,for courage 5:4,16)

iv)   To instill a sense of responsibility (*Rip pororiet/*to guard the community 5:2,3)

v)   To set behavioural standards (*Korip atepto /*to teach behaviour5:4,16)

vi)   To specify the gender roles (*ateptap chii/*to specify roles9:1)

vii)   To encourage obedience (*Kas chi neoo*/ respect for elders 9:1)

viii) To state the rules on conduct (*konetng'otutik*/to teach rules 7:2)

ix)   To initiate – transition from childhood to adulthood (*Korurewek,koek lakwa chii neoo*/To initiate from childhood to adulthood 7:2)

x)   To regulate the behaviour of members (*Chupisio,si kerip atep*/curses to regulate behaviour 9:1)

Kamuratanet as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management indeed specified and delimited the specific subject content of the learning curriculum so as to produce the desired behavioural outcomes.Besides, spirituality, presented in terms of *ng'oki* (bad omen) and curses (*chupisio)* was used to curtail disobedience or violation of the principles of *Kamuratanet*. Moreover, learning content was gender Specific (9:1) and clearly specified the adult roles to suffice the aspirations of *Kamuratanet* (9:5). It also equipped its learners with skills for social and economic adaptation and set standards of acceptable behaviour (5:2, 3).

In addition, the content of *Kamuratanet* also helped in the initiating individuals from childhood to adulthood (9:5; 5:4, 16), where the youth were graduated to responsible people who could make binding decisions. They were also taught to be brave and courageous (5:4,

16) to enable them participate fully in the economic life of the community, which then was mainly raiding other communities to acquire cattle – *luget* (5:2, 3).*Kamuratanet* thus immensely influenced the nature of learning content to be disseminated.

4.4.1 Analysis of Data on Influence of *Kamuratanet* on Learning Subject Matter

To make a logical and coherent presentation, the explanation below does not limit itself to the tabulated content, but will weave together the emerging themes in the transcription schedule.

Kamuratanet specified the content to be learnt and the techniques to be used.For instance, people who had gone through circumcision andother initiation rituals of *Kamuratanet* sang with the initiates and provided formal learning and guidance to them on various topical issues.There were various types of songs. Some of the songs specified the accepted behaviours and virtues such as *aiyepin,* (generosity) *tegis* (integrity) and *Tolosio* (politeness). Other songs were mainly sung to celebrate heroes and heroines. For example, *Kimorigi* (dance to celebrate virginity to be described in detail in other sections of this chapter) presented a time to celebrate virginity and by extension heroism, courage and virtue (Soti 7:7). This is supported by the findings of Chebet (2007).

> Those who were confirmed to be virgins were praised and accorded honour of sitting on a three legged chair (*Kipkelien Somok*) with milk poured on it to cool the wound after the cut which took place at dawn the next morning. The successful cut was announced by the women, who witnessed the courage of the girls and extended to the day when the seclusion ended during the coming out ceremony when the father invited his agemates to a celebration *(Kimarigi*) of a virgin girl (*Chepng'echeriat*), (Chebet, 2007, p.11).

Special songs sang diring seclusion were referred to as *Kaandaet* and not the ordinary songs *(tyen*), served several purposes; to give instruction, to make the initiates relax after the day's difficult tasks, to teach and above all, an oath of allegiance and secrecy; '*kii mii tum kaandaet ap kotigonisio ak murtoet* (in initiation, there was *kaandaet* for instruction and oath of

allegiance), (5:5). By *Kaandaet*, those who divulged the contents stood cursed as the concluding line of every *kaandaet* stated, '*ngopenyech chii kolelit'* (May whoever betrays us turn white) (Researcher's experience). The pronouncements also served as self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management since it held all members under bondage through the oath of allegiance and commitment to the doctrines contained in the teachings and guidance provided in contents of instruction.*Kamuratanet* therefore influenced the nature of content to be learnt and ways of content dispensation.

In fact any single feature of *Kamuratanet* served several functions. For instance in *Kaandaet*, the power of spirituality is also invoked for those who violate the oath of secrecy. Furthermore, in the initiation rituals of *Kamuratanet,* and more so during seclusion, tuition on good behaviour formed part of the virtues to be inculcated by the

content presented. In reference to the set objective (vi) and (vii) of *Kamuratanet,* content on relationships between the various groups is specified:

> *'Kii mii konetutik ap korureiwek ak kotigonutik.Kikineti pik kogas kiy nekamwa chii neoo simaam ng'oki'* (Sitienei 9:1). (There was initiation and instruction. People were taught to obey their elders to avoid *ng'oki* – confrontation by bad omen) (Sitienei 9:1).

Moreover, *Kamuratanet*learning content established a hierarchical order where the junior groups were taught to obey the senior groups, failure to which bad omen (*ng'oki)* would befall them. Being senior or junior was not based on chronological age but a product of structures provided by *Kamuratanet* which included *ipinda* (age set), *siritiet* (age grade), gender and kinship relationships.For example a younger woman married to a man of a senior age was promoted to the age of her husband and enjoyed all the privileges of the acquired status.

On the other hand, a young man whose father died leaving no senior family member to be in charge of the family would be promoted to a higher age-group and would also enjoy all the privileges of the new status.Thus, the learning content taught emphasized an absolute and definite pecking order. Indeed, social relationships were clearly specified and designated under *Kamuratanet.*Consequently*Kamuratanet*learning contents clearly specified how intergenerational relationships were to be established. Snell corroborates:

> A Nandi might not address a member of the tribe senior to himself until first greeted by him, nor should he look straight at a senior while conversing with him. A Nandi's near relatives were to be addressed by their relationship names…If an insult were grave and unprovoked, the offended party could legimately curse the offender even if he were senior; if the insult were not serious but uttered against a member of a senior age-grade, the offender was beaten by members of his own age grade. (Snell,1954, p.70).

Derived from *Kamuratanet*, the learning content defined social conduct of its members.

In addition, circumcision/*Yatitaet* was also used to initiate the youth to adulthood. Seclusion, which followed circumcision, was a transition period from childhood to adulthood.Moreover, the content of instruction in seclusion specified adult conduct in various contexts.Subsequently, during seclusion, the initiates were neither regarded as children (*lakwa*) nor adults *(chii)*.They were only referred to as *torusiek*(initiates).Furthermore, in order to alienate them completely from the larger society (researcher's experience), they were given new names and the language used in seclusion was coded.Again, the rituals which were fullof dramaticepisodes created shock and awe in the minds of the initiates.This made them receptive of the learning contents:

> Initiates are asked to confess all the sins they have committed; whether incest, contempt of elders or breaking the taboos. They are warned that failing a full confession, there will be excessive bleeding during operation, the wound may take two long to heal and death may ensue. But when they confess, forgiveness is pronounced and the past forgiven. Initiation means the beginning of new life for the youth (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973, p.45).

Consequently, the initiates then took the instruction given with zeal and determination. In addition, they were now given rules of conduct, particularly on how to behave as an adult in respect to the older and younger generations with due consideration to gender.Besides, lessons on respect, integrity, honesty, identity, roles, clan, age sets, and grades e.t.c. (refer to figure 4:1) were clearly spelt out in the learning content. On the other hand the past was forgiven and new responsibilities and roles envisaged; *'Momii ilat nerorogu ama kiyai,mochei keanyiny'*. (No thunder strikes without recourse, it has to be sweetened/forgiven) (9:3). The implication is that 'nothing happens without recourse therefore however bad or evil your past was, forgiveness is possible. This made the youth ready to take up to new roles which indeed marked a new beginning.A respondent notes:

Tum ko kikityeni aketigonisiei. Kilipwopen pik. Kii mii ng'otutik. Kwony nepo chii ko kimagegomoni. (In initiation there were songs and guidance. People were pious. There were rules. A person's wife could not be seduced (7:3).

Thus, the content of instruction was furthermore based on the moral standards envisioned by *Kamuratanet.*In addition, another respondent, indicated that apart from specifying the accepted standards of behaviour, the content of instruction also equipped the youth with skills that enabled them to participate in the social and economic life of the community; *"Kikineti lakwet eng poisiet",* (8:1) (Children were taught at the place of work,8.1). Children therefore acquired gender specific skills in work contexts.On the other hand, their cognitive process was developed through stories, riddles, sayings and folklore; *'Ki keny kenetee lagokatindon ak tangochik. Kimii kora Kalewenaik* (8.2) /in the past, children were taught through stories and riddles. There were also sayings (8:3).

Besides, Hollis (1909) provides a comprehensive assembly of stories, folklore, sayings e.t.c that were used to tuition the youth among the Nandi and points out that the same procedures were replicated throughout the Kalenjin country. A respondent (2.1) adds that Children were also taught to respect.However, any disrespect from a child was blamed on the parents. The virtue of magnanimity was further stressed according to the respondent:

Eng tum ak gaa ko kikineti konyit. Kikonyei ng'oo kongelel tigin kele ochei lakwet kai. Kikilen konyit kotoror, tee tan yak muren. Kii mii kirituk magochulotin pik kuu keny (2:1)

Translation

In initiation and at home respect was taught. Everyone detested a situation where people would exclaim, woe, to a child. It was said, respect is so magnanimous, it equals cattle and men, andthere were taboos. (2:1)

Moreover, the learning content engaged Kalenjinpersons in cooperative dialogues with their skilled partners or adults (Vygotsky, 1978) and always supervised by the entire community.

Kamuratanet presumptions agree with Bronfenbrenner (2005) who states;

> In order to develop normally, a child needs the enduring, irrational involvement of one or more adults in care of and in joint activity with that child. In short somebody has to be crazy about that kid. Someone also has to be there, and to be doing something – not alone but together with the child (p.262).

Indeed, learning in the *Kamuratanet* context was basically a communal enterprise. This communal approach to learning is further corroborated by Ruto-Korir (2006) who says:

> The Nandi psyche and indeed the African psyche were predominantly communal.This characteristic is exemplified by the community's traditional organization into counties(*emotinuek*), divisions (*pororiosiek*), and parishes (*Siritaik*) and genealogically into clans and families (*oret* or *ortinuek*), provides evidence of communality and identity (Ruto-Korir,2006,p.333).

Certainly,*Kamuratanet*, which is conceived as schooling (5:4, 16), like any other education system equipped its members with knowledge and skills that prepared them to take up adult responsibilities.Consequently, a person who has gone through the process was dependable not only to the family but also to the society (7:4, 6).Furthermore, the graduates of the process were not only expected to make sound and binding decisions, but also be brave and courageous in the face of adversaries.This is because it was their duty to fight for the family and society and put food on the table. For this reason, this indeed created social cohesion within the entire tribe.On the contrary, this unity of purpose was misconstrued by Snell (1954) in his introduction, when he wrote:

> Their code of ethics was applicable only to members of the Nandi speaking tribes. The community sense of mutual goodwill characheteristcs primitive groups was, under such conditions, very strong indeed, and is typified in a Nandi proverb quoted by Hollis; let us put our trembling legs together in one place and we shall obtain support form the other' (p.xii).

Consequently, the need for self-regulating and cohesive society indeed formed a critical feature if the learning content whose philosophy encompassed preservation of the community.Subsequently, having intensively interrogated the philosophy advocated by *Kamuratanet,* the view of this study in so far as Snell's assumption is concerned is misguided. Indeed,*Kamuratanet* saw strength in unity – unity is strength.This is because from this study, it is evident that *Kamuratanet* advocates for social cohesion as a strategy of community preservation. To classify such a refined abstraction as primitive is by, and of itself primitive.

Kamuratanet did not advocate for individualistic tendencies but worked towards a philosophy of communalism or collectivism and a unity of purpose.For example,in this study, a respondent,2.3 explains that "children belonged to the community" *("lakwa ko kipo poror*).This shows that the community was so central to *Kamuratanet* that no one could risk putting the upbringing of its younger generation under the guidance of individual parents without a supervisory authority which in this case wasprovided by the community members.Thus, *Kamuratanet* was indeed an epicentre of the Kalenjin learning content.

4.5.0 Structures of *Kamuratanet* inImplementation of Social behaviour Curriculum.

4.5.1. Structures of *Kamuratanet*

This section answers the fourth objective of the study which sought to describe the structures employed by *Kamuratanet* in implementing its social behaviour curriculum based on its self-regulating processes.The structures of implementing *Kamuratanet* procedures of behaviour management include the home and family,the clan,the community and age-sets*(ipinda)*.This section therefore further examines the pedagogical structures and strategies employed by *Kamuratanet* to implement and monitor efectiveness of its content delivery and adherence. A structural representation of *Kamuratanet* as derived from data is also provided.

Kamuratanet evolved various structures to oversee effective implememtation of its self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management.The structures evolved by*Kamuratanet* include; first, the home and family, secondly, the clan (*oret*) based on totems, thirdly the community, and lastly, the age sets and age grades.

The data below sought to authenticate the existence of structures that were used in the reinforcing the self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management mechanisms of *Kamuratanet*.

Table 4.5: A summary of the Verbatim Content is Provided and Interpreted Thematically as Follows:

Themes	Interpreted codes	Data	Source
- Home as a learning facility structure	The role of parents in children's education	*Kiitigoni lagok gogo, kamet…* Children taught by grand mother, father, mother…	Mate 5:10
- The role of home in gender based education	Gender based education	*Kii ngomii ko koposiot chepto ak werit* In the home, boys and girls were separate	Chebwai 8:1
Initiation and seclusion	Rituals as features of *Kamuratanet*	*Kii kararan tumdo* .Rituals were good	Soti 7:2
Yoo kiriksei .In *rikset* (ritual) *Rikset* as a structure of *Kamuratanet*	Rituals of *kamarutanet*	*Rikset* as a structure of *Kamuratanet*	Soti 7:1
- The community as a structure of *Kamuratanet*	The role of the community in *Kamuratanet*	*Ngimong'u kokorin pik chii kopo poror* - People see you People belong to community	Soti 7:1
- Questioning by people of his/her ageset	The role of agemates in *Kamuratanet*	- Agesets/ grades as *Kamuratanetstructures.Kite psee pikiab ipindanyi.*	Soti 7:1

From the data presented, it is apparent that *Kamuratanet* had various structures for the management and regulation of the behaviour of its members.Moreover, *Kamuratanet* determined and designed the structures and strategies directly or indirectly. For example, tutors (*motirenitk),* who are creatures of the structures of *Kamuratanet*, were vetted, evaluated and monitored by distinguished elders who were regarded as custodians of *Kamuratanet*.The elders were also creations of the structures of *Kamuratanet*. Consequently, the conduct of the tutors was also evaluated against standards set out by the principles of *Kamuratanet* which include *Aiyepindo* (generosity/hospitality), *tolosio* (politeness/kindness), *tegisto* (integrity) and *kondit* (respect).

Kamuratanet agrees with Albert Bandura's social learning theory, that role models play a critical role in shaping behaviour (Miller, 2011).Furthermore, *Kamuratanet* also concurs with Vygotsky's view on development of behaviour and cognition as a mediated activity and that human beings are "inherently sociocultural, affected by the beliefs, values, and tools of intellectual adaptation passed to individuals by their culture" (Shaffer & Kipp,2010, p.281).

4.5.1 Structures of *Kamuratanet* in Implementation of Social Behaviour Curriculum

The home and the family and by extension the clan (*oret)* were the primary units for educating the children and make them conform to the Kalenjin standards of stipulated behaviour and gender roles.Certainly, the home has parents, clan members and other relatives (*tilionutik)* who serve as tutors for the children. The father and mother of the child however bore the greatest responsibility in respect to their children's behaviour. As a matter of fact, the role was not operationalized in an adhoc manner or considered a privilege to the parents; it was culturally designated to them. Consequently, failure to tuition the child was punishable by vilification of parents:

Sigik ko kiineti lagokchwak. Ngoyagitu lagok ketepsee Kamet chepyosok ap ipindanyii. (Soti7:17)

Parents taught their children. If children misbehaved, she would be questioned by women of her ageset. (Soti 7:17).

On the contrary, the children were not considered personal belonging of the parents, but community entitlements; "*Lakwa kopo poror*" (Sortum 2:3) (Children did not belong to individuals, they belonged to the community) (Sortum 2:3).Thus, children belonged to the parents, the extended family, the clan and the community.Indeed in the *Kamuratanet* context, parents were only custodians on behalf of the community. The study revealed that any perceived misbehaviour of children and indeed of all members of the society was considered a disgrace and embarrassment to the nuclear family, the extended family, the village, clan and entire community.As a result, questions such as "whose child is this" in reference to misbehaviour, or "from which clans is that child" were not uncommon.

Figure 4.2: Gender Based *Kamuratanet* Structures of Social Behaviour Management.

(Source: field data)

The *Kamuratanet* structures of behaviour management were primarily gender based but offeredcomplementary roles in dispensation of duties and services. At the bottom of the ladder (structure) were children- boys and girls who mainly received instruction on conduct from their fathers and mothers respectively.The paternal and maternal relatives also took keen interest in regulating the behaviour of their members.Others who were charged with the responsibility of regulating the behaviour of the Kalenjin were ritual leaders- *poyoptum* and *korgoptum*.They were charged with the responsibility of presiding over ceremonies such as circumcision, marriage, child-naming and other social functions within their jurisdiction.

Above them were *poyopkok* and *korgoptum ne-oo* (Elder *korgoptum*) who presided over matters of concern at the village level. *Poyopkok* presided over issues such as cattle

theft,arbitration, fights and even murder and other critical issues relating to the behaviour of members at the village.On the other hand *Korgoptum ne-oo* served to reprimand those who did something wrong mainly against women, such as rape or a woman who neglected her family responsibilities or indulged in illicit sex with her own son or a members from prohibited age group.In such cases *korgoptum ne-oo* led a retributive procession known as *injoget apchepiosok* (punishment by women). The concept of *injoget ap chepiosok* will be described in detail later in this chapter.

Calamities such as drought or disease were seen as devine retribution for communal misbehaviour.In such cases *korgoptum ne-oo* led a procession of repentance known as *Keger-pei.*The processions were carried out by naked women at night to symbolize a curse to the wrong doers as they plead for forgiveness from Asis (God). This served as a self-regulating mechanismto dissuade any aspiring wrong doer.

Poyopkok and *Korgoptum ne-oo* served below the overall community leaders-*Orgoiyot* and *Chepsagitiat* (medicine woman), in behaviour regulation.Thus, the children (*lagok*), the nuclear family (*kot*), the extended family (*tilionut*), the clan (*oret*), the village elders (*kok*) and community leadership (*poror*) served as pillars on which hinged the structures through which the behavioural aspirations envisaged by *Kamuratanet* could be put to practice.They served as pillars of *Kamuratanet* ineducating the membersand as a point of reference in behaviour management.

Subsequently, if young children misbehaved, the mother and the father dealt with the matter. The home was a structure for initial and most basic learning.The extended family also moderates the behaviour of its members-both children and adults.For instance, if a child's

misbehaviour came to the attention of the neighbours, men and women of the parent's *siritiet* (age grade) summoned the father or mother respectively for questioning regarding the child's misbehaviour. Warnings were issued for the unbecoming or 'unkalenjin' behaviour to be corrected. Behaviours were supposed to reflect the standards set by *Kamuratanet*; "*chii nekikimuratan kokitogu*" (Sortum 2:6) (A person who had gone through *Kamuratanet* was conspicuous).

If parents were found culpable or irresponsible in their parenting style, they were punished and could be forced to go through re-initiation in the next *Yatitaet* (circumcision) season. The parents were therefore obligated to check the behaviour of their children, not only at the behest of their pride, but also for the continuity of the clan and community. In fact, according to *Kamuratanet,* the Clan (*oret)* defines people better than families. As a matter of fact, even domestic animals had clan marks which were known to the entire community (Researcher's experience).

On the other hand, ritual leaders –*korgoptum* (female) and *poyoptum* (male) also played a pivotal role in overseeing the behaviour of the members of various clan members. For example, in case of misbehaviour of individuals, clan members and the individuals would be called in to account during subsequent ceremonies presided over by the ritual leaders, particularly during circumcision ceremonies (*yatitaet*). Village elders-*korgoptum ne-oo*, female village elder and *poyoptum* formale-were charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the village members displayed behaviours acceptable to the standards set by *Kamuratanet*.

In addition, at the peak of the community ladder of behaviour management was *Orgoiyot* who served as both social and spiritual leader only consulted on the most critical issues facing the

community, such as the time for war and cattle raids, and how members were supposed to conduct themselves during such critical moments.*Orgoiyot* was consulted through appointed agents from the various Kalenjin sub-tribes called *Maotik*.*Chepsagitiat*on the other hand was the overall female consultant and senior medicine woman believed to have healing powers particularly relating to issues affecting women.

At this juncture, it is important to note that the Kalenjin believed that even diseases and illnesses were a result of misbehaviour. In this regard, *Orgoiyot* and *Chepsagitiat* were thought to have extra-human or spiritual powers that could be used to prevent diseases and calamities or heal the sick.

4.5.2 The Family and Home as Structures of *Kamuratanet*

A Kalenjin home servesthe nuclear family but in most cases situated close to the extended family members. In the precolonial days, family members occupied an entire ridge. Clans comprised of extended family members whose members lived in various places within the Kalejin territory. Besides, the Kalenjins not only indentify themselves with family names, but more importantly with clan names.Clan names were based on totemic symbolism.Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) add that each person recognized the totem as a primary part of his personal name, the name of his/her clan.They note:

> "A man of *Kobil* clan, for instance, asked, "who are you?" would reply, "I am *Kobilo"*a woman of the same clan, "I'm *Kobilo*". He is next asked, "Of which totem?" and only after this primary identification can more individual names be given. (p.6.)

Similarly, family ties were quite strong.Subsequently parents were mandated to teach their children, not only good behaviour but also to be wise and knowledgeable; *"kiitigoni lagok gogo, kamet...* (5:10), (Children were taught by the grand mother, mother…(5:10)

Certainly, the children were taught based on the standards set by *Kamuratanet.*Indeed*,* according to respondent 8:1, the homes provided gender based education: *Kii ngomi ko kopesiot chepto ak werit,* (8:1),(in the house, boys and girls were separate) (8:1).This implies that boys and girls were assigned gender differentiated tasks. Ultimately, the clans were responsible for the behaviour and wisdom of their youth.Actually, even at clan level, unique rules that defined family and clan etiquettewere specified in their learning process. Snell (1954) captures this notion clearly:

> The tribe was devided into seventeen clans (*oret* plural *ortinwek)…* marriage between members of certain subdivisions of them was forbidden; there were minor rules, varying from clan to clan… children followed their fathers clan… the principle (of *Kamuratanet)* that children and property in general were clan assets underlay the custom… (p.14)

Such was the critical role played by the home and family in the dispensation of contents of *Kamuratanet*. This was done to avoid expressions of disapproval uttered by the members of the tribe towards a youth deemed to be disrespectful or misbehaving: *'ki konyei ng'oo tigin kele, ochei lakwet kai. Kikilen konyit kotoror, tee tany ak muren''* (Sortum 2:1) (who would dare here people say, woe unto you, whose child is that". The child was perceived as the carrier of the family and clan image.

4.5.3 Oret (Clan) as a Structure ofimplementing Social Behaviour Curriculum.

Connected to the family is the clan. The clan plays a supervisory role in themanagement and regulation of the behaviour of its members.For instance*,* Klima (1970) as cited by Sambu (2007) captures the clan role vividly; "when word reaches a senior clan member that another clan member has violated certain clan norms or standards of conduct, he confers with another senior member…" (Sambu,2007, p.184). Clans ensured that its members portray behaviours approved by *Kamuratanet.*Clan members therefore took keen interest in the shaping the

behaviour and training of their youth.On the critical role undertaken by the clan in educating

youth, Klima, (in Sambu, 2007) had this to say in regard to Barabaig, a Kalenjin speaking

community in Tanzania.

> Every male child must learn the Barabaig system of genealogical reckoning as part of his education and socialization in order to prepare him for the social, economic and political life ahead. Mastering his personal geneology, he will be able to orient his social behaviour in face to face relations with the other clan and lineage members in a culturally appropriate manner on the basis of his position in the genealogical structure of the clan. If he cannot do this, he is destined to comit social errors that result in legal action being taken against him by an irrate lineage or clan members. A social error committed against a lineage or a clan member may cause him to be deprived of cattle from his herd… when word reaches a senior clan member that another clansman has with another senior member and together they may decide to hold a clan council or moot… Clan membership entails acknowledgements of rights and the observance of obligations towards other members' clansman when his aid is solicited and, in turn, he expects future assistance from clansmen as part of his moral and legal rights. (Sambu,2007, pp.184 – 185).

This is also supported by a research respondent, Sortum 2:12:

> *"Tegisto ko kii konyit eng chii neoo, sigik, che otupche ak pik ap oret. Kikinetu tegis eng Kamuratanet."* (Sortum 2:12).

> "Integrity was manifested in respect, adults, parents, relatives and clan members were respected. Integrity was taught in *Kamuratanet".* (Sortum 2:12)

Relatively, the Kalenjin evolved a totemic system that brought together related families based

on the clan (*oret)* concept. Regarding the concept of totemic arrangement, Charles Eliot, in his

introduction to Hollis (1909) made the following observation:

> Anthropologists will find particularly interesting the lists of totems and the degrees of relationship expressed by special words. These terms show that the Nandi have a system of classificatory relationship which has not hitherto been recorded from this part of Africa. (Hollis,1909, p.xix).

Besides, the Kalenjin are a patriarchal society. Children belonged to their father's *oret*/clan.

Members of the same clan were considered closely related although the biological linkage

could be too far for any memorable records (Sambu, 2007). In spite of this, the behaviour of

individuals was identified with *oret*. As a result, some of the clans/*oret* were rated highly as illustrated another respondent, 7:1: "*Tum kechang'ei motiriot. Kii mii korik chepo motirenik (7:1). ("In initiation, *motirenik* (tutors) were sought. There were families that produced *motirenik* (tutors) (7:1).

Consequently, *Motirenik*were only sought from respectable families and clans.Certainly, appointment as *Motiriot* wasa prestigious and coveted source of pride not only for the individual and family, but also for the clan and community.On the overal however, although unequal in size, the clans were equal in status (Snell 1954). Members of *oret* were therefore concerned with the behaviour of its members particularly those who misbehavedor those perceived as being of poor intellect or lack wisdom. Indeed such misbehavior or poor intellect would jeopardize their social rating in terms of moral standing or reputation. Clan members therefore had a duty to teach their members high moral standards, wisdom, integrity and even humility in order to keep their pride.As a result, it was common for *oret* members to pride themselves as "members of our *oret* do not do such things" (researchers' experience) in reference to misbehaviour of individuals.The clan therefore served as a self-regulating unit of behaviour management.

4.5.4. Community as a Structure of Implementing its Social Behaviour Curriculum.

The community was the custodian of moral and ethical standards set by *Kamuratanet*. The study revealed that based on the behaviour standards set in *Kamuratanet,* theKalenjin rate themselves as superior to their neighbouring communities.This sentimental pride is captured in the words of respondent 2:7:

"Chii nekikeyatita kogitogunee pik, kiikoigei lem ra (Sortum 2:7) "A person who went through

circumcision/*keyatita* was conspicuous. Today people are like *Lem(Lem* is a derogatory term used in reference to Luhya and Luos who were assumed not to circumcise).

By virtue of their *Kamuratanet* curriculum which included circumcision, the Kalenjin ratedthemselves asbetter behaved. The term *lem* is sometimes interchanged with *lakwa* (child) in reference to childish behaviour (researcher's experience).Respondent 1:3 elaborates this position further; "*murenik ap tumdop ra komengen atepto, kikoigei Lem* (The men of modern circumcision do not know how to behave, they are like *Lem* (1:3). Based on this premises, it is apparent that ethnic jingoism was and is still a reality among the Kalenjin.This study submits that such pride in ways of behaving can be used as an asset to modify behaviour in the desired direction by pairing-as in classical conditioning- ordrawing parallels between the desired behaviour with the principles of *Kamuratanet*.

In addition, the community played a significant role in ensuring adherence to behavioural standards set by *Kamuratanet*as corroborated by another respondent, *7:1,*"*Ngi mong'u kokerin pik. Chi ko kipo poror* (7:1) (when you came out of seclusion, people watched you. People belonged to the community). Thus, the community served as a structure of *Kamuratanet* (refer to table 4.5 and figure 4.5).Indeed, to the community, *Yatitaet* as a unit of *Kamuratanet* was mandatory as pointed out by another respondent:

> "*Tum komokigerei–emet nyoo kependi tum. Tumi kopo ng'omnon*" (5:2)
> "Initiation cannot be banned – in our land, people are initiated. Initiation is for wisdom" (5:2).

Subsequently, individuals were obligated to obey the social norms that were articulated by *Kamuratanet.* On this matter, this study concurs with Chebet and Dietz, (2000) who argue that our bondage to scoeity is not so much established by conquest as by collusion:

> … the sense of belonging was so great that one person's problem was seen as a problem for the whole community. Likewise the behaviour of individuals was conditioned by norms in the society which acted as a common bond for everbody. These norms, though not written or given as instructions verbally, were very real and yet invisible but they had a lot of impact in the way members of the society related to each other. (Chebet & Dietz,2000, p.31).

Good behaviour is referred to as *tagurnatet.* Any behaviour that deviated from the acceptable order was referred to in very derogatory term – *Sogornatet,* a distastefulterm for deviant. As explained by respondent 5:2, *Kamuratanet* cultivated wisdom (*ng'omnon).* Respondent 5:3 further elaborates:

> *Kimagemochei sogoran anan ko apusanet eng kokwet. Kikimochei lakwet ne ng'ulat. Kikimochei tagurnat. (5:3)*

> Nobody wanted a deviant (*sogoran)* or a foolish (*apusanet)* person in the neibourhood (*Kokwet).* A wise child was wanted. Good behaviour was admired. (5:3).

Cretainly, the Kalenijn hate to be *sogoran* or to be referred to in such distasteful terms.In fact ill behaviour is perceived as an embarrassment the Kalenjin pride and is severely dealth with.Subsequently, it is by understanding the Kalenjin social functioning that makes itpossible to derive a conceptual model that can be used to enhance collectivism and social responsibility. Figure 4.3 illustrates the concept of social responsibility in relationship to social ties that bound peopletogether.

Figure 4:3 Concept of social responsibility.

5
4
3
2
1
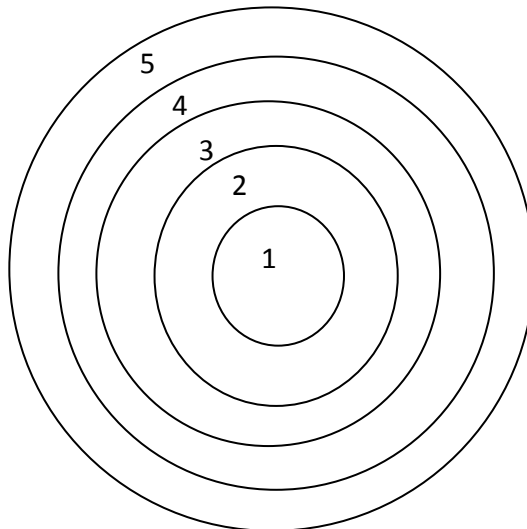
Adapted from Chebet and Diet (2000 p.33)

KEY

1. *Got* - Family
2. *Oret* – Clan
3. *Kokwet* – Neighbourhood
4. *Pororiet* – Community
5. *Emet* – Society

The initial small group forms a family and it is on the foundation of the family that the basic

unit of Kinship structure is formed (Chebet & Dietz, 2001). On kinship, Mbiti (1986) adds that

"the totem is the visible sysmbol of unity, of kinship, of belongingness and common affinity"

(p.105).

4.5.5 *Ipinda* as a Structureof Implementing Social Behaviour Curriculum

Age sets *(ipinda)* and age grades (*siritiet)* were assigned permanently in *Yatitaet.* Agesets and

age grades were used to ensure members obeyed the "isms" of*Kamuratanet* as explained by a

respondent: "*Tara ngimong'u eng tum koitala. Tolosio ko kiipu konyit* (2:14) (when you come

out of seclusion, you must be polite. Politeness promoted respect,(2:14). Once more,

Yatitaet/circumcision was the most critical phase of *Kamuratanet*. It is during seclusion that initiates were assigned their agesets and age grades. On the role of agesets, respondent 5:5 says: "*Pik ap ipinda ko kimotirisiei. Ipinda komokimoitos*" (people of an agegroupserved as tutors (*motirenik*). Agesets were respected). Age sets and age grades provided teachers to remind individual members of their roles and supervised them to ensure obedience to the accepted social codes. Respondent 2:16, further explains, "*Chitap ipindang'ung ko kiuu tupchengung. Kingiroo letut kemwoei.Kingilel kokerin pik ap ipinda ako mii kirokto.*(A member of your ageset was like your brother. If they displayed their buttocks (to mean if they did anything embarrassing or misbehaved), you reported. If you misbehaved, people of your ageset saw you and you would be punished, 2:16).*Ipinda* was thus a critical structure in the self-regulating processes of behaviour management among the Kalenjin.

Sambu (2007) explains that the Kalenjin ageset system was an institution under which moral codes were enforced.According to Sambu, "the age based moral code operates most effectively at the lower age grade level, where each ageset has four such grades," (p.142) Respondent 2:16 confirms the role explained by Sambu by stating that members of one's age grade 'watched' the behaviours of its members and instituted punishment on those who were perceived to have deviated from the moral codes. As a result, members became very keen in observing the moral teachings articulated by *Kamuratanet.* Hollis (1909) further elaborates:

> Should a youth encroach on the worriers' preserves, he would be soundly thrashed; whilst an oldman would be so heartily laughed at and so ashamed of himself that he would not dare to put in an appearance at any of the meetings, or, in fact, show himself outside his house for many months to come, during which time his flocks, herds and crops would all suffer. No worrior would dream ofcommitting adultery with the wife of a member of another *mat* (agegrade) than his own, unless she was an old friend with whom he had formerly lived in a state of free love in a *sigiroinet*(warriors house), in which case no notice would be taken of the offence" (p.76).

These punishments were instituted by members of one's own ageset. Respondent,9:15

clarified further the role of members of an ageset in regulating adherence to *Kamuratanet* code:

> *"Kii mii Kimarsi, Kingolel muren kekurchini murenik ap ipindanyii, Sikopir. Murenet kemokchini kotepi kou muren"* (9:15).

> "There was *kimarsi* (communal beating). When a man misbehaved, men of his ageset were called upon to beat him" (9:15)

Moerover, these findings are again corroborated by Mbiti (1986) who while discussing the relevance of initiation among the Kalenjin notes;

> Through initiation ceremony of both boys and girls, the corporate life of the nation is revived, its rhythm is given a new momentum, and its vitality is renewed. Therefore anyone who refuses to go through the ceremony, or who spoils its harmony is a great offence to the entire Nandi society. (Mbiti, 1986, p.73)

It is worth noting that members of various age sets played a major role in giving vitality to the practices. This is further affirmed by Chebet and Dietz (2000) who state that "men who had just graduated from initiation performed various duties in the society including instilling discipline… in the implementation of social code of conduct (p.58).

In total, there are eight age sets for men and eight agesets for women. A full cycle of agesets took 120years (Sambu, 2007). One *ipinda* lasted for 15 years before the next was named. Members of one *ipinda* could therefore have an age difference of upto 15 years or more.Subsequently, to check this age variation among members of one ageset (*Ipinda)*, *Ipinda* was subdivided into four *Siritoik* (age grades). Members of the same *Siritiet* (plu. *Siritoik)* considered themselves as true brothers. The four *siritoik* in an ageset were known respectively as *Chonginiek, Kiptaru, Tetagat and Kiptaito* (Snell, 1954). Similarly, members of a *siritiet* had a duty to observe high moral standards to ensure shame does not befall their ageset or age grade so as to avoid derogatory nicknames based on the behaviour of its members;

Yatitaet was not the only tool employed by *Kamuratanet* to initiate its members to higher social ranks .*Kamuratanet* had other self-regulating social mechanismsof behaviour management.These included:

> i) **Saget/Kulet ap kwet:** after circumcision, one joined the junior warrior group. To be promoted to the next level of senior worrior, a man slaughtered a goat for the age set members to feast and symbolized a stop of youthful behaviour. One now joined the senior warrior group. Behaviour was important for promotion. *Respondent* 2:6 clarifies:
>
> *'Kulet ap kwet kokakitil ng'olyo neng'etei, ka kotil kuyetot. Ki taunet ap sobet nelitit'* (Sortum 2:6).
> *Kulet ap kwet* involved making a decision to stop childish behaviour.It marked the beginning of pious behaviour (Sortum 2 :6)
>
> ii) **Kulet /Saget ap eito;** Was a promotional structure provided for senior warriors to join the rank of junior elders.
>
> *"Kulet/saget ap eito ko kii koporunet kele imoche itunisie. Kaiegu poiyo. Ki saet sitilil oret ng'ung"* (2:6)
>
> *Kulet ap eito* marked a declaration of intention to marry.You have become an elder.It was a prayer so that you could cleanse your ways.

This rite marked the end of warriorhood and the beginning of family life. Snell (1954) described *Saget ap eito* as a ceremony at which the military protection of the tribe was formally handed over to a new generation of warriors. The former warriors could now settle down to family life and serve as experienced junior elders whose advice and tuition was sought (Sambu,2007).

This section located education in the Kalenjin *Kamuratanet* and described the qualities of educators in the context of *Kamuratanet*. It has also specified how *Kamuratanet* influences the

learning content and finally described the contexts used by *Kamuratanet* in implementingits

Theme	Data	Translation	Context	Source

social behaviour curriculum.The discussion distinguishes aspects of *Kamuratanet* as an

educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management.

4.6.0 Educational Contexts for Dispensing Contents *of Kamuratanet*

> 'Not birth, but initiation makes a man or woman of Marakwet / Kalenjin. No event is
> of equal importance,' (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973, p.44).

This section answers the fifth objective of the study which purposed to identify the educational

contexts used by *Kamuratanet* in dispensing its self-regulating social behaviour contents.

Contexts in this study refer to situations used in *Kamuratanet* in dispensing their self-

regulation behaviour contents.These are the learning situations in *Kamuratanet.*

Kamuratanet designed contexts within which its learning contents could be propagated not

only from one individual to another, but also from one generation to the next. These contexts

became the vehicles through which contents of *Kamuratanet* could be stored and

dessiminated.The contexts included *Kaandaet* (special songs in seclusion during initiation),

Korureiwek (special instructions in seclusion), Drama and dramatization and Spirituality

embodied as *ng'oki* (curses as a consequence of disobedience).Each of these contexts is

explored in this chapter.

Intergenerational care for community survival.	- *Akotech taptamet eng kalual.*	Protect those whose heads are flowering due to grey hair.	*Kaandaet* -Special songs in seclusion.	Matelong 5:7
	- *Ngomos negomos melany ket.*	If anything comes by, do not climb a tree.	Courage and protection of the elderly.	
	- *Ngopenyech chii kolelit.*	May whoever betrays us turn white.	Oath of commitment. Self-regulation.	
Gender based instruction on behaviour.	*Kiruitos gogo ak tipik sikotigon konai olekiteptoi ak murenik.*	The grandmother slept with girls and gave them instruction on how to live with men,	*Kotigonutik and Korureiwek.* -Iinstructions.	Soti 8:3
	Eng tum ko kimii korureiwek,kotigo nutik ak ng'otutik	In initiation, there were special teachings, instructions and rules.	Teachings, Instructions & self-regulation.	
Drama and dramatic for emphasis	*Kaponyony,lappet apeun,Suiyet,Kap kiyai*	Initiation rituals enacted through drama.	Drama and dramatization.	Soti 8:3
Spirituality for self-regulation.	*Mii minwogik ap ng'oki,che ipu atepto neya*	Illnesses caused by bad omen as consequences of misbehavior	*Ng'ok*i: its consequence	Kanaptany 12:6
Curses/blessings to solicit behaviour modification	*Eng tum ko kimagomii ung'otyo.Ki mii aiyepisio ak chupisio.*	In initiation there were no secrets.Blessings and curses were said.Rules were never broken	*Chupisio* and *Aiyepisio/*curses and blessings	Kanaptany 2:8

Table 5.1 Summary of Data on the Learning Contexts of *Kamuratanet*

4.6.1 *Kaandaet* as a Contextof Dispensing Self-Regulating Content of Behaviour

Management

In seclusion, initiates were taught special songs known as *Kaandaet* which were loaded with messages of commitment to the learned and prescribed social codes.*Kaandaet* was done atleast eight times a day; four times during the day and four times at night.In *Kaandaet*, male and female initiates recited different *Kaandaet* maxims during varying designated hours.

Kaandaet was educational in character. Various topical issues regarding conduct and responsibility were addressed. Respondent 7:3, explains;*Tum ko kikityeni aketigonisiei,* (in initiation there were songs and instructions).In fact, specific subject content of the songs in *kaandaet*(Researcher's experience) included statements such as; *"Konyit ko toror, tee tany ak muren"* (Respect is great, it equals cattle -used to refer to women to show respect in context- and men). Certainly, the dictum points to attitudes of respect for the aged.Another *Kaandaet* dictum stated:

> *"Akotech tapta met eng kalual"*
>
> "Protect those whose heads are flowery (due to grey hair)".

Furthermore, initiates were encouraged to take care of the aged.

> *"Ngomos negomos melany ket"*
>
> "If anything comes by, do not climb a tree" (to imply, be courageous)

In addition, courage was encouraged by asking the initiates never to behave as cowards if faced by danger. Thus, they had to be ready to fight. From these *Kamuratanet* maxims, themes of courage and care for the elderly emerge. Indeed, courage and care were paramount for intergenerational survival. In addition Mbiti (1986) emphasizes the importance of courage by saying that the need "to drive out fear from the candidates so that in the time of danger they donot flee away but take courage to defend themselves and theirfamilies.Furthermore, courage

and care for the elderly were virtues that would enable individuals receive blessings and avoid curses.Indeed, these were mechanisms of ensuring enforcement and because of this helped to implement the self-regulating features of *Kamuratanet*.

4.6.1.1: Analysis of *Kaandaet* as a Learning Context in *Kamuratanet.*

It is important to note that *Kaandaet* (special seclusion songs) is only done in seclusion. However, it can also be performed or sang when circumstances necessitate, such as during war time to recommit the members to their course and to the resolutions passed. Though loaded with secrecy, *Kaandaet* also enforces compliance to the content of the message.On the other hand, whenever one misbehaved, they were reminded of some lines pronounced in *kaandaet.Kaandaet* certainlyalso served as a self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management.

Teachers *(Motirenik)* played a crucial role in ensuring that the contents of *kaandaet* wereclearly understood. Understanding was important since most of the content was coded to shield those who might chance to hear the initiates singing from understanding the message therein.This is because messages in *Kaandaet* were directed to specific audience and not the general populace.Furthermore,*Kaandaet*was gender specific.The role of the teacher was therefore critical in decoding the messages for clarity. In this regard the study concurswith Ruto- Korir (2010) who says:

> … the teacher is the agent of implementing socially derived educational content in a process deemed appropriate for child development … the teacher directed activity at the pre-school equips children with the social and emotional skills for later functioning in life`s context, (p.311).

Once the initiates graduated from seclusion, they were constantly monitored and tested for sustainability by the seniors -the experts of *Kamurataret* – to check if they were well prepared

during seclusion. *Kaandaet* songs were also used to test content mastery. According to Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973), the term used to describe if they clearly conceptualized the content was *"kirur"* meaning he/she is "ripe" or *"morur",* meaning not ripe.This concurs with respondent 8:3 who says in initiation there were *korureiwek* (ripeners-special instruction to make initiates mature-ripe). On the other hand, if one grossly violated the standards set by *Kamuratanet*, the term *morur* was publicly pronounced against him or her.Certainly, this was a deterrent measure to enforce self-regulation.However the symbolic meaning of *kirur* and *morur*(ripe and not ripe) and the consequences of sucha declaration was only known to those who had gone through *yatitaet/*circumcision.

From the researcher's experience, it was very embarrassing to both the tutors *(motirenik),* the candidate and those with whom they were initiated (*Bakuleink* for male, and *Basoiinik* for female) if one was regarded as "not ripe" *(morur).* This was an insult on the credibility of the candidate and his/her teacher *(motiriot)* and in extreme cases, a re-initiation was recommended. Indeed, because of this, those with whom the individual was initiated with were investigated and if the entire group was found to fall short of expectations, they were all re-initiated.Subsequently, members of an age-grade *(siritiet)* watched on their colleagues vigilantly to avoid the shame of being declared *morur* and subsequent re-initiation.Anyone who was re-initiated was so ashamed that he/she would not dare inform others of what transpired (Sambu, 2007). Thus, re-initiation was so stigmatizing and for this reason served as a self-regulating feature of behaviour management.

According to Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973), *Kaandaet*provided a learning context for all where even the older members could go back to the "school" to renew their knowledge.This resonates well with the principles of learning with specific reference to memory and forgetting

where memory is said to be enhanced through repetition as outlined by Biehier (1999).Nevertheless, any sign of ignorance or forgetting was punished (Respondent 2:11).As a result, individuals were therefore encouraged to renew their knowledge regularly.Again, this concurs with behaviourists as cited by Ndurumo (2002) who argue that any subject matter that is constantly restated is likely to be remembered.*Kaandaet* thus provided rehearsal for learning and remembering the contents of *Kamuratanet*. This made the contents of *Kamuratane*t alive in regulating behaviour.

4.6.2 *Kotigonutik* and *Korureiwek (*Instruction) as Educational Contexts of Dispensing Self-Regulating Behaviour Management Content in *Kamuratanet*

The contexts employed by *Kamuratanet* interms of learning instruction were housed in a three fold structure: *Korureiwek*, (special teaching in seclusion), *Kotigotutik* (general instruction outside seclusion) and *Ng'atutik* (rules) (refer to figure 4.1).To this study, the specially designated forms of instructions provided unique learning situations in *Kamuratanet*.The learning contents of *Kamuratanet* Transcend over all agegroups as illustrated in figure 4.4

Figure 4.4: Figure Showing the Influence of *Kamuratanet* on Learning Content.
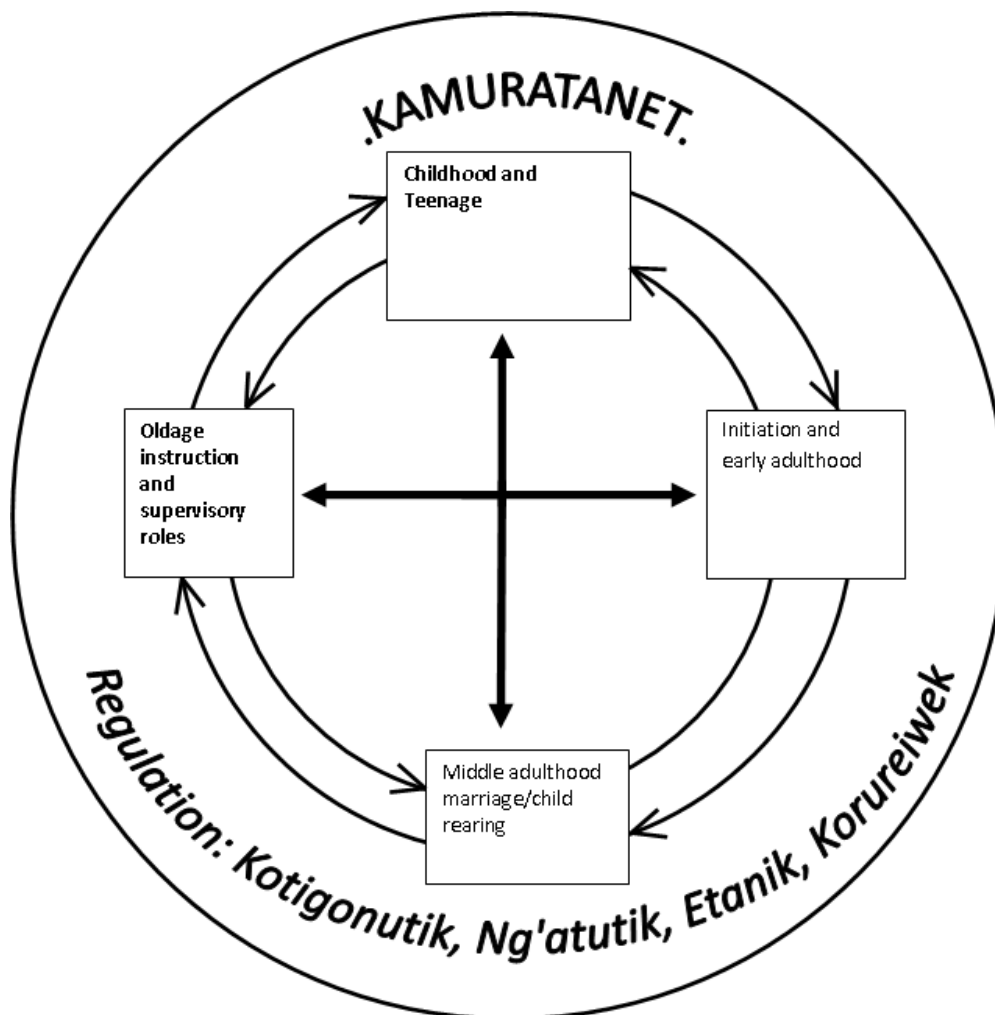
The influence of *Kamuratanet* transcends over age. However, it is much formalized during initiation. Children received instructions mainly from their parent, while the aged presided over implementation of *Kamuratanet* learning contents mainly during initiation and early adulthood.

At home, parents and significant others gave the children specific instruction *(Kotigonutik)* on various topical issues mainly on behaviour and enrichment of cognitive skills. In reference to instruction respondent 8:1 clarifies the role of *kotigonutik* in dispensing the contents of

Kamuratanet (Refer to table 4.5).The verbatim citation from Chebwai 8:1 regarding to instruction is:

> *"Kiruitos gogo ak tipik sikotigon olekiteptoi ak murenik"*, that is,

> "The grand mother slept with the girls and gave them special instructions on how to relate with men".

Respondent 8:1 indicates that in the special instruction were gender based, where the mother/grandmother tuitioned the girls while fathers/grandfathers tuitioned the boys.Most importantly the parents served as role models to their children. Certainly, parental role modeling articulated by *Kamuratanet* resonates with the postulation of Bandura (1965) cited by Cloninger (1993) who says, 'humans learn by observing' (p.385) and further elaborated that,"behavioural changes that result from exposure to models are variously called imitative learning, observational learning, or vicarious learning" (p.386).

Besides, for*Kamurataret*, learning was not just imitative or vicarious, but was also augmented by special instruction.Moreover cognitive theorists "argue that child development is best described as a continuous reciprocal interaction between the child and their environments" (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010, p.49), where human development reflects an interaction among an active person, the person's behaviour and the environment. In addition, for *Kamuratanet*, individuals were also given specific instruction on ways of behaving in specific contexts.This concurs with Watson and Skinner, who maintain that the environment shapes a child's personality and behaviour(Miller, 2011).Indeed, a participant of the study, Chebwai, explained:

> *Kikineti lagok eng poisiet. Kamet koging`ololchin akotigoni lagok"*, (8:1) ("Children were taught at work. The mother talked and instructed children"(8:1).

Consequently, learning waspractical and theoretical.Thus, the *Kamuratanet* contextscreated

what Mischel (1968) cited in Cloninger (1993) referred to as strong situations. Mischel elaborates that "some situations are so powerful that they affect everyone or atleast nearly everyone" (p.584).Actually, in *Kamuratanet*, individuals observed the rules of engagement as norms never to be violated.

Furthermore, there were also rules*(kotigonutik)* prescribed by *Kamuratanet* to augment instruction consequently enhancing learning.The rules were recited by members of the society wherever and whenever they were needed. In reference to table 4.2 Respondent 9:1, explains; *"Kigiruri agetigoni pik ngopit amunee"* (there was teaching and instruction whenever need arose). Thus teaching and instruction was provided to all where situations demanded. Respondent 2:8 (table 4:2) further elaborates that, *"kimi ng`atutik ak etanik chemakisirei"* (there were rules and prohibitions which were not violated).Thus, the rules were absolute and had to be obeyed by all.Consequently, the general populace served as custodians of the rules and instructions engendered in *Kamuratanet*.

In addition, the third and highest level of instruction was provided in seclusion. These were special kinds of teachings and instructions known as *Karureiwek*. Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) explain that certain structures and designs were erected to symbolize familiar places and aspects of life.These were used to augment learning in the specially designated *korureiwek*learning context.Various subject contents and vocabulary were taught.Moreover, on testing for the knowledge achieved in *Karureiwek*, Kipkorir and welbourn (1973, p. 47) explain:

> *Torus* is regularly tested in their knowledge of this vocabulary and strangers visiting *kaptorus* (seclusion site) are also tested before admission. Ignorance means exclusion or, if they can prove forgetfulness, suitable punishment. They may be cained or required to supply firewood, food or bear to the *motiren.*

Clearly, it was important to remember the knowledge received from instruction for future inclusions.

Similarly, from Vygotsky`s point of view, the children – in this case the initiates, became active participant in collaborative dialogues with others (in this case *motirenik*) acquiring the tools of trade thought to be appropriate for their culture. Relatively,a participant, 2:18 says that a Kalenjin who had gone through *Yatitaet* was conspicuous and easily identifiable, (refer to table 4:2); *Kitogu chi nekikeyatita"* (A person who had gone through*yatitaet* was conspicuous).The participant elaborates that such a person could easily be identified as they conducted themselves in ways that conformed to the standards specified in *Kamuratanet*-to mean conforming to *Kotigonutik* and *Korureiwek*- just the way a good driver is easily identifiable from the way they conform to the Highway Code. For instance,a man who had gone through *Yatitaet* should not be shy and was expected to look at a woman straight in the eye without blinking besides allowing women to by-pass him only from the left hand side etc(Respondent 2:18).

Also, it is important to state that instruction was given in none-ambiguous terms for clarity and therefore the language used was sometimes vulgar (Kipkorir & Welbourn 1973).On this, respondent 7:1 (refer to table 4.5) corroborates:

> *"Yoo kiriksei kemwoei tugun chechang. Momii kiy nakimagemwoei"* (In *rikset* ritual many things were said. There is nothing that could not be mentioned).

Further, on the nature of content of instruction, Chebet and Dietz (2000) had the following to sum up *Kamuratanet* instruction.

> The content of the education is inexhaustible, it included instructions on the network of the society`s institutions, folk songs, tales, riddles, proverbs, language, beliefs and values. Religious and moral education was very important. Religion, politics,

economics law and social communal relationships were interwoven. (Chebet & Dietz 2000, p.61).

Similarly, while delimiting the explanation on nature of instruction to the female candidates,

Chebet and Dietz furthersays:

> The Keiyo (read Kalenjin) used seclusion period after circumcision to teach initiates issues related to sexuality. It was here that all the informal education on sensitive matters like sexuality, which had been initiated through socialization by the parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and other members of the society was reinforced and discussed openly more that ever before (2000,p.64).

Thus, formal instruction-*Kotigonutik* and*Korureiwek* therefore constituted a critical context for

the dispensation of the *Kamuratanet* standards in regulating and managing the behaviour of its

members.

4.6.3. Drama and Dramatization asContexts of Dispensing Self-regulating Behaviour Management Content

Rundell and Fox (2002) define drama as a play and dramatization as "to make a story into a

play" (p.420).In this context, contents of *Kamuratanet* narratives were converted into plays

that represented specific learning themes for emphasis and simplification of the knowledge

contents.Besides, drama was used as a contextby which concepts were clarified. Consequently,

because of the oath of secrecy uttered after every ritual; "*Ngopenyech chii kolelit*" (may

whoever betrays us through disclosure of our rituals turn white) the specific activities involved

are not described in detail since it is not an objective of this study to divulge the contents of

the rituals.

Nevertheless, it will suffice the objective of this study to note that the drama involved in the

rituals of *Kamuratanet* was also very dramatic; sudden and surprising in order to arrest the

attention and memory of the initiates. The specific contents contained in the dramatic episodes

are only known in detail to those who have gone through initiation*(Yatitaet)* as prescribed by

Kamuratanet. However, a few statements from respondents can be used to illustrate the role of the dramatic episodes in regulating behaviour.In this regard a respondent 7:6 briefly explained;

> *Kaponyony ko kikicheree torusiek sikonyigonitu.Lapet ap eun ko kikiporchinee torusiek ateptap menjoakoisto lakwandi. Suiyet ko kii tiendop poipoiyet eng torusiek chekakorurio, sikechomji komong.Kapkiyai ko kikitililee torusiek sikotoi sopet ap chii neoo.Eng rikset kenoisechin torusiot kele kakopesio ak lakwandit. (7:6).*

> **Translation**

> *Kaponyony*(a dramatized ritual)was used to cheer initiates to make them brave.*Lapet ap eun*(A dramatized ritual which represented cleansing)was used to induct the initiates on behaviour in seclusion and symbolized removal of childish behaviour.*Suiyet*(a dramatized ritual/dance to symbolize task completion)was a song to celebrate the successful completion of seclusion period.*Kapkiyai* (drama done in the river)was to symbolize washing away the past misdeeds of the initiates who were now ready to take up adult roles.In *rikset*(a dramatic jerk on the finger of the initiate) the initiates were informed that they had parted ways with childhood(7:6).

On the initiation rituals and its associated dramatization, Mbiti (1986) says, "… African societies mark the occasion with dramatization and physical experiences that are hard for the individual to forget (p.132). Indeed, teaching was through drama and simulations as explained by Chebet and Dietz (2000); "This was achieved through practice by initiates making toy huts, cattle and goat enclosures, clay utensils and pretending to tend livestock using *tugab labot*, (Sodom apple) to represent cattle" (p.66). On *rikset*, voiced by a respondent, 7:6, Hollis (1909) explains.

> At the entrance stand one or two warriors, who, as the *motiriot* enter, say, *motir ile oi!* (Godfather asks for permission!). The warrior then seized the boy by the left hand, fasten a leather thong to his little finger, and ask him a question the answer to which is only known to a person who has been circumcised. It is*inge-kwer-chi korkonjolia kuu le ne?*And the reply is, *kole chelelel.* In order that the boy shall not forget the answer, the thong is given a sharp jerk, which nearly dislocates his finger. Whilst this is taking place, two or three old men are performing on friction drums called *ng`etunyik* in the hut. After all the boys have entered the hut they are shown both the friction drums and the bull-roarers and taught how to play them. They are also taught their duties as warriors. (p.57).

The two examples cited above are only illustrations but in the actual sense every ritual was associated with episodes of dramatization. The dramatic episodes were strange, scaring and unexpected and only revealed to those who had undergone *Yatitaet*. Without giving details, the dramatizations involve rituals such as *Cheptilet, Kaponyony, Lapet ap eun, Kapkiyai, Tolgugut, Komuiset, Suiyet* etc. These features are only mentioned to illustrate the fact that drama was vivid and alive within *Kamuratanet* as a way of enhancing learning and memory.

4.6.4 Spirituality as an Educational Contextof Dispensing Self-Regulating Behaviour Management Content in *Kamuratanet*

To manage behaviour, *Kamuratanet* employed spirituality not only as a strategy but also as a self-regulating process of behaviour management. Indeed, every aspect of life was clouded with spirituality. Even illness was associated with spirituality: Respondent, 12:6 elaborates:

> *"Mii mionwogik ap ng`oki"*(12:6)

> (There are illnesses resulting from *ng`oki* – bad omen).

Indeed, whereas some diseases were percieved to be caused by natural factors, most were believed to be caused by unnatural factors of human behaviour.For instance, some diseases were thought to result from *ng'oki* (bad omen) due to failure to observe certain moral and ethical standards.Furthermore, spirituality in the *Kamuratanet* context was explained as *chubisio* (curses)*, ng'oki* (bad omen) and *kirutik or etanik* (taboos) (refer to figure 4.1).

On the other hand, respondent, 9:1 in part says, "*Kikineti pik kokas kiy nekamwa chi neoo simaam ngo`ki*" (the youth were taught to obey the elders to avoid *ng`oki*). Thus, the learning content was tied to spirituality in order to enhance obedience and self regulation. Furthermore, on spirituality, respondent 10:3 eleborates.

> *Eng tum ko kimagomii ung'otyo. Ki mii aiyepisio ak chupiso. Kimageputei ng'atutik!*
> (In initiation, everything was said. Blessings and curses were pronounced. Rules were

never booken)

Blessings and curses provided contexts of enforcing obedience to *Kamuratanet* principles. Because of this reason, people endevered to receive blessings and avoid curses (*chupisio*). This is further corroborated by another respondent, 12:4, who explains that there were various types of curses, such as:

i.   *Chupisiet ap ng`ung`unyek* – curse of the soil
ii.   *Chepisiet ap chii nekachor tany* – curse to someone who stole a cow.
iii.   *Chupisiet ap kutit* – curse of the month.

Respondent 12:9 further explains that curses could be uttered at specified time.Moreover, people uttered curses while they were naked:

i.   *Kichupei chii kororoktoi arawet* – people are cursed when the moon is setting.
ii.   *Kichupei chii kororoktoi asista* – people are cursed when the sun is setting.
iii.   *Chupisiet ap katet* – a curse of a thorn
iv.   *Ngonomonu chito Sotet ap Kimokyo (nepo tum) komogiwektoi.* - One stood curse if he/she failed to lend assistance to a begger who came carrying a ritual gourd (*sotet ap kimokyo).*

Furthermore, respondent12:2explain that fire *(maat)* represented human life, *"maat ko sopet ap chii*" (fire represents human life). The fire was thus quite instrumental in uttering blessings and curses, for example:

i.   *Kii iperuri pik lagok kotoune maat* – people blessed their children from fire place.
ii.   *Ngechupisiei kepoisie maat* – The fire was also used to curse by:
    a. *Kikorgoreni orek* – stirring the ash.
    b. *Kirongchin peek maat* – water was poured to the fire.
    c. *Kisogosyin mat* –people urinated into the fire.

In addition, respondent 12:1 explains that the consequences of curses did not stop with the offender but moved on to affect their children and generations to come; "*ipeilagokcho chupisiet*" (curses affect even our children).

According to Snell (1954) curses are only pronounced in the presence of adults(people who have gone through *Yatitaet*) and served as a self-regulating mechanismof enforcing obedience to the moral and ethical standards set by *Kamuratanet*. Nevertheless, there were serious or elaborate curses. In this case, curse words were uttered by elders who were believed to possess supernatural powers (Chebet & Dietz). In addition, they explain that contempt for, or serious disobedience of the neighbourhood elders was virtually treason and attracted their curse, which unless formally removed was fatal.However, curses could also be uttered by individuals:

> Curses could also be legitimately uttered by an individual as such, against a person who had committed an offence against him, they were usually inflicted by persons senior,but in cases of serious wrong-for example the deliberate killing of a man`s animal – a curse could be uttered by a person of a junior age grade and of apposite sex. (Snell, 1954, p.85).

Curses were tied to age sets and age grades which indeed were structures established by *Kamaratanet*.For instance in an article entitled, "The cut: Outlawed but still going strong" appearing in *TheStandard daily*newspaper, February 6, 2015 by Silah Koskei, the power of curses remain imminent:

> The fear of being cursed for revealing details of FGM has always been a challenge.This makes it hard for the victims and circumcisors to be arraigned in court …those women who did not face the cut when they were young will eventually be forced to when they are mothers and their sons want to get circumcised.They are told they will not be in any position to receive a special ceremonial herb known as "*sinendet*"

This citation discloses two characteristic features of the curse and the rite:

a) They possessed self- regulating mechanisms.Women could not receive *sinendet* because they were not circumcised; this forced them to 'voluntarily' undergo the 'cut'

b) People could not disclose the contents of FGM because by doing so, they would stand cursed. Certainly, this understandingprovided self-regulating mechanisms of managing behaviour**.** Indeed, such features of *Kamuratanet* still regulate behaviour of the members of the cultural group and have inbuild mechanisms that ensure continued relevance of the practice in the 21st Century when certain practices advocated by *Kamuratanet*such as female "circumcision" are being questioned.

However, there were simple curses which were easily uttered by individuals to express hatred or to protest something. On curses, Hollis (1909) says that the worst thing that could be said to a Nandi man is, *"Amin melei*" (may a blade eat you) and that nothing could be said which was more hateful to a Nandi woman than, "*Amin Kapkwony,*" (may you die of impossible labour) (p.85). Other simple curses cited by Hollis include:

> *Amin ilat* (May thunder strike you)
>
> *Amin motony* (May you be eaten by vultures)
>
> *Petin konyit* (May you lose all honour).

Respondent, 10.3 in addition notedthat "there were blessings", (*"kii mi aiyepisio"*). Again, Chebet and Dietz (2000) explain that *aiyepisio*(blessings) were bestowed by slaughtering a ram and the chime of the stomach used to smear the victims while traditional beer and honey beer were mouth sprayed on the person or people concerned. After these activities, the meat was eaten and beer drank together as a symbol of unity following restoration of the broken relationships. They point out that *aiyepisio* was also done to conclude a successful undertaking

such as child naming ceremony, marriage ceremony or any other happy occasion.

Similarly, in *Kaandaet*, the agesets were encouraged to hold the shield with strength to protect the community "*Akotech ipindangwong koi long`et*" (Defend your ageset, your shield is strong). In this citation, the spear of the men (Refer to Appendix 1) is being blessed, implying that they should be able to raid communities for livestock and bring wealth and prosperity to the community. Consequently, even cattle raids were subject to rules governed by spirituality.Subsequently, any warrior who failed to observe the rules of engagement stood cursed and could only be re-integrated into society after cleansing. Respondent 5:9 explains further:

> *Eng luget kokimageporei lakwa ak kwony, kikiporu tany.Muren negoput ngotutioni kochupot, kimakochutei poror agoi ke ayep.*
>
> **Translation**
>
> In cattle raids, women and children were not to be killed, only cattle were soght.Any warrior who broke this rule was cursed and could not be accepted back into the society until he is cleansed.

Similarly, Sambu (2007) adds "a killer of an enemy at war still avoided meeting his own people until he was ritually cleansed by being made to take purgatives that would clean the inside of the body" (p.188).These statements confirm the role of spirituality in *Kamuratanet* through *chupisio* (curses) and *aiyepisio* (blessing). Correspondingly, this too validates the claim that *Kamuratanet* employed spirituality as an educational contextin dispensing self-regulating behaviour management contents to enforce its standards.

4.6.5 Conclusion on Contexts of Dispensing *Kamuratanet* Contents.

It is evident thatprinciples of*Kamuratanet* and the self-regulating social mechanisms as a construct is necessary in places of work, learning institutions, family and the community at

large as a strategy of promoting social cohesion. Thus,this study resonates with the position of UNESCO 2012 that "culture should be placed at the heart of Post-2015 Agenda, ideally through a special goal focused on culture, including development objectives, clear targets and indicators that relate culture to all dimensions of sustainable development" (p.7).Consequently, it is by understanding African contexts and strategies such as those envisaged by *Kamuratanet* as presented in this study that concepts from indigenous practices can be incorporated in the African development agenda including mainstream education.The studyfurther concurs with UNESCO`s assertion that "development is shaped by culture and local context" (p.7).Arguably therefore the cultural dimensions should be systematically integrated in dimensions of sustainable development, as well as in the conception, measurement and actual practice of development policies and programmes (UNESCO, 2012).This study is persuaded to propose that different cultural perspectives will yield different paths of development. Thus to achieve the developmental milestones in African contexts, African approaches are a prerequisite.

4.7.0 Inbuild Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in*Kamuratanet*

This section examines the specific self-regulating processes that have made *Kamuratanet* asustainable as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin.The critical question that resonate in this chapter therefore is, "what are the inbuilt behaviour management strategies of *Kamuratanet*?" Consequently, thischapter exclusively examines the inbuild self-regulating processes that have ensured that *Kamuratanet* maintains its relevance as a behaviour management strategy within the social strata of the Kalenjins inspite of the competing stimuli from modernisation. From the data, the self-regulating mechanisms include: forced confessions during*Yatitaet*, the concepts of

Chepng'echeriat, Kimorigi, Kimarsi and *injoget*. Brief descriptions of these features are provided in this chapter.

TABLE 5.2: Excerpts on the Self-RegulatingSocial Mechanisms in *Kamuratanet*.

Themes	Interpreted codes	Data	Source
Chastity	Test for virginity	*Chepng`echeriat ko perkeiya chepng`echeriat* is a virgin	Kiptanui 10:27
Pride	Pride:*chepng'echeriat* /virginity	*Kikikosegei chepng`echeriat pple* prided themselves in*chepng`echeriat*	
Reinforcing process		*Kinoei chutugul/* Everybody had to know	
Recognition	Responsibility to community memberssocial involvement	*Kikitienchini kimorigi* *Kimorigi* singing/dance	
Respect	Respect encouraged virginity	*Kikikonyiti chepng`echeriat.* *Virginity is* respected	Soti 7:7
Collectivism	Role of agesets in behaviour management	*Kiripei atepto ipinda* Ageset watched behaviour	Kiptanui 10:9
Retributory process	Retribution in monitoring behaviour	*Ngongelel ketetyi kimarsi* *Kimars*i arranged for disobedience	Sitienei 9:5
Regulatory systems	Role of ageset/group members	People took caution of ageset members *(kiripegei pik siritiet*	Kiptanui 10:9

(Continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Themes	Interpreted codes	Data	Source
Punishment	*Injoget/*Punishment in management of behaviour	*Ngipir poiyo – injoget. Injoget* for beating elders. Nginam lakwa – *injoget* Rape a girl – *injoget* *Ngosus sandet – injoget* Biting husband, *injoget*	Soti 7:3
Confessions strategy	Forced confession from intiates to ashame any woman who had sex with the uncircumcised.	*Ngoruyo chepyoso ak ng`eta* *Keguru eng tum* Woman having sex with a boy – named in initiation. *Kikiguru kokas chitugul* Public declaration to ashame the woman	Soti 7:6

4.7.1 Segments of *Kamuratanet* that Maintain its Relevance

This section highlights the specific inbuild self-regulating strategies of behaviour management among the Kalenjin as derived from data.

Deriving from the verbatim excerpts, the structures evolved in *Kamuratanet*were geared towards producing automated procedures of regulating behaviour. This was aimed at developing a self-directed individual who would be functional in the society. Consequently, to be functional one had to exhibit accepted knowledge and skills as specified by *Kamuratanet*.

4.7.2 Forced Confessions as Inbuilt Self-Regulating Social Mechanism of Behaviour Management

Before the circumcision (*yatitaet*) procedure was effected, initiates were implored upon to "confess their wrong doings" failure to which dire consequences were envisaged. Regarding eliciting confessions from initiates, Hollis (1909. p.32) says:

> …each boy has now to appear before the oldmen and ask for permission to be circumcised. This order is called "Going to *kimosop*", *Kimosop* being the name for the oldman wrapped in furs. On his entrance, the boy is shown a torch and told that if he doesnot speak the truth, the fire will enter his nose. He has then to make a confession of his past life. Should the oldmen believe he is not speaking the truth or is holding something from them, a little eleusine grain is surreptitiously dropped on the fire and when it explodes, he is warned to be careful, as he is displeasing the spirits of the dead.

Spirituality is implored to coerce confession.According to the researcher's experience which is also supported by data, the procedure happens to this day as explained by Hollis.The notion of spirituality as an inbuild self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management in *Kamuratanet* is reinforced. This notion isfurther supported by Yegon (2012):

> The boy is then asked by one of the attendants that the lady he had sex with is now testifying his "misbehaviour".The boy having been terrified and shocked in the process, will in most cases tell the truth of his sexual indulgence if any… however he is cautioned against having sex before marriage.Other offenses that the boy is made to confess at this point include murder and bestiality (especially with sheep, goats, cows, dogs and chicken).A confirmation of any of them calls for a cleansing ceremony the following day before he is operated (Yegon,2012,p.98).

Consequently, confessions beckoned upon parents to give their children sufficient caution to avoid embarrassments from them during initiation.For this reason, those who intended to indulge in unaccepted behaviours with children or the uninitiated were forewarned by these activities thereby putting the morality of the society on check.

The dramatic episodes that initiaties go through during the whole night before "going to *Kimosop*" are truly frightening and leave the initiates vulnerable. For this reason, the initiates

confess their past activities without hesitation or reservation. Among the questions they were expected to answer, was if they had ever indulged in sex with a circumcised woman/man as may be appropriate. This is confirmed by respondent 7:6 who in part stated *"Chepyoso nekiruiyo ak ng` eta keguru kokangete tum"* (A woman who had sex with a boy was named at initiation).

Respondent7:6 explain that a public naming was done to deter other women from doing so. Consequently, any woman who contemplated having sex with an uncircumsed boy would have to wrestle with the fact that a time to be publicly named for the act lay ahead. Indeed this served as an inbuilt self regulating process evolved by *Kamuratanet* to ensure its members observed accepted moral standards. This position is also supported by Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) who explain that in the eve of the operation, the *motiren/*tutors torment the initiates with forecasts of the suffering ahead.Furthermore, Kipkorir and Welbourn say that "at about 5 am the initiates, having again been questioned rigorously about their past sins, are taken to a stream where they wash their organs to remove smegma" (p.45). From the researcher's experience, the confessions caused a lot of anxiety and people waited to hear them with fear and impatience. Any woman named would be an embarrassment not only to herself and her husband, but also to her clan, the neighbourhood and indeed the entire community:

> *"Tomigas kele koguuru chepyoso ng'eta? Ngomwoi lakwa kenyochin gat kikimwou kokas chitugul sikopit aibu eng pik tugul eng kokwet"* (7:12)

Translation.

You have not heard of a woman named by a boy? The boy who names a woman is forgiven. The message is publicly said to cause shame to all people and the neighbourhood (7:12).

Confessions were important tools in regulation and management of behaviour in the *Kamuratanet* context. These confessions were not voluntary but necessitated by the cultural knowledge that was tied to spirituality; anyone who failed to confess would die in the initiation process and indeed many died. There were several instances where making confessions became mandatory. Confessions were not limited to the initiates. For instance, during circumcision any parent who had committed grossly unacceptable behaviours such as murder or theft of animals from a tribesman was forced to make confessions failure to which death of their initiated children would occur. This is clearly articulated by respondent 7:18:

> *"Ng`oki ko kiy nekiing'em akitup, Ngichorse anan itup anan ipar chii kemwou eng tum sikosopcho torusiek. Isupin ng'oki motiny itunisie: Isupi lagok"*.

> **Translation.**

> *"Ngoki* is agross mistake you committed and hid. If you stole or killed somebody, you had to say it during circumcision for the initiates to survive. *Ng`oki* would follow you even when you got married. It will even follow your children".

Deaths were common for initiates who underwent *Yatitaet* (circumcision). This could however be associated with the low levels of hygiene or the harsh living conditions in seclusion. In seclusion however these deaths were associated with unconfessed mistakes by the initiates or their parents. Hollis (1909) adds that, "they (initiates) may not mourn if anybody dies"

Ng'oki (bad omen) resulting from undisclosed gross mistakes was believed to follow children for several generations to come. As a result, parents who were eager or interested in "saving" their children and generations to follow were forced by their conscience to make confessions. In effect, anyone who chose to commit atrocities had it in mind that a time to confess and get appropriate punishment lay ahead.Certainly, this feature served as an inbuilt self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management in the *Kamuratanet* context.

In short, the confessions served as automated deterrent measures aimed at regulating behaviour. Sambu (2007) articulates the role of confessions, "confession of sin, therefore, as the first major item in the long list of initiation rites is the most important activity of the first night of removal from the rest of the society… (p.202).

4.7.3 *Chepng`echeriat:* **Sexuality as an Instrumentof Behaviour Regulation**

Chepng`echeriat, by inference, refers to a virgin (*perkeiyat*). *Kamuratanet* developed methods of checking the girls' virginity before initiation. This was a strategy to regulate sexual behaviour mainly among girls. On the contrary however, the study affirmed that sex was not forbidden for girls.Indeed, girls were even free to sleep with youngmen in their huts *(sigiroino)*(Mbiti 1986). Respondent 7:7 says:

> *"Tye kokikitepsee eng tum. Kikichomchini tipik korui sigiroino. Ngomamanach komomii ng`ala. Kimageguru muren tai komaimanach. Lakwa nekikorui ak chii komotepee Ngecheret. Chepng`echeriat kokikiriekchini kimorigi, si ketienchi, kikikonyiti.*

Translation.

> A girl was interrogated before initiation. They were allowed to sleep with boys in their huts. If there was no pregnancy, no issue was raised. A man was not publicly named if pregnancy did not occur. A girl who had indulged in sex was not allowed to sit on a ritual three lagged stool/*ng'echert*. *Chepng`echeriat* (virgin) was celebrated and respected.

In the same manner, Mbiti (1986, p.127) says:

> Long before initiation, and beginning from when girls are about ten years old ,they have to sleep with the boys in places known as *sikiroino*.This is obligatory, and if the girls refuse it,the boys beat them without the intervention of the parents.It is meant to teach the girls how to behave towards men and how to control their sexual desires.No sexual intercourse is permitted when the boys and girls sleep together this way.At a later stage,the girls would be examined for virginity,and it is great shame and anger to the girls and their parents if any are found to have lost their virginity.

This is similarly captured by respondent 10:7 when he uttered, *"kii keny komii chorwandit ama kiruitos"* (In the past friendship flourished but not sex).

Girls who were found to be virgins (*perkeiyat*) were revered and allowed to sit on a special designated three legged stool (*Ng`echeret* – one who sit on it during the operation, *chepng`echeriat*) as a sign of respect. Respondent 7:7 explains that people prided themselves in *Chepng`echeriat*/virgin,*"kikigosegeichepng'echeriat"*, refer to table 4.6. *Chepng`echeriat* bought great honour to herself, family, clan and indeed an envy to the tribe more so to the other girls and male marriage suitors. Those who were not virgins were despised and made to sit on the ground as they were being operated on in seclusion. The *chepng`echeriat* (virgin) concept had serious implications in regulating behaviour, not only for the girls, but also to the entire family and neighbourhood.

The respect and honour earned by the virgin girl was shared by family members. This information was passed to all and sundry in order to encourage virginity and morality among the girls. Parents were therefore under pressure to check and encourage the morality of their children.Subsequently, only people or suitors from respected families in the community would withstand the contest (*Kimorigi*) to get the hand of *chepng`echeriat* in marriage.*Chepng`echeriat* was therefore instrumental as an inbuilt self- regulating strategy in

the management of behaviour, not just for girls, but also for boys who had to endure the temptation of sleeping with the girls without engaging in sexual intercourse.

4.7.4 *Kimorigi* as a Concept of Regulating Behaviour

Kimorigi is a special occasion to celebrate the virginity of *chepngecheriat.* The father of the virgin girl prepared beer and a dance to be celebrated with members of his ageset. Members of the ageset were considered the fathers of the virgin since they were also considered his true brothers. The occasion was set to coincide with the day marriage suitors were expected to present their interest in marriage at the end of seclusion period. The contest by suitors to get the hand of *chepng'echeriat* in marriage on the day set to celebrate virginity is the occasion referred to as *Kimorigi.*

The informants however gave two varying explanations of *Kimorigi.*

    i.   *Kimorigi* as a marriage celebration dance.

    ii.   *Kimorigi* as a dance to celebrate virginity (*Chepng`echeriat*).

Some verbatim excerpts describing *Kimorigi* were as follows:

a. *Chepng`echeriat ko kikiriekchini kimorigi, si kitienchi, kikikonyiti;* Respondent 7:7 (Beer was brewed to commemorate *kimorigi* and celebrate the virginity).

b. *Kimorigi kokii rekwen, ki tiendap katunisiet. Kikimoitos chepng`echeriet. Kikikosegei. Kikitoree aiyepisiet*. (Respondent 9:7). *Kimorigi* was dance. It was a marriage engagement song. People contested for *Chepng`echeriat* and prided themselves in her. It ended with utterances of blessings.

To clarify this, I did data source triangulation by comparing the verbatim statements with an excerpt from Chebet (2007), who says:

Those who were confirmed to be virgins were praised and accorded the honour of sitting on a three legged chair *(Kipkelien somok)* with milk poured on it to cool the wound after the cut which took place at dawn the next morning. The successful cut was announced by the women who witnessed the courage of the girls and shouted with joy and ululations. The honour of the virgin girl extended to the day when the seclusion ended during the coming out ceremony when the father invited his age-mates to a celebration (*Kimarigi*) of a virgin girl *(Chepng`echeriat),* (p.11).

I also took three of my informants to discuss the varying positions. It emerged that seemingly varying positions converge in the finding that the end of seclusion was also a day set out for marriage suitors *(sanik)* to present their interest*(korosek)* in marrying the graduating initiates.The initiates are now recognized as women *(kwonyik)* ready for marriage. It is coincidentally here that the father of the virgin prepared beer to celebrate the virginity of her daughter. Suitors also used this occasion to contest for a hand in marriage. It is important to note that *kimorigi* dance *(rekwen)* was only prepared in honour of the virgin and therefore it was not an ordinary marriage engagement song and dance.

In conclusion, it is important to underline the idea that even though the girls were allowed to visit their boyfriends in their huts, and even sleep with them, virginity was greatly emphasized by *Kamuratanet* as a Kalenjin social curriculum and *Kimorigi* was its enforcement. *Kimorigi* therefore served to motivate the girls to observe high moral standards and the concept served to instill self-regulating processes in the mind of the youth.

4.7.5*Kimarsi:* **Role in Regulating Behaviour in** *Kamuratanet* **Context.**

Kimarsi was a social unit established by *Kamuratanet*to discipline errant members through beating.The members who instituted the beating only did so on behalf of the community and could not therefore carry any blame.*Kimarsi* was mainly instituted against the youth who misbehaved but could befall any other member of the society regardless of age or status if misbehaviour was noticed. The concept of *Kimarsi* was well articulated by various informants.

Accordingly, the role of agesets in operationalising *Kimarsi* was immense. Ageset members watched over their group members to ensure adherence to the moral standards set by *Kamaratanet*. As a result, every member took great caution to ensure they did not go contrary to the principles of *Kamuratanet* just incase they were noticed by other community members who had gone through *Yatitaet*.This is because they would alert members their age-group on misbehaviour of their group members. As a matter of fact, ageset names identified individuals more than their personal names. It therefore means all members were concerned with the behaviour of community members. Respondent 9:5 explains in part that: *"Kingolel nekikwo tum kekurchini murerik ap ipindanyi sikotetyi kimarsi"* (if an initiated person misbehaved, people of his/her ageset were informed so that they could arrange*kimarsi).*

For this reason, if an individual misbehaved, members of his/her ageset planned to institute disciplinary measures which always comprised beating *(Kimarsi).*Behaviour was collectively owned by members of an ageset. As a result, people took great caution not to embarass members of their age groups for fear of punishment; **"***Kiripei ateptap pik ipinda…kii ngilel kwamin"* (Resondent10:9). (Agesets regulated the behaviour of its members… if you misbehaved, you-group members- were punished).Thus, social cohesion and behavioural collectivism is acritical feature of *Kamuratanet*.

On the other hand, the Kalenjin youth were expected to sleep in common places for effective tuition. Correspondingly, communalism was embraced to foster good interpersonal relationships. Each member becomes *a brother's keeper*. Because of the collective nature of behaviour, even those group members who did not misbehave received strokes of the cane during *Kimarsi.*

"Agot nemalel kepirei ipkole mogetyini. Kikipirin simelopu" (9.2) (Even those who did not misbehave were canned untill they said, 'I will not repeat'. You received strokes of the cane so that you do not behave like a pampered child).

Those who were known to have misbehaved however received more strokes of the cane. Consequently, while performing their tasks, the youth watched over one another and remained alert to avoid *Kimarsi*. The net effect was producing men and women who were always alert and self regulated members of society. This contradicts the postulation of Skinner (1952) as cited by Cloninger, (1993, p. 315):

> Unfortunately punishment also has unintended adverse effects that, Skinner argued, make it a generally undersirable technique for controlling behaviour. First, punishment produces emotional reactions including fear and anxiety, which remain even after the undersirable behaviour has ceased.

Indeed, Skinner's postulation may not entirely apply to *Kamuratanet* context. On the contrary, in *Kamuratanet* the punishments were perceived as regulatory expectations and subsequently produced proud and courageous individuals who were also obedient to the moral and ethical standards set by K*amuraranet.* In relation to the harsh and punitive environment, Kipkorir and Welbourn state that "…now proceed to instill into the *torus* (initiates) the importance of courage and fearlessness. Fear is as far as possible destroyed (p.48) and upon graduation, the initiates joined the warrior class, to defend the society. In addition, they were now expected to "engage in the manly pursuits of war", (Snell, 1954, p.65).

Consequently, this study infers that punishment may not always result in "adverse effect" as argued by behaviourists. From the data obtained, this study infers that the effects of punishment are subject to its socio – cultural context and pre-set expectations. On this matter therefore, this study concurs with Vygotsky as cited by Shaffer and Kipp (2010) who says:

> Children do not develop the same type of mind all over the world, but they learn to use

their species typical brain and mental abilities to solve common problems and interprete their sorroundings consistent with the demands and values their culture, (p.282).

Besides, Chebet and Dietz (2000) explain that *Kimarsi* was used to instill social norms and cultural values through the observation of moral codes laid down by tradition. Certainly, on *Kimarsi*, Chebet and Dietz also did not observe any adverse effect resulting from it as suggested by Skinner. Moreover, if punishments always produce adverse effects, the entire Kalenjin population, having gone through the stringent and uncompromising measures of *Kamuratanet* would be made up of psychotics and psychopathic personalities.Yet various sources and informants of the study reminiscence the past with nostalgia:

> The young men who had just graduated from initiation performed various duties in the society including instilling discipline on the boys and girls as representatives of elders in the implementation of the social code of conduct… The young warrior could organize *Kimarsi*, communal 'beating' of the youth in one of the huts where the boys slept. Those who were known to misbehave in the family or the community were given more strokes of the cane than those who had exhibited modest and good behaviour. (Chebet &Dietz, 2000, p.58)

Kimarsi was instituted early in the morning, at cock craw by the newly initiated young men to ensure there was no escape. Due to *Kimarsi,* members of the social group were forced to keep an eye on each other to ensure they behaved in acceptable ways to avoid *Kimarsi*. This is because besides the youth, *Kimarsi* was also instituted against older members of the society by members of their agegroup when they were deemed to have misbehaved. A respondent 9:4, explores*Kimarsi* further.

> *"Kimarsi Kokipoto tipik agot murenik kikinochini tipik murenic chepirei. Kimagepirei Kogerei kwan. Murenik ko kikinochini murenik ap ipindanyi sikopir"*
>
> Translation
>
> *Kimarsi* included girls and men. Men to beat the girls were sought. Girls were not beaten in the presence of their fathers. For a man, members of his ageset were sought to institute the beating.

Kimarsi was thus conceptualized as an instrument to monitor and regulate the behaviour of all the members of the society.Certainly, it was an automated feature of *Kimarsi* whose membership was not negotiated.People qualified to institute *Kimarsi* by virtue of their position in the social structure. The modern systems can learn lessons from this feature:

    i.   The need for collective approach to maintaining discipline.

    ii.   Consequences of indiscipline need to be interwoven with social structures that may serve to automate its implementation and therefore make it self regulating.

Moreover, if on average, members of a particular age group were seen to be culpable, the next older age group arranged *Kimarsi* for them. Any attempt to resist *Kimarsi* would attract communal curse *(Chupisio)* from the elders. Ultimately, everyone was checked by *Kimarsi* and there were no gaps or loopholes in the management of behaviour**.**

4.7.6 *Injoget* **as a Corrective Strategy of Behaviour Regulation**

Injoget is a punishment meted out by naked women against an offender whose mistake is considered grievous.It involved getting hold of the offender andmaking him a captive for a period of time, seizing and destroying his property as a sign of anger.*Injoget* was mainly meted out by women against men who had committed serious offences against a woman.*Injoget* was therefore a form of punishment against someone who had committed what was considered a terrible mistake.

Snell (1954) describes *injoget ap chepyosok* as punishment by women (p.32). For instance, Chebet (2007) says that during the initiation of girls, initiates were expected to confess if they had ever had sexual intercourse and that the main purpose for this interrogation was "to find out if she had sexual relationship with close relatives like a father, brother or uncle", (p.

11).This is because incest was considered a taboo punishable by a ritual performed by women

while naked – *injoget.*Respondent 5:6 who has witnessed performance of *injoget*explained;

> *"Kikiamchin injoget chito nekotong'chi lakwetnyii.Kiamei ng`oki kora. Agot nginam lakwa nepochii keamin injoget. Kii ipei ng`otit ng`ung chepyosok chependi ach ingor, aketil eito ng`ung. Kikimochei konamin aibu simotun igetyi kokeny.*

> **Translation**

> *Injoget* was declared against somebody who indulged in sexual intercourse with his daughter. Bad omen (*ng`oki*) befell him too. Even one who raped faced *injoget*. Naked women took away your spear and killed your bull by mutilating it. This was intended to ashame you so that you do not ever repeat it.

According to this verbatim excerpt the spear was equivalent to manhood and for naked women

to take away a man`s spear was tantamount to challenging his manhood. Women

were taught to respect men, *"kikitegisi muren"* (7:17), (men were respected).As a result*Injoget* therefore caused great shame to the man.

According respondent 7:3, *Injoget* was not only directed against men, but indeed to anybody who broke the taboos. Anybody refers to people who had been initiated, since anyone who had not been initiated was only regarded as a child and not a person. A punishment of the magnitude of *injoget* could not be directed against a child.Certainly, initiation gave people their identity and personhood (Kipkorir of welbourn, 1973). Consequently anyone who had gone through *Yatitaet* (circumcision) was expected to display *tagurnatet* (integrity).Subsequently; any deviation from the expected behaviour code set out in *Kamuratanet* was castigated and punished.Respondent 7:3 further points out that *injoget* were instituted against people who committed the following offences:

i)   Fighting an elder

ii)   Rape

iii)   Woman who bit a husband in a fight.

        (Refer to table 6.6).

All the above mistakes were rated as taboos.In addition, Hollis (1909) elaborates that "incest, intercourse with a step mother, step daughter, cousin or other near relation was punished by what is known as *injoket"* (p.76). Hollis explains that a crowd of people would assemble outside the house of the culprit, who was dragged out and the punishment inflicted by women all of whom stripped naked for the occasion. "The man is flogged, his houses and crops destroyed and some of his stock confiscated", (p.76). On the procedure of enforcement of *injoget*, Snell (1954, pp 32 – 33) corroborates further:

> The offender was required to produce one or two of his cattle to the women of *kokwet* (neighbourhood). If he failed to do so, his herd was attached by elders who invited the women to choose the best for the ensuing ceremony. From the time that preparation for the *injogetabjebiosok* began. Until it was complete no man was permitted to speak to the women taking part on pain of having some of his cattle seized. The offender, and no one else, was required to be in attendance and the sense of shame thus inflicted upon him was extreme.

Informants explain that the meat from the mutilated bull was shared and it was forbidden for any man to eat any of it. Indeed, in the spirit of behaviour collectivism, men shared in the shame of faltering standards of *Kamuratanet.*

In summary, *injoget* was a punishment meted out by women mainly against thosewho haddisplayed gross misbehaviour. Thefindings of this study concur with Snell (1954) that most male culprits who endured the pain and shame related to *injoget* had committed incest or rape. On rape, Snell says, "a warrior would be beaten by members of his own age grade and would be denied certain privileges … and if the act caused an abortion, *injogetab jebiosok* was meted out to him" (p.33).The pride of men in relation to their bulls is overtly evident in the fact that most Kalenjin men names were derived from their bulls, for instance Tororei, means tall bull; Arusei,blue bull;Tuwei, blackbull;Lelei, white bull.Other names derived fron the owner's bull include; Ng'ososei,Ng'isirei, Kong'walei,Murei,Mitei, Matarei,Rambaei etc.Indeed Kalenjin men names ending with the suffix *ei* denotes a bull,*eito*.Mutilating a man's bull was therefore an injury inflicted on his pride and personhood.Upon completion of *injoget,* the man was forced to seek forgiveness. Once forgiveness was granted, a process to remove the curse (*tisisio*) was performed. Men who refused or too ashamed to seek forgiveness had to run away from the community in fear of the the wrath of the women. Even for those who sought forgiveness, *injoget* was extremely embarrassing.

Of critical importance to this study is the role of*injoget* and by extension the community in

maintaining the discipline of its members.Clearly, if community engagement is sought in regulating behaviour, individuals would be keen in observing acceptable moral and ethical standards.Social Collectivism in behaviour management among the Kalenjin was paramount in *Kamuratanet* context.Consequently, *Injoget* served as an inbuilt self-regulating process of behaviour management.

4.7.7 Summary of *Kamuratanet* as a Self-Regulating Social Mechanism of Behaviour Management.

All informants interviewed were of the view that *Yatitaet* (circumcision) was probably the most important life event that defined the Kalenjin as a person. Circumcision, a critical unit of *Kamuratanet* provided the pivot point from where all life enhancing activities were determined.Indeed, a Kalenjin child *(lakwa)* was never considered a person *(chii)* before circumcision and initiation. Each Kalenjin sought answers to life questions from the principles of *Kamuratanet.*

Kamuratanet through the segment of *Yatitaet*turned children into adults, boys into men and girls into women by specifying the behaviour and knowledge expected at each developmental stage besides assigning social parental roles. Consequently children were parented on the standards set by *Kamuratanet.*No marriage could be sanctioned if the candidates had not undergone the induction programme provided by *Kamuratanet* in *Yatitaet.* As a matter of fact, to underscore the significance of the principles of *Kamuratanet*, there were different rituals to be observed when the death of a child occurred and when the death of an adult occurred.Consequently, *Kamuratanet* governed the behaviour of individuals when they are alive and even how they were to be handled when they died.

Besides*, Kamuratanet* did not allow young adults to become idlers neither were they allowed to socialize with children. Their behaviour patterns were explicitly specified and calibrated to reflect their new status with no mistakes allowed. Their behaviour was expected to be conspicuously above reproach, their roles were clearly spelt out and any deviation was punishable through the various self-regulating structures constituted by *Kamuratanet*.Furthermore, informants categorically pointed out that a Kalenjin man or woman who has gone through*Yatitaet/*circumcision could easily be distinguished from a crowd due to their behaviour.

In fact, even the side of the path they walked on was specified; the style of eating corn products, drinking milk or even eating meat was clearly specified.Certainly, *Kamuratanet* specified behaviour for all occasions.For example, a person who has gone through *Yatitaet* can not consume all the food that is served into their plate, something has to remain just incase a hungry child arrived. The specificity of the actions meant that it was easy to observe and determine when one`s behaviour constradicted the code provided.Furthermore, each form of misbehaviour had its consequences.

Yatitaet is the most critical unit of structural dispensation of cultural wisdom and skills in *Kamuratanet*. It marked the beginning of definite social responsibility and not a privilege (Sambu 2007). Once circumcised the youth assumed adult roles and could now be expected to provide tuition and guidance to the younger generations. They were expected

to serve as role models. *Kamuratanet* provided a sense of belonging and identity which were critical for social acceptance.

Moreover, *Yatitaet* assigned people their age sets and age grades. These structures were used to keep track of behaviours of its members. Each member had an obligation to safeguard the "good name" of their ageset and grade by behaving and observing *Kamuratanet* standards. Those who failed to observe the norns were cautioned and even punished by members of their agesets. Those who consistently misbehaved were re-initiated during the subsequent initiation season.

Ultimately, *Kamuratanet* evolved inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms that immensely shaped the behaviour of the Kalenjin and influenced their thinking patterns and processes.

4.7.8 Conclusions on Analysis and Interpretation of Data

> The world suffers a lot. Not because of the violence of bad people. But because of the silence of good people. (Napoleon Bonarpate, French Revolution, 1789 – 1815).

This section draws a conclusion to the chapter by drawing parallels between the findings of the study and its theoretical framework. The conclusion also shows the relevance of the knowledge derived from the study to modernity and clarifies how the study fills a prevailing knowledge gap.

This chapter has located education in the *Kamuratanet* context and described the qualities of educators. It has also presented an indepth examination of the structures, contexts, strategies and self regulating processes evolved by *Kamuratanet* in order to manage the behaviour of the members within its cultural constituency. In reference to figure 4.1, *Kamuratanet*

presented various units that coalesce to form a functional unit that regulated the behaviour of the Kalenjin. Broadly speaking, the units interrogated form what is generally referred to as Kalenjin culture. These units work in tandem to produce a functional outfit that define the behaviour, knowledge, skills, ethical and moral standards expected of a Kalenjin in order to function as an acceptable member of the Kalenjin social unit.

This concurs with functionalism and its basic premises that:

i.   Any society is a unique functioning whole, and

ii.   The social arrangement and cultural forms obtained in a society have functional significance in relation to the psychological needs of individuals.

Kamuratanet thus satisfies the assumptions of Vygotsky`s socio-cultural perspective where human development is considered a socio-cultural phenomenon. Besides, *Kamuratanet*, does not only shape the behaviour of the Kalenjin, but also informed their thought processes and patterns. It uses its structures and contextsto ascertainadherence of its principles, and also makes its graduants serve as role models and therefore justify its third theoretical foundation, social learning theory that underscores the importance of role models in learning behaviour as postulated by Albert Bandura.

The behavioural outcomes of *Kamuratanet* included*tegis*(Integrity), *aiyepin* (generosity) and *tolosio* (politeness), *tagurnat* (graceful) *konyit*(respect), *ng'omnon*(knowledge) *and ng'ulotio*(wisdom) all wrapped up in one unit*, Kamuratanet.*It is therefore a holistic educational process for economic and socio-cognitive development.On the contrary, educational outcomes in the modern set up are mainly rated against academic scores or grades that give little or no consideration to the psychosocial needs of individuals and their

communities.Unlike in *Kamuratanet,* the educational outcomes of modern approaches donot emphasize values of common good. This has resulted in highly competitive and individualistic attitudes which cause "suffering in the world" as said by Napoleon Bonaparte over 200 years ago and cited by Muluka (2015).

Similarly, on integrity, generosity, politeness, respect, observation of ethical and moral standards, *Kamuratanet* contexts, strategies, structures and methodologies can provide modern psychology with a powerful discourse. This will serve as a major contribution of *Kamuratanet* to modern approaches to education and Kalenjin cultural psychology. Concepts of *Kamuratanet* methodsof behaviour regulation and behaviour management in a world of moral antiparthy and decadence may become abundantly useful.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. The discussion draws its content from findings enlisted in chapters four, five and six.Further, this section pulls together the various issues raised in the research in order to make sense from the analyzed data and to draw parallels with established literature on related topics. In addition, thischapterderives a conceptual model for behaviour management based on the findings and attempts to correlate it with modern ways of behaviour management. In the conclusions, the research links the study to its theoretical foundations and also derives recommendations for policy makers and researchers. Finally, suggestions for further research are given.

5.2The Social Cosmic Universe of a Kalenjin

Based on data received, a Kalenjin child is born into the center of a social cosmic universe that determines what he/she is going to learn and how he/she is going to learn. The findings of this study disclose that the social cosmic universe of the child in the context of *Kamuratanet* may be divided into three broad units: first, the unit comprising of the family to which the child is born; second, the community which sets the patterns of interaction and finally, spirituality which determines the system of beliefs and categorizes them as either good or bad. These units interact with other social systems in shaping behaviour.

Figure 5.1: Concept of individual social cosmic universe.
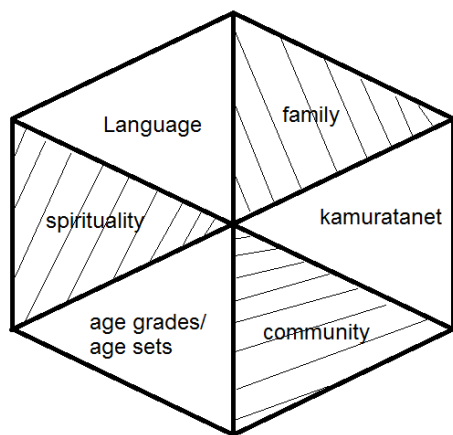
(Source: field data)

The individual is at the center of a universe that determines when and what he/she will learn, how he/she will learn it and what is considered good and acceptable or bad and unacceptable.The shaded areas represent the basic units into which a child is born-the family,the community and spirituality.The basic units interact with other systems which are imposed on the developing child by the community as strategies of regulating behaviour.The systems include; first, the language system which determine how the individual communicate and interact with others, second, the *Kamuratanet* system,which provide content on rules of conduct,knowledge to be learnt and responsibilities,and lastly, agesets/grades give the individual identity and a sense of belonging and for ease of behaviour regulation.

According to the Kalenjin, the life of an individual is divided into two important phases: childhood and adulthood.In childhood, the life of the individual revolves around the family and the neighbourhood which provide role models and instruction on good behaviour. The parenting and socializing standards are based on *Kamuratanet* requirements. The child only

acquires the status of personhood after going through the initiation rite; *Yatitaet*, a segment of *Kamuratanet*. Accordingly, the second phase of the individual`s cosmic universe is governed by the principles of *Kamuratanet*. *Kamuratanet* provides content on behaviours to be observed. It formallycompliments what the family provided to the cosmic universe of the child. In any case, the parents are themselves products of *Kamuratanet*. *Yatitaet* therefore elaborates and concretizes, various aspects of social development to enable the individual possess knowledge, attitudes, skills, and behavioural competencies relevant to the life of a Kalenjin. Failure to observe the required ways of conduct results in *ng'oki*. Spirituality is epitomized as *ng'oki* and act as a self-regulating agency of behaviour management.

The study findings indicate that based on the cosmic universe of the individual, a Kalenjin lives in a partially deterministic world and therefore complete freewill is not probable. The individual is only free to choose an action from options prescribed by the nurturing environment. The options that one chooses are evaluated and judged against a blueprint provided by *Kamuratanet*, which determines the culturally accepted moral standards.

On the the contrary, though good and bad are universal terms, in the *Kamuratanet* context they are relative to the cultural expectations and standards.For instance stealing a cow from the "enemy" was considered a virtue and a heroic act. For this reason, the findings of the study agree with Horney (1939) on the assertion that cultural factors are involved in the labeling of certain behaviour patterns as either normal or abnormal. For instance, Horney illustrates that behaviour such as seeing visions or shame about sexuality are neurotic in some cultures but quite normal in others. Certainly, for the Kalenjin,

Kamuratanet provided parameters that were used to determine what was acceptable and normal

and what was not acceptable, and therefore abnormal.

On the role of culture in cognitive development, Vygotsky (in Miller, 2011) argues that cognitive growth occur in a socio-cultural context that influences the form it takes. According to Vygotsky, many of a child's most note worthy cognitive skills evolve from social interactions with parents, teachers and other more competent associates.In the same manner, this study concurs with Vygotsky(1978) who argue that human cognition even when carried out in isolation, is inherently socio-cultural, affected by the believes, values and intellectual tools that may vary substantially from culture to culture. Subsequently, these arguments corroborate *Kamuratanet* as the panacea of Kalenjin learning and methods of behaving.Thus, the findings of this study dispute the philosophical assumptions of the Era of Enlightenment 1 when the basic assumption regarding human behaviour was that "so long as man looked to the past for his model, he would never look to the future for his dreams" (Major, 1971, p.404).Certainly, the findings of this study indicate that we can only navigate the present and future successfully through our understanding of our past. As a matter of fact the study postulates that cultures possess time tested knowledge on behaviour management.

5.3 Structures of Behaviour Management

In terms of learning, modifying and maintenance of behaviour, the study revealed that there is need for socially accepted structures that specify a clear and explicit pecking order on power relations and behaviour regulation. The findings of the study indicate that the order of power or importance within the social unit should be clearly specified and be acceptable to all. In this respect, the Kalenjin community specified various structures that specifically delineated roles to its members and delimited authority and responsibility within the pecking order. For instance, in the home, the father had the final word. The authority given to him was however

checked by other structures, such as confessions made by initiates before *Yatitaet* (circumcision). Furthermore, if the father misbehaved, for example by defiling his daughter, *injoget* was declared on him as a punitive measure to check incest. On the other hand, the youth also had "*kimarsi*" performed against them by recently circumcised men when they misbehaved. Similarly, women and men who were perceived not to perform their roles effectively had members of their *siritiet* (age grade) to prevail upon them. For this reason, members of the social unit became *a brother's keeper.* Again this agrees with the theoretical perspective on communities as explained by Shaffer and Kipp (2010). They explain that a socio-psychological perspective of a community involves how its members feel about themselves and interact with one another. They argue that people's feelings about their relationship to, and with their community are paramount. In addition, Markus and Kitayama (cited in Chiu, Chou, McBride &Thomas, 2016) say that in collective cultures, which tend to emphasize interdependence, belonging to a social group can be so strong that it effectively replaces the individual self as the functional unit of conscious reflection. Similarly, *Kamuratanet* creates strong social bonds, where power relations are clearly defined and accepted by the members within the social strata or group**.**

This study posits that the pecking order as stipulated in the *Kamuratanet* social order was a noble idea. Seniority in the pecking order was based on agesets and behaviour and other social promotions as defined in the social strata such as *saget ap eito*. Subsequently, this study proposes that to sustain acceptable moral standards, a specified social pecking order is needed and that authority positions can be evolved to reflect the current trends of social stratification. Indeed, this study could not agree more with Chebet and Dietz (2000) on the idea that the basic values that guided the Kalenjin social stratification must be retained for the cohesion of the

society and its survival.

Certainly, the values which bound our society together from time immemorial, acting as moral and behavioural guidelines to individuals should be encouraged and practiced even at a time when thoughts of modernization are encroaching. Chebet and Dietz (2002) similarly argue that when a people are stripped of their identity as provided by culture, they are no longer capable of self-determination and the society becomes dysfunctional.This resonates well with the thoughts of a prominent Kenyan scholar, Patrick Lumumba, as is evident in his speech entitled *"Nijenge Kenya"* at St Paul's University where he described colonialism as a destruction of African culture and a battle of minds that has derailed our focus. Lumumba agreeably articulated:

> When I look at Africans today, I appreciate colonialism…Africans are attracted to what is European and American; attracted to things that are not African…colonialism was indeed a battle if minds.We are now afraid to confront our reality...Europeans and other civilizations know what they want.Every other civilisation knows what it wants; Europeans, Arabs, Asians, Japanese…know what they want.What do the Africans want?(Prof.P.L.O. Lumumba at St Paul's University, Limuru, 5th, March 2015,YouTube)

Such is the ultimate result of cultural assassination as is witnessed today when our society is no longer able to sufficiently manage the behaviour if its members. As Lumumba agreeably suggests, culture sets our goals and expectations. Indeed, for the Kalenjin, *Kamuratanet* is a tool that was used to set the community's agenda. Because of this, the current study is an attempt to implore upon the past to provide structures that may be

modified and made to serve as a panacea of the present social problems and cause re-integration.

5.4 Self-Regulating Units of Behaviour Management

The Kalenjin evolved highly scientific social units for the purpose of teaching; learning and regulating the behaviour of its members (refer to figure 4.2). The study further revealed a highly complex system of interrelated units that brought a sense of belongingness to all members (refer to figure 4.1).These social units included concepts such as agesets and agegrades, confessions, *Injoget, Kimarsi, and Kimorigi* etc.In *Kamuratanet,* achieving and maintaining a sense of belonging was critical for group cohesion and behaviour regulation.In the same way, Baumeister and Leary (1995) emphasize that "human beings have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive and significant interpersonal relationships", (p.497).

To satisfy the need for significant interpersonal relationship, each member was tied to all other members of the society and was accountable to them.Indeed, the Kalenjin approach was holistic and all inclusive; no member was left out of the system. Those who could not fit into the system were rehabilitated, through re-initiation or other corrective procedures such as *Kimarsi,*ex-communicated, like in *Injoget* and if they couldnot withstand the shame associated with the retributive measures, expelled.Certainly, the various units of *Kamuratanet* were interdependent and played complimentary roles for the realization of the social obligations. Furthermore, the units were packaged as one but an analysis of the system revealed unique sub-units within the main unit as follows:

a)   ***Yatitaet***: this is symbolized by circumcision and initiation. A closer look at the rite however disclose that it played a greater role in the life of a Kalenjin vis-a-vis the ordinary meaning of circumcision or initiation.*Yatitaet* went beyong initation as the ideals taught in seclusion continued to regulate the behaviour of the Kalenjin person throughout their entire lives. On this basis, *Kamuratanet* established institutions to oversee adherence. The current study affirmed that*Yatitaet* assigned people their age sets (*ibinda*) and age grades (*siritiet*) and also set up units and concepts such as "confessions", *chepng'echeriat*, *kimorigi*, *kimarsi*, taboos and prohibitions all described in chapter four regulate implementation of the educational contents and other virtues of *Kamuratanet.*

On *Kamuratanet*, Chesaina (1991) further explains that the age set assumed by the initiates did not merely play a nominal role as it served as a point of reference for each members' commitment to the fellow initiates, *pakule* for men and *pasoi* for women (ref: fig 5.5) and to the community at large. In addition, Chesaina explains that each member of an age-set had to live up to the expectations the community has toward each set. Furthermore, Chesaina elaborates that this is because in the final analysis, initiation is not a social prestige but the beginning of definite social responsibilities.Besides, Snell (1954) says the warriors of a recently initiated age grade were formally charged with the military protection of the tribe at a ceremony known as *saget ap eito* at which the retiring warriors in turn acquired the status of elders with the right to participate in civil and judicial administration of the tribe.

 Snell explains that the age grade system also exercised control over marriage in as much as a man was not allowed to marry the daughter of a man of his own age-set. This is because there was a powerful sentiment of unity and mutual obligation amongst members of an agegroup which cut across clan and community loyalties.Members of an agegroup were considered real

brothers/sisters and therefore one could not marry the child of a brother or sister.In conclusion therefore*Kamuratanet*evolved self-regulating units of behaviour management, and clearly specified the acceptable conduct of individuals in totality.

b)   **Genealogical linkages**: was another critical unit of behaviour management and learning. The Kalenjin evolved a complex system of community genealogical stratification into clans and kindred (ref: fig 5.2), for the sole purpose of regulating behaviour. Hollis (1909) points out that genealogically, the Kalenjin community is divided into clans (*oret*) and families *(Korik).* Each clan has a symbolic totem.In addition, Sambu (2007) says that among the Kalenjin, 'fire' (*maat*) and 'path' (*oret*) are given symbolic social bonds of kinship. For example,*Oret*, which means path or way, is tied to totemism and all Kalenjins are identified by the family name as by their totemic emblem, *tiondo*, meaning smbolised by an animal. Sambu explains that a totem-*tiondo* is not necessarily a real animal.In fact, some clans recognize totems such as the 'sun' or 'rain'. Majority of the totems however are real creatures such as lion, elephant, safari-ant, mole, cockroach, bee etc. Examples of animals used as totems include elephant, known as *Teriki* in totemic sense (the researcher is identified by this totem), and the lion referred to as*Talai* and baboon, *yegen* in the totemic context.Certainly, every Kalenjin man and woman today identifies with a totem which still regulates sexual behaviour and marriage.Moreover, in an article entitled*'Totemism'* in Encyclopedia Britannica, Frazer (1910) defines totemism as both a religious and a social system. Frazer explains that it is religious in the sense that there exists mutual respect and protection between man and his totem. In this social context, he says totemism consist of the relation of the clansmen to each other and to men of other clans. Similarly, the functional aspect of totemism today is seen in preparation for marriage where Kalenjins who share a totem are not allowed to intermarry. On the other hand,

members who share totems have peculiar marks inscribed on their cattle, mainly as incisions on their ears and which areeasily identified even by those who do not share the particular totem.The concept of totemism was articulated by respondent 2:4, when in part he said, *"kitepei kele po Orr nee lakwanaa?"* meaning, "to which totem does that child belong to?"

The Kalenjin totemic system which is a structure of *Kamuratanet* was invented to preserve*oret*/ clan linkages.Indeed, like*yatitaet*/ circumcision, the*oret* arrangement has managed to survive the challenges of the Christian faith and some of the most ardent supporters of the clan and the totemic system today are to be found among African Christian clergy and church elders (Sambu, 2007). Subsequently, the totemic system can be synergized as a unit of behaviour regulation today.Furthermore, as pointed out in chapter four, each member has a responsibility to keep the good name of their clan (*oret*) by exhibiting culturally accepted behaviour that reflect *Kamuratanet* standards. Clearly the *oret* system is a self-regulating unit of behaviour management.

Figure5.2: Kalenjin social structures of teaching, learning and regulating behaviour.
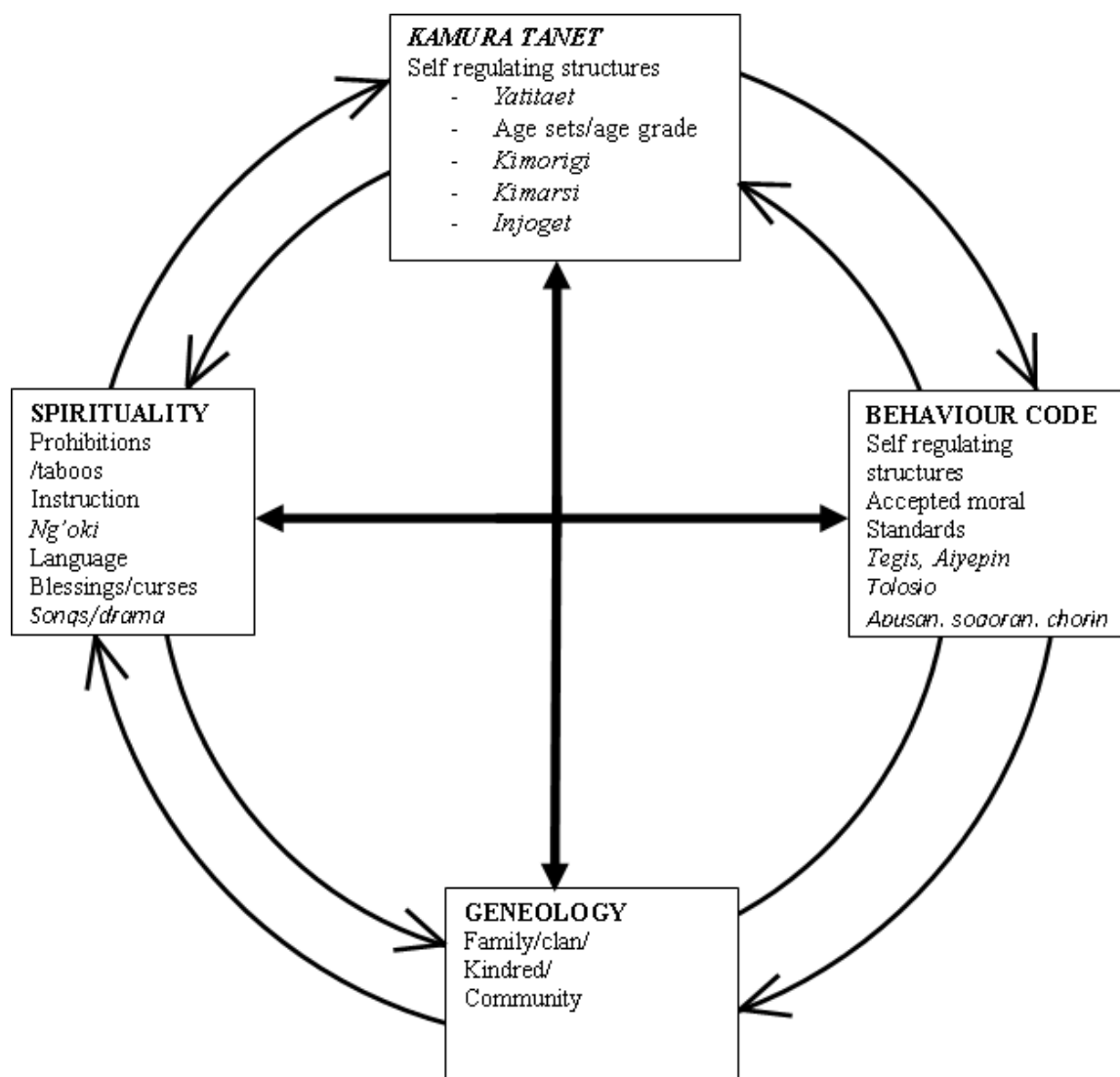
(Source: field data)

The Kalenjin evolved a complex system of inter-related units for teaching, learning and regulating behaviour. Each unit played an interdependent and complementary role to the other. The major units comprise of *Kamuratanet*, genealogical linkages, behaviour code and spirituality. *Kamuratanet* produced a blue-print of the Kalenjin curriculum, fixed people into age-sets and age-grades for the purpose of implementation of curriculum. It

also set units for ensuring the concepts such *kimorigi* and *injoget* areadhered to. Genealogy is initially linked to the family, (*kapchii*), clan (*oret*), and relatives (*tiliet*).These units were the primary agents of behaviour regulation. If these units failed, the community took the role of punishing, rehabilitating and re-inducting the member.

Consequently, behaviour was a manifestation of culturally accepted moral standards as expressed in *Kamuratanet*.Accepted moral standards comprised of *tegisto* (integrity), *ayiepindo* (generous, hospitable, unselfish, and kind), *tolosiet* (politeness, kindness, gentleness and generally good behaviour) and *ng'ulotiet* (wisdom) (Chepkwony, 1997).On the other hand, unwanted behaviour comprised: *sogornatet* (pervert),*ng'oknatet* (selfish, meanness) and *apusnatet*(foolishnesss).

5.5 Spirituality as a Strategy of Behaviour Regulation in *Kamuratanet* Context.

From the data, the concept of spirituality is manifested through the belief in *ng'oki*/curses and *aiyepisio/*blessing. Various forms of curses and blessings were instituted to regulate behaviour. Indeed, good behaviour was not optional but mandatory in *Kamuratanet*. Subsequently, misbehaviour was contained through various strategies as specified by*Kamuratanet*. Depending on the magnitude of the misbehaviour, the strategies explained in chapter four such as *kimarsi*, *injoget* or even *chupisio* (curses) were employed.

Further, language was also loaded with distasteful terms to describe people who misbehaved. It was very embarrassing to be branded such distasteful names not only to the person being named, but also to the members of his/her family and clan. In addition, it was believed that one who misbehaved would be confronted by bad omen *(ng'oki)*. Such strategies made anyone contemplating misbehaviour to take caution.

Besides, people who exhibited accepted moral standards, such as *tegisto*, *ayiepin* and *tolosio* earned praise and served as points of reference not only for the individual but also for members of their family and clan (*oret*). They were contacted and requested to serve as *motirenik* which was a mark of honour and respect. Their family was referred to as *'kot ap motirenik'* to mean the house of *motirenik* to the pride of the clan.*Motirenik* were both ritual and religious leaders.

In addition, *Kamuratanet* spelt out what was prohibited (*etan*) and what was a taboo (*kirutik*). Moreover, children were always cautioned regarding prohibitions and taboos by their parents and community members. Further, instruction was given in clear terms during seclusion and in everyday activity for children.In fact, all Kalenjin social programmes started and closed with prayers for blessings (*ayiepisio*) and curses (*chupisio*) for those who did not keep the oath of allegiance.Similarly, Chesang (cited in Sambu, 2007) adds the following about *ng'oki*:

> The concept of *ng'oki* guarantees smooth relationship of age sets particularly members of the same age sets. One is not permitted to insult, humiliate or degrade a member of his age set or that senior to his age set. At the same time, wives of the same age set are expected to treat the members of the age set of her husband with respect that is due to her husband; that is, not to insult, humiliate or degrade (p.193).

This study also found out that one was obligated to respect their maternal uncles. They ensured that they do not do anything wrong against them, because if they happen to curse, the curse would have the effect of awakening *ng'oki* into action.For instance, Hollis (1909) notes that a murderer of his/her own clansman was declared morally unclean forever and their shadow may not fall on anyone. This made anybody contemplating murder to think twice before condemning themselves to permanent ostracism and quarantine. This taboo acted as a deterrent measure against the commission of sins and crimes, or against doing certain things without due consideration (Sambu, 2007).

The findings of this study also concur with Snell (1954) who stated that curses were uttered for

contempt or serious disobedience. Snell says that a tribal curse (*chubisio*) was fatal and affected not only the offender but spread to members of his/her family and descendants. Snell further points out that a curse was the most effective sanction and that often merely the threat of it sufficed to inhibit a crime or extract a confession of guilt. This study cannot exhaust the strategies employed for behaviour management but the examples given above only corroborate the functional strategies employed by traditional Kalenjin and which still has great acceptance and relevance in regulating behaviour today. These concepts could be re-energized and moderated to suit the current demands for efficient behaviour regulation by demystifying the cynicism labeled against traditional African practices by the new approaches to acquisition of knowledge and religiosity as expounded by Western and modern scholarship.

5.6 Conceptual Model.

According to Hornby (2015), a conceptual Model is a simple description of a system, used to show how ideas work or calculating what might happen,an objective of the study was also to derive a conceptual model based on the analysis of *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin.Certainly, the data received reveal a distinct pattern of management of behaviour with themes clearly coming out as the critical concepts that can be used to originate a conceptual model. The patterns consistently reveal two features:

i)   Defined structures of behaviour management through *Kamuratanet.*

ii)   Collective involvement in management of individual behaviour.

The study therefore proposes a conceptual model to be named 'Structural Collectivist Behaviour Model-*A brother's keeper*!' In this respect the researcher hopes to develop amodel of

behaviour managementrooted in African experience.

5.7.0: Structural Collectivist Behaviour (SCB)Model - A Brother's Keeper).

5.7.1Preamble

This study refuses to subscribe to the notion that considered the past dark or primitive. Subsequently, the study endeavours to implore on the past to lend the present timetested and resilient approaches and techniques that checked excesses in behaviour and held our communities together for many centuries. Certainly, the need for time tested behaviour managementskills is particularly critical during this period when the family unit is faced with the problem of rising individualism and subsequent destruction of the traditional social structures that initially regulated the behaviour of individuals and brought them to account for any behaviour perceived to fall below acceptable moral standards.This position concurs with John Dewey (1859-1952) as cited in Ngaroga (2015,p.6) that "children prepare well for life by taking an active part in the life at home, the village and under community through cooperative and active participation in real life challenges".

Today children are brought up in towns where the culturally ascribed social responsibilities and contexts that helped define the social roles are lacking. Similarly, the social connectedness promoted in most of the African cultures was rated primitive and partially discarded in favour of the individualistic Western styles. Furthermore, the agents and structures of socialization which serve as behaviour regulators have been seriously underminedby modernisation. Ngaroga agreeably argue that;

> Socialization is a process through which the culture of a society is transmitted to its new members.It is the process by which people develop to be members of a social system through interacting with one another in a social environment (Ngaroga, 2015.p.57).

On the contrary, in the cities and towns today, families live in flats or secluded areas where even neighbours remain suspicious strangers. The concept of extended family and other traditional structures that initially moderated the excesses of behaviour among the youth and indeed among all other members of the societyare completely lacking.Children are thus socialized by media which in most cases present items that are exergerated and grossly removed fromsocial reality.

5.7.2 Why aStructural Model

Kamuratanet established various structures of socialization and teaching accepted behaviur. Consequently, each child is born into a family. According to the Kalenjin, the home provides the first learning experiences for the child (refer to fig 5.4).Indeed, *Kamuratanet* emphasized the role of the nurturing environment and parents were culturally obligated to teach their children accepted moral standards. Other initial structures that were used to modify behaviour included the community and spirituality. As the child grew, *Kamuratanet* provided concrete learning experiences by placing the developing person into permanent age grades and age sets which regulated his/her behaviour.Furthermore, language was loaded with terms that endeared its listeners to specific behaviours and set boundaries for acceptable moral standards.

Today Westernization and modernity have grossly undermined the structures of *Kamuratanet.* Consequently the collective approach to behaviour management as rooted in *Kamuratanet* is now viewed negatively. Even the social structures that served as watchdogs over parents in management of the behaviour of their children are either disrespected or often none existent. This study is therefore a wake up call mainly to Africans and specifically to the Kalenjin on the need to recall time tested strategies of behaviour management.

The structural approach to behaviour management was sufficient to hold behaviours within

acceptable limits. Nevertheless, if some structures failed in discharging their obligations, there were other supervisory structures, explained in chapter four to institute retributive measures on individuals and groups.In fact specified structures were also used to monitor the behaviour of individuals.Relative to behaviour management, Rathus and Nevid (1992) explain that every person has scripts that guide his/her own behaviour and that they are formed during childhood based on early belief about one self and others.Certainly, these life scripts are guided by the experiences provided by the family, community and instructions such asthose packaged in *Kamuratanet* cultural curriculum of behaviour management. They also explain behaviour in terms of cultural scripts, which refer to the expected patterns of behaviour within a society. Agreeably, there are many structures of behaviour management in our society today. However, most of them are weak as they lack three basic features which *Kamuratanet* possess: first; they lack the self-regulating capacities embedded in *Kamuratanet,* second, they lack the social collectivist approach and finally lack socially designated contexts that were used to reinforce

standards in *Kamuratanet*.Behaviour regulation is thus left to management teams in institutions and government agencies.

On the other hand, Glaser (1984) developed a control theory which provides explanation of human behaviour where he argues that we have pictures in our minds of what reality is like, and pictures of how we would like the world to be. Subsequently, this study derivesthat for the Kalenjin, suchmental pictures are determined by the values and virtues envisaged by *Kamuratanet*. Similarly, this study holds that each culture has a blueprint of envisaged behaviour and provides structures for its implementation, monitoring, regulation and even modification. The study therefore proposes that the structures provided by our diverse cultures are royal pathways to behaviour management.

5.7.3Why "Collectivist" Approach to Behaviour Management

The term collectivist in this study refers to a behaviour management approach that involves all members of a social group. Relatively, Social psychologists Triandis, Markus and Kitayama (1996) bring culture (symbolised by *Kamuratanet* in this study) into psychology by arguing that shared values of social groups play key roles in individual`s cognitive, emotional and social functioning.Arguably, the shared or collective values are critical in regulating the behaviour of individuals.

Besides, Triandis et al.were able to distinguish groups on the basis of individual and collective values.They defined these values as "cultural syndromes" (1996, p.409) and explained that they are observed in shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, and self definitions.Similarly, to the Kalenjin, these categorizing features create an identity that *Kamuratanet* promotes and seeks to safeguard. Indeed, like in the case of *Kamuratanet*, Triandis et al. add that the values of members of each culture are organized around a theme.

In a related study, Markus and Kitayama (1995) proposed a "collective constructionist model of independence-interdependence" (p.231).Based on this premise, they agreeably, postulate that core cultural ideals are observable in ideological and philosophical contexts and in institutions at a collective level.Further, they argue that these situations foster cultural shaping of psychological reality which on the other hand is affected by customs, norms, practices and institutions. Similarly, *Kamuratanet* lays a firm ideological and philosophical foundation and provides a blue print for appropriate customs, norms, and practices that indeed organize and direct the behavioural output of its members towards a common and collective focus.

In addition, Markus and Kitayama elaborate that this sense of connectedness helps to shape, regulate and monitor the behaviour of individuals as postulated in this study. Again, on this subject matter, Brewer (1995) and Tajfel (1978) argue agreeably that members of all societies engage in social categorization and that identity is constructed in the context of attitudes towards one group, and is related to prejudice, intergroup conflict, culture and acculturation. Brewer (1991) adds that the individual`s motivation to claim and express their social identities depends on the need for inclusiveness and uniqueness, where people seek an optimal level of distinctiveness.

Accordingly, *Kamuratanet* informs and shapes the opinions, attitude, knowledge, world views of individuals etc thereby distinguishing them as a distinct social group whose identity should be safeguarded at all times by its cultural members.Consequently, members seek inclusivity. This is the force behind the sense of collectivism among and between the Kalenjin as a social entity.

On the significance of culture in fostering collectivism, Cooper and Denner (1998) agreeably

states that:

> Social Scientists will continue to debate models of cultural-universal and community specific research and across nations, but the international scholarly community is finding new ways to understand the role of culture in human development without overemphasizing or ignoring psychological (micro) or structural (macro) processes.Psychologists are coming to understand cultures as developing systems of individuals, relationships, material and social contexts and institutions.By viewing models linking culture and psychological processes as distinct, yet complementary, researchers and policy makers can forge interdisciplinary, international and intergenerational collaborations on behalf of the culturally diverse communities which we are a part of (p.14).

In the same manner, from *Kamuratanet*, this study sought to derive and popularize the concept of collectivism and propose it as a strategy that can be synergized and used by humanity in management of behaviour even in contexts outside *Kamuratanet* cultural curriculum community.By so doing this study contradicts the rising philosophy of individualism fostered by the capitalist ideology; this is because in the final analysis, human beings are basically social in nature.From thedata obtained, it is clear that all members within the *Kamuratanet* cultural educational context were accountable to the community. Indeed, various structures were put in place to oversee planning and management of behaviour. For inastance, *Kamuratanet* assigned people age sets and age grades that possessed self-regulating mechanisms of managing the conduct and behaviour of its members. In this respect, Snell (1954) enlists the following incidences that prove the concept of collectivism as exemplified by the use of age sets and age grades to regulate behaviour:

a)   In case of adultery, the offender would be arraigned before the *kokwet* (village) elders and beaten by men of his age grade, or in the case of a habitual offender, expelled from *kokwet*.

b)   In case of clan incest-sex between relatives- the woman was beaten by women of her age grade (*siritiet*) while the punishment of the man was known as *injoget ap chebiosok*

(punishment of the women). *Injoget* was performed by women who stripped, besmeared themselves with white clay and wore green leaves around their waists and heads. They seized some of the man's cattle and slaughtered and no other man was in attendance except the offender. The sense of shame that was inflicted upon him was extreme.

c)   In case a warrior raped, he would be beaten by members of his own grade and would be denied certain social privileges.

Nonetheless, there are a few other examples to corroborate collectivism in the management of behaviour and creation of social order. These features are corroborated by the findings of the study. For instance, examples of structures that facilitated collectivism includes concepts discussed in the data analysis sections such as;*oret* (clan), *chepng'echeriat*, *kimarsi,* and solicited confessions during initiation, spirituality as operationalized through curses and *ng'oki* etc. Similarly, the use of various social structures to manage individual behaviour as revealed by this study agrees with Bandura as cited by Cloninger (1993) which state that "individuals often fail to regulate their own behaviour in ways that live up to the high moral standards" (p.387). Further, Bandura explains that individuals exploit others, commit aggressive acts, pollute the atmosphere and engage in much other behaviour that violates moral standards. Bandura calls this "moral disengagement" (p.395) and argues that "societies must exert social control and supplement individual's undependable moral self-control" (p.395). Clearly, it is apparent that the Kalenjin advanced this line of thought by making behaviour regulation a collective enterprise and creating institutions to enforce the same.Consequently, the greater lesson to the current educational dispensation is that education is not just a cognitive affair.As suggested by *Kamuratanet*, education, whatever form it takes is a way of life and should therefore provide a holistic blue print that will allow its recipients to confront the day to day

challenges in none ambiguous ways. Indeed, like in *Kamuratanet,* acquisition of education should not be perceived as an optional luxury to be taken in at will but should be perceived as a critical element for admission into the community of a civilized society**.** Collectivist approach to behaviour management is thus a unique feature that can be incorporated into modern ways of management of behaviour.

5.7.4: Why "Behaviour"is the Focus of the Model

Behaviour can be defined as "the particular way that someone does things. The model seeks to propose how behaviour can be regulated based on concepts derived from *Kamuratanet.*In this connection,Vygotsky, (cited in Shaffer &Kipp, 2010) postulate that cognitive growth occurs in a socio- cultural context that influence the form it takes and that many of a child's note worthy cognitive skills evolve from social interactions with parents, teachers and other competent associates.Vygotsky adds that human cognition is inherently socio-cultural, affected by beliefs, values and tools of intellectual adaption passed to individuals by their culture. Similarly, based on the findings, this study concludes that behaviour can only be understood within a socio-cultural context.In agreement, Miller (2011) notes:

> A culture creates tools to help the people master the environment, the favoured tools are passed on to children during social exchanges, and in turn the tools shape the children`s minds.Children use tools to help themselves think; the tools actually transform thoughts, eg, once children learn to use language to help them remember, the nature of remembering may change to be more verbal form (p. 181).

Miller reiterates that people use psychological tools provided by a culture to control thought and behaviour.This is further corroborated by Yegon (2012) relative to *Kamuratanet* in the following excerpt:

> Circumcision ceremonies as makers of physical, social and psychological growth have important role of classification and group formation… this defines the social self (what

people think about an individual) which is decisive in the personality formation of an individual.This classification therefore, locates an individual in a social structure which distributes culture in terms of status and role expectation (Yegon, 2012, p.171).

Agreeably culture through *Kamuratanet* created structures for regulating behaviour.

Borrowing from major schools of thought in psychology, mainly Behaviourism and Cognitivism, this study argues that behaviour is purposeful and goal directed.Certainly, individuals do not think and act in a vacuum.In fact, even their expectations are socio- cultural in origin. Based on the research findings, the study concurs that behaviour is primarily a socio-cultural phenomenon.

Thus, institutions can endevour to entrench in their culture tools and structures that can suffice the need for self regulation for effective and homegrown behaviour management strategies.Such tools can be geared towards attainment of institutional goals.These tools may include formation of cultural task groups, appropriate appraisal systems, careful use of rewards and punishment such as recognition and lists of shame etc.These may serve as automated systems for regulating the behaviour of its members.Indeed, this may create a solid base for group uniqueness which like in the case of *Kamuratanet* bore a high level of group solidarity and allegiance to its norms.Such type of formation is supported by the work of ethnographers:

> Ethnographers tried to fathom the inner world of belonging to a group whose values, beliefs, roles, economic, political structure, language, gestures, attire and the like differed conspicuously from that of the observer.It became the basis of emphathic, compassionate, carefully phenomenological, respectful, contextualism, that is, this form placed all human behaviour in context of how it was created or experienced by another person or group (Paul, 1981, p.113).

In addition, Stein, (cited in Levinson &Ember, 1996) argues that this kind of group dynamics "turned human beings into sealed, static, immutable, historical unpsychological products" (p.266).Clearly, with proper group formation therefore, such structures can directly or

indirectly be used to manipulate group behaviour towards attainment of desired goals.

5.8 Proposal of the SCB Model

Structural Collectivist Behaviour (SCB) model is grounded on the following propositions as derived from the study:

i)   Learning and behaviour are mediated by their socio-cultural significance.

ii)   Learning and behaviour are sustained when there are structures to regulate adherence.

iii)   Nature of behavioural consequences explicitly provided influence behaviour modification and learning.

iv)   Behaviour modification is effective where there is clear pecking order in power and dispensation of authority engendered in socially acknowledged positions.

v)   Spirituality is critical in learning and behaviour modification.

vi)   Acceptable behaviour should be stated in explicit and non-ambiguous terms.

vii)   Role models play a critical role in behaviour modification.

viii)   Personality interacts with situations in determining behaviour.

5.9 Value of SCB Model

Miller (2011) explains that Vygotsky and other socio-culturalists point out that culture defines what knowledge and skills children need to acquire and gives them tools such as language, technology and strategies for functioning in that culture. In this connection, Structural Collectivist Behaviour (SCB) model shares this view and as stated earlier, to SCB, behaviour is indeed a socio-cultural phenomenon. Consequently, an SCB psychologist would seek to understand the culture of a client so as to get a clear understanding of the client's subjective world. Thes is because the client's subjective world is a product of his/her social cultural

background.

According to SCB model, theindividual is at the center of various socio-cultural structures created by *Kamuratanet* for moderation of behaviour (see figure 5.6).Again, this study postulates thatsuch structures can be identified in all other cultural groups and strengthened.Certainly, such tools are easily accepted within their cultural community and would consequently midwife acceptable links to the virtues and code of conduct of a universal community in behaviour management. Moreover, the values and virtues expressed in various cultures are not at variance with universal values and virtues even though they may methodically differ in expression due to their unique contexts and origins (Mbiti, 1986; Sambu, 2007; Vygotsky, 1986). Indeed, *Kamuratanet* behavioural ideals such as integrity, honesty, courage, kindness etc are also universal virtues and subsequently fit into the universal code of conduct (refer to figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Conceptualization of Structural Collectivist Behaviour Model.
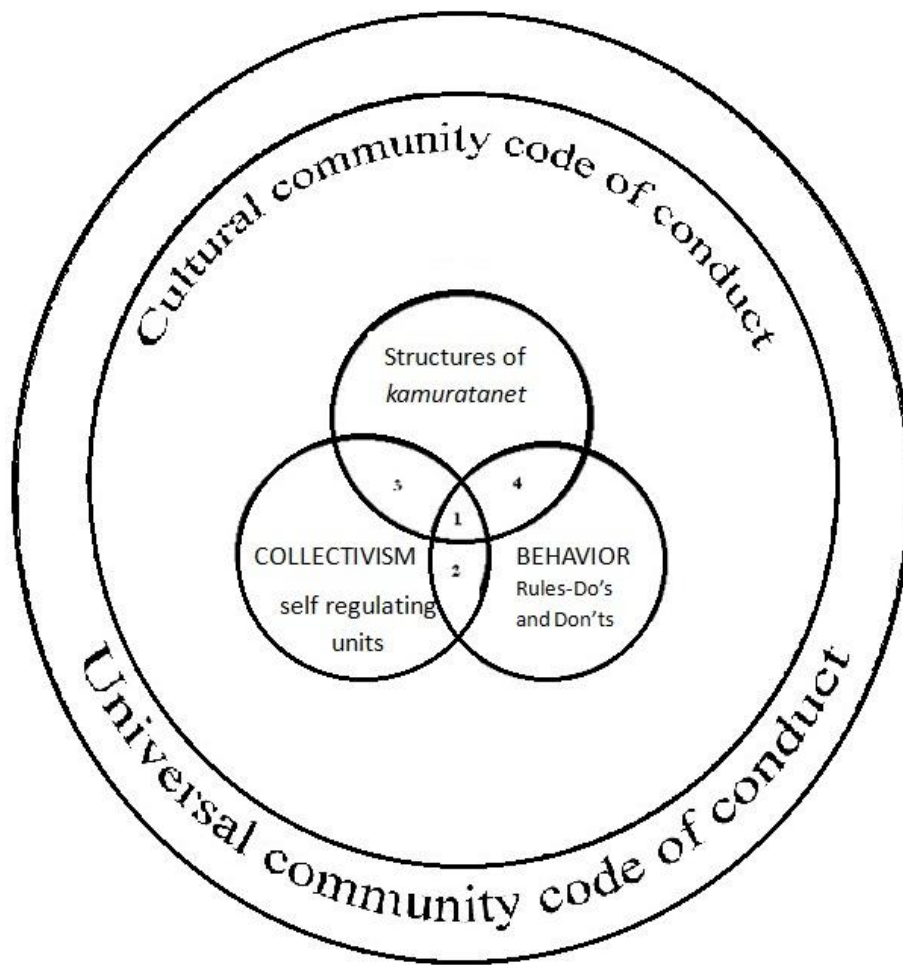
Key

1– Individual

2– Norms / mores

3 - Values / standards

4-consequences of behaviour.

(Source: Author)

Consequently, as a way of moderating behaviour on a global perspective, SCB Model recommends strengthening socio-cultural structures existing in communities in order to minimize occurrence of dysfunctional tendencies in the population. To the model, dysfunctional tendencies arise out of the failure of the socio-cultural structures in dispensing its functions. Indeed, SCB associates failure of the structures with the rise of individualism facilitated by the economic systems that promote capitalistic tendencies and unhealthy competition that subsequently undermine the social fabric of the society.

For this reason, SCB argues that communities that have strengthened their socio-cultural structures experience fewer cases of interpersonal crisis because the structures mediate between individuals and the anxiety producing stimulus. Besides, practically all respondents in this study look back to the days when cultural standards spelt out by *Kamuratanet*were keenly observed with nostalgia.Certainly, they lived in the past and experience the present; all cannot be entirely wrong and subjective

On the other hand, this study sought its validation from the school of education.Because of this, the strategies identified from *Kamuratanet* therefore need to be borrowed and tailored towards attainment of higher educational outcomes.Consequently therefore the goals of education should be understood within the context of specific cultural persuasions.This appeal concurs with Garcia (1998):

> The goal of education of children is not only to teach them, more or less intellectual knowledge, nor only to teach them the virtues in the sense of honesty, courage etc.The functions of any individual, within society, go far beyond the above mentioned: they must learn to work and consume within the norms demanded by the means of production and consumption patterns of their group and the society in which they live (p.9).

Kamuratanet addresses the needs of the person within his/her context in totality. Similarly, modern educational trends can borrow this concept from *Kamuratanet* in order to enhance its relevance to its audience.This study is therefore an initial attempt towards mainstreaming cultural concepts and approaches in our educational agenda and educational systems.

As a result, SCB advocates for redirecting our focus to strengthening the family units or the nurturing environment of children. Strengthening in this case means equipping the parents with knowledge and skills envisaged by their cultures. Nonetheless, based on the findings of this study, cultural methodologies still have an appeal even to the most sophisticated members of our societies.Thus based on an African experience, SCB argues that African cultures have great unexploited potential in behaviour management techniques and a psychologist using this approach should pay great attention to the meanings of phenomena as delineated by culture.Similarly, concepts on spirituality as highlighted in *Kamuratanet* should never be ignored if an educational programme is to make sense and meaning in the lives of its recipients.

In fact, cultures have unique ways of expressing spirituality for example *ng'oki* among the Kalenjin. These cultural features are functional and parents or guardians will pre-empt a lot of psychological crises by employing them. According to this model, children should learn mother tongue for the themes coded in cultural symbolism to have meaning and effect. Language is also an important feature in SCB. Thus, for SCB to be effective as an approach, clients should have learnt the language of their culture for the themes contained in cultural outfits to have meaning.

Another feature proposed by SCB is strengthening of the extended family units and clans (*oret*). If available, the concept of totemism should be re-energized. Totemism gives a sense of

identity and belonging. The net effect is cultivating and nurturing the self-esteem of individuals and therefore giving rise to pride. People, who are proud of themselves, love themselves and will endeavor to behave in acceptable ways so as not to jeopardize the good self-image and the image of their clans and clan members.Accordingly a basic premise of SCB is that 'people behave in unacceptable ways because they have lost their identity, have no sense of belonging, have low self-esteem and are no longer accountable to anybody'. Yet, African cultures nurtured close family ties, inter-community linkages and provided self-regulating structures for ascertaining adherence to moral standards.Consequently, each cultural member became a brother's keeper.

SCB therefore encourages nurturing of various structures provided by our cultures as a strategy for modeling behaviour. In addition these structures have the capacity to set explicit moral standards to be observed. Certainly this feature lacks in the modern Laissez-faire approach to issues of morality particularly in the developing countries that are yet to evolve moral standards commensurate to technological advancements.Further, a sizeable number of people in the young developing economies have too much faith in technology as a panacea to all issues of life including morality.On the contrary, SCB teaches that the blueprint evolved by the human cultures over the centuries should be allowed to compliment technology albeit, in regulating behaviour. This view is clearly articulated by Lev Vygotsky's social cultural perspective in the premise that human cognition even when carried out in isolation is inherently socio-cultural.

The SCB model advocates for a strengthening of the initiation rites but moderated to reflect the current knowledge levels. A new approach to initiation of girls advocated by Dr. Susan Chebet and other initiatives such as the*Kap*kruger approach in Uasin-Gishu County or the Kitengela or *Emo*approach to male circumcision by the Kalenjin in Nairobi are considered viable option for socially acceptable strategies of regulating behaviour among the Kalenjin.In addition, the revival and enhancement of the age set system among the Kalenjin, and other initiatives to integrate traditional approaches to modern or Christian standards are viewed by SCB as suitable avenues to dispense traditional knowledge and wisdom without causing a disconnect with modern trends.Furthermore, SCB submits that these approaches may become useful tools of alleviating psychological distress occasioned by transitioning from cultural to 'modern' approaches to life issues.

Clearly culture plays a significant role in our psychological well being. Agreeably, "human thought and action is regulated – not caused- by norms, rules, values and other features of normative systems (Moghaddan, 2010, p.467).Moghaddan further clarifies the role of culture in the following citation:

> When we ask "How does a traditional Arab Muslim young female come to understand a traditional Arab Muslim young male?" the answer is ,through the prism of a shared culture.Males and females share understanding about social reality and these umderstandings are to some degree common both within and across gender groups.Individual understandings arise out of shared collective understandings- the normative systems that regulate behaviour in society.The normative system is the main source of our psychological experiences.Each individual assimilates particular normative system through socialization process (2010.p.469).

In essence, social norms enter into each individual and the psychological experiences we have, are through this entering, and which automatically regulate our behaviour. In the same way, many of the assumptions that we imbibe through this process are never questioned; they are

the"moral hinges" (Wittgenstein, 1972, p.106) or "contingent universals" (Shweder, 1991, p.73) that help smooth the social world (Moghaddan, 2010, p. 467).

5.10 Conclusions of the Study

This study was guided by three theories, functionalism as developed by Durkheim, Lev Vygotsky's socio-cultural perspective and the social learning theory as postulated by Albert Bandura. The findings and discussion affirm that *Kamuratanet* stratified the Kalenjin community into various interdependent social structures that form a functional whole in behaviour management. The study has also ascertained that the various structures developed by *Kamuratanet* shape the cognitive development of its members and influences the way they perceive their environment. *Kamuratanet* also emphasizes observational learning through the use of *motirenik* who are role models. The three theories therefore effectively provided a concomitant alliance that successfully gave direction to the study.

The study has also established the central role played by *Kamuratanet* in influencing learning and shaping the behaviour of its members. The effect of *Kamuratanet* as an educational self-regulating mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin is clearly manifested in the behaviour of its graduands.For the purpose of clarity however; the study wishes to point out that it concurs with Marcus and Fischer (1996) when they assert that:

> The emphasis here is not on the preservation of the prestine cultural states but on the exposure of voices that might have been silenced during the course of transformation and on the process by which people in weak positions relative to colonial states, markets, capitalist economies and other agents of change recreate and salvage themselves through the struggle of their own forms of culture (p.260).

Never again should the voices of the weak be silenced.By bringing up aspects of *Kamuratanet,* which were shunned by colonialism, Kalenjin people can reclaim their voices in a world where knowledge is so valuable.

5.11 Recommendations to Policy makers and Researchers.

Since the inception of the western type of education, African practices were largely ignored or branded primitive and backward. This study wishes to challenge this misconception and give the following recommendations.

a)   Cultural practices have a lot of influence on the way individuals perceive their environment even today. Any teaching-learning programme should endeavor to incorporate aspects of culture of the recipient audience if success is to be achieved.

b)   The African methodologies of behaviour management are more holistic and therefore more potent in guiding the behaviour of its members. More effort should be directed in rediscovering these useful tools that may be harmonized with modern approaches to achieve better results in learning and behaviour management.

c)   African traditional institutions provided powerful tools for management of behaviour. All efforts should be made to capture the sense that lies within the rituals, songs and dances presented in cultural contexts. African scholars should endeavor to capture this diminishing treasure that may give identity to African masses that now seem to face behavoiural difficulties of transition.

d)   The older generation is desperate to pass its knowledge to the younger generation. The younger generation should not ignore this wish.Policy makers should encourage upcoming researchers to tap this resource.

5.12 Suggestions for Further Research.

Since the study was limited to an academic venture, the researcher is curious to get more information on various aspects of African cultural practices and therefore wish to give the

following suggestions for further research on topics as:

1)   The nature of cultural education and its influences on personality development: the findings of this study reveal clearly that African Systems had vibrant units of both formal and informal education.The educational systems- herein embodied by *Kamuratanet*- produced fanatical adherence to its norms, values and principles.There is need to go deeper and gain insights on how the cultural systems effectively influenced the behaviour of its cultural members.

2.Why African cultural practices are so resilient- despite the assault by westernization, a big proportion of the masses are still tied to them:the Western approaches to learning and education, religion and socialization apparently seem to undermine African approaches and methodologies.Of great interest is the revelation by Chebet (2007) which concur with the findings of this study that many elites, Christians and Civil servants overtly condemn certain African practices such as traditional circumcision for boys and girls, but when their children grew up, they silently put them through the rites.There is need to understand what makes the traditional processes hold on firmly inspite of the assault.

3. Methods of harmonizing western educational methodologies with African cultural approaches to learning:It is by recognizing the influence of cultural approaches to the psychological well being of learners, that we can successfully bring them on board in terms of modern schooling.*Kamuratanet,* for instance influences the way learners perceive and interpret their environment.It also shapes their expectations.This calls for the need to understand cultural influences so as to harmonize them with modern approaches to learning.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Initiates displaying their tools of trade

Picture of initiates taken in December,2012.Initiates with their team leader.Note that the tools of trade remain as they were defined in the traditional state: bows, arrows and spear.A modern approach would replace such tools with a new definition of tools that enable individuals to put food on the table today.Today, the tools include good education, skills and knowledge required during the information age era.

Appendix 2a: Map of Kenyan Counties
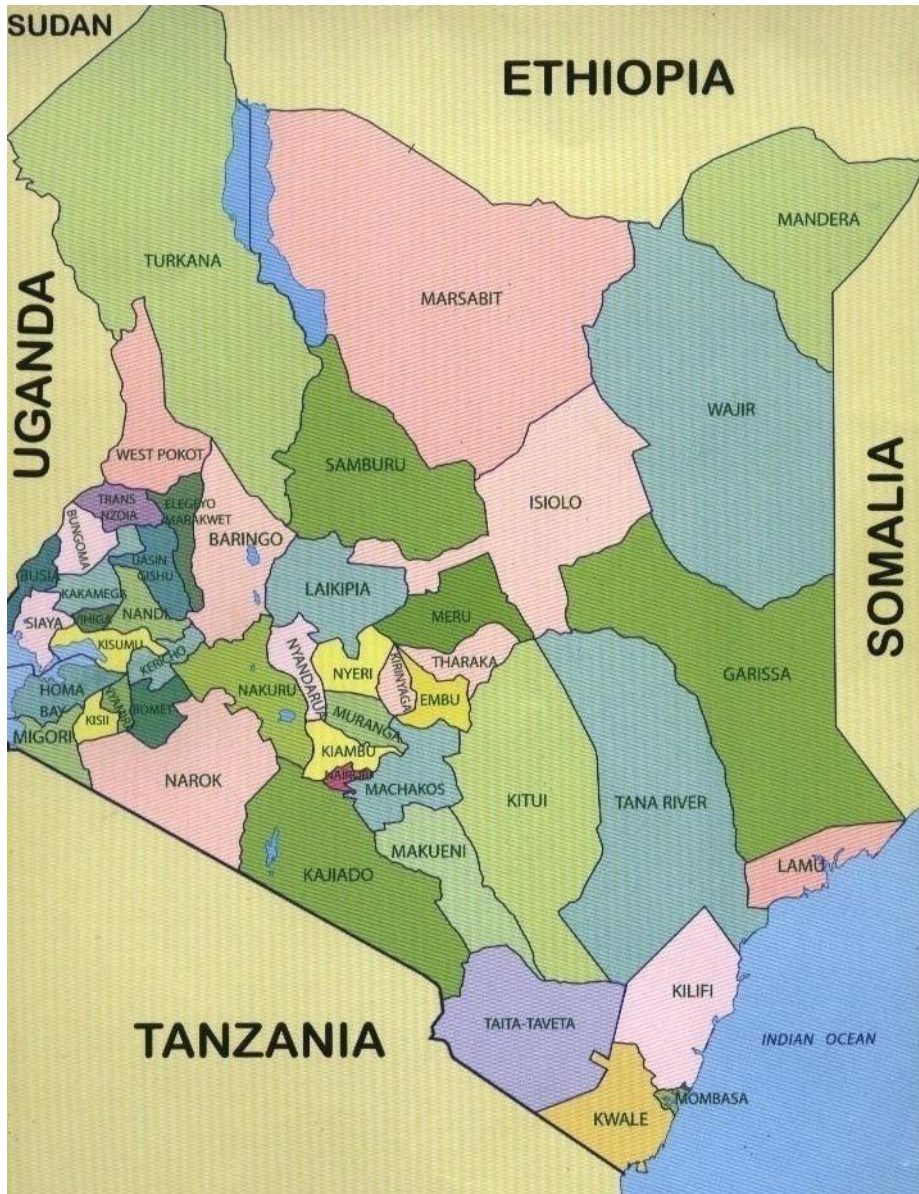
The study was carried out in Uasin-Gishu County in Kenya. Uasin-Gishu county-shaded blue-is situated in Western Kenya and lies between the following counties as follows: to the North is Trans Nzoia, to the West is Kakamega, to the South-West is Nandi, to the South-East is Baringo, while to the East is Elgeyo-Marakwet. Appendix 2b is the enlarged map of Uasin-Gishu County.

Appendix 2b:Map of Uasin Gishu County (Eldoret)

https://www.google.com/search?q=uasin+gishu+map&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.

Appendix 3: The *Kapkiyai* Context of *Kamuratanet*.

Korosiot

In the 21st century: An edited version of proceedings at *Kapkiyai.*In *Kapkiyai,* the initiates wash away their past misdeeds and are ready to embrace a new life taking into account adult responsibilities.

Appendix4. *Korosiot*

At the alter /*Kapkoros*, initiates plant a trees to symbolize the beginning of a religious function.The trees serve as a reminder for members to observe religious obligations as determined by the function occasioned by the ceremony.The ceremony in this context was circumcision/*yatitaet.*Three trees considered sacred are planted in the same hole – *emitiot,kosisitiet and kipkeleliet* –and tied with a climber plant also considered sacred – *Sinendet.*The trees are smeared with cowdung to prevent the from drying.

Appendix 5: Graduation gown-*Morongochet.*

From *Kapkiyai,* the initiates put on a gown/*morongochet* to celebrate a mission accomplished.

Appendix 6: Tools of trade: upon graduation,initiates joined the warrior class

Picture of initiates in their traditional dress taken in December, 2012. *Motirenik* (teachers/Counsellors) and the initiates *(Torusiek)* during seclusion.The senior *Motiriot* always takes the right hand side relative to the junior/assistant *Motiriot* who remains in the left hand side in all occasions.*Motirenik* are in charge of all learning activities and participate in all rituals as role models for the initiates.

Appendix 7: Questionnaire

The researcher used the following questions as a guide in the oral interviews

1. a.What is *Kamuratanet*?

   b. Is there any difference between *Kamuratanet* and *Yatitaet?*

   c. How was education conceptualized among the Kalenjin?

2. What are the characteristics of the educators of *Kamuratanet*?

3. What is the role of *Kamuratanet* in the socialization process?

4. How is a graduate of*Kamuraranet* expected to behave towards:

   - People of their age set

   - Elderly people

   - Strangers

   - Children

   - Woman

5. How does *Kamuratanet* influence the behaviour of a Kalenjin?

   a. What behaviour distinguishes a graduate of *Kamuratanet* from other people?

   b. What behaviour patterns are discouraged by *Kamuratanet*?

   c. Describe the characteristics of *Kamuratanet* tutors/ *Motirenik* today as compared to those of yester years?

6. a. What behaviour management strategies does *Kamuratanet* employ?

   b. How does *Kamuratanet* ensure members ascribe to the accepted code of conduct?

7. a. How does*Kamuratanet*teach its members?

    b. What techniques are employed?

c. What structures do*Kamuratanet* use to implement its social behaviour curriculum?

8. What inbuild self-regulatingsocial mechanismsof behaviour management do *Kamuratanet* posses?

   a. What self-regulating mechanisms are used to ensure members adhere to teachings of the rite in their life time?

   b. How do the members ensure adherence to principles of *Kamuratanet* such as *Tegis, Aiyepin, and Tolosio*?

   c. How is *Kamuratane*t important in managing behaviour in matters such as marriage, death, burial dowr

9. What motivate some Kalenjins to adopt a new approach to circumcision? (Christian/Kitengela approach)

10. What similarities exist between *Kamuratanet* and modern schooling?

Appendix 7b: Kalenjin version of Questionnaire

1a. Kamuratanet ko nee?

b.Tos ng'ulei Kamuratanet ngegerchin ak Yatitaet?

c. Konetisiet ko kii nee eng naet ap Kolenjin?

2. Uu nee ateptap motirenik ap Kamuratanet?

3.Tinyei komonut nee Kamuratanet eng konetisiet ap atepto?

4.Kimokchin chii nekikemuratan kotepto ano eng tai tap:

-pik ap ipindanyii.

-pik cheyosen.

-too.

-lagok.

-chepyosok.

5.Woldoi ano ateptap chii Kamuratanet?

a.Ng'ulei eng oret ngoro chii nekikemuratan ngekerchin ak pik alak?

b.Atepwogik cheunee chekimakemokchin chii nekikemuratan?

c.Uu nee ateptap motirenik ap ra ngekerchin ak motirenik ap keny?

6 a. Ortinuek ngocho chekikipoisie eng Kamuratanet keripee atepto?

b.Kikipoisie ortinuek ngocho eng Kamuratanet sikeker kele mogiput ng'atutik ap atepto?

c.Kikipoisie or nee sikosup pik konetisiet ap Kamuratanet?

7 a.Kinetitoi ano pik eng Kamuratanet?

b.Ortinuek ngocho chekepoisie?

c.Kikipoisie nee sikopit mogiput ng'otitik ap konetisiet ap atepto?

8. Kikiripee nee atepwogik ap pik eng ng'ulotiet ap Kamuratanet?

a.Ortinuek ngocho chekikiripee atepwogik?

b. Kikiliochin pik sikoyan konetutik ap tegisto, aiyepindo ak tolosio?

c.Tinyei komonut nee kamuratanet eng ateptap pik?

9.Nee nekiyai pik alak chepo Kalenjin kosup tumdo neleel?(Chebisaas/Kitengela)/

10.Tinyei kerkein nee Kamuratanet ngegerchin ak konetisiet ap ra eng sukul?

8 A: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

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SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

REF: MU/SE/PGS/54

DATE: 24th March, 2014

The Executive Secretary
National Council for Science and Technology
P.O. Box 30623-00100
**NAIROBI**

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: **RESEARCH PERMIT IN RESPECT OF
CHARLES J. CHEMITEI – EDUC/D.PHIL.P/03/11**

The above named is a 2nd year Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil) student at Moi University, School of Education, Department of Educational Psychology.

It is a requirement of his D.Phil studies that he conducts research and produces a thesis.   His research is entitled:

"Kipnandi Initiation as a Developmental Self Monitoring Social Mechanism of Behaviour Management Among the Kalenjin in Kenya: Towards a Theoretical Model."

Any assistance given to him to facilitate the successful conduct of his research will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MOI UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DEAN
2 4 MAR 2014
Sign...................

PROF. P.L. BARASA
DEAN, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
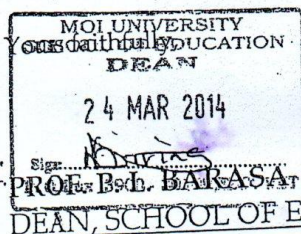
PLB/db

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:
8th May, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/7393/1235

Charles J. Chemtai
Moi University
P.O.Box 3900-30100
ELDORET.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Kipnandi Initiation as a developmental self monitoring social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin in Kenya: Towards a theoretical Model,"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Uasin-Gishu County** for a period ending **31st December, 2014.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Uasin-Gishu County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

SAID HUSSEIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioners
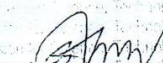The County Directors of Education
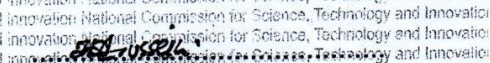Uasin-Gishu County.

APPENDIX 8 C: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. CHARLES J CHEMITEI
of MOI UNIVERSITY, 3900-30100
eLDORET, has been permitted to conduct
research in Uasin-Gishu   County

on the topic: KIPNANDI INITIATION AS A
DEVELOPMENTAL SELF MONITORING
SOCIAL MECHANISM OF BEHAVIOUR
MANAGEMENT AMONG THE KALENJIN IN
KENYA: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL
MODEL

for the period ending:
31st December, 2014

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/14/7393/1235
Date Of Issue : 8th, May, 2014
Fee Recieved : Ksh 1,000.00

....
Applicant's
Signature

Secretary
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation