Resistant to Change Frustrates Maasai Girls' Learning Outcomes in Secondary School Education in Kenya

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to investigate why Maasai community continues with harmful Cultural practices and determine their influence on girls' participation in Secondary School Education in Narok County. A questionnaire was given to a sample of 181 teachers out of 400. Focus group discussions were conducted for 180 Maasai girl students and an interview for 20 Principals. The study adopted mixed methods design and pragmatic philosophical paradigm. Data analysis utilizes descriptive and non parametric statistics. The research findings found enrollment of girls in Transmara west decreasing at the rate of 40 % (primary) and 10% (secondary) and Narok North increasing at the rate of 10% in both primary and secondary schools. For every 15 girls enrolled for KCPE, only 1 join secondary school in Transmara West and for every 10 girls, only 1 join secondary school in Narok North. Girls' transition rate to University is 2.4% (Transmara West) and 1.0% (Narok North). Pearson tests reveals significant relationships between the parents' education (p=0.04) and mediating cultural factors; FGM (P=0.03), Pregnancies (p=0.00), Early marriages (p=0.03) on girls' participation. The findings demonstrate that the Maasai cling to their customary practices for fear of exploitation, exposure to poverty and teenage pregnancies. The argument for FGM continuation is that the practice is a traditional cultural rite of passage which guarantees girls' marriage. However, the practice has made the girls to shy off or absent in class and consequently

lower their academic performance. The study recommended for empowerment and enforcement of women and girl's rights through participatory/advocacy for education-in-culture and culture-in- education.

Keywords: Culture, Change, Resistant, Learning Outcomes

Introduction

Education is fundamental human rights and precursor for achieving individual self-fulfillment and the national development (GOK, 2005; MoE, 2006). The government of Kenya has been working towards bridging the gender gap in senior government positions by putting a minimum of 30 percent representation of women in all sectors (Republic of Kenya, 2007). The Kenya Constitution (2010, CAP 4, Article 27, clauses 3 and 8) requires that both women and men have the right to equal opportunities.

One issue of great concern in this study is the continual low transition rates and learning outcomes of girls in secondary schools in Narok County. There is no girl who has ever achieved a mean grade of A or A-in KCSE in Secondary Schools in Narok County since the inception of 8-4-4 education system. This demonstrates what is believed to be true or known that the number of girls accessing secondary and university education is at oblivion in marginalized communities. The consequence of this situation is limiting the number of women in leadership positions and inferior economic development.

Arid areas which are dominated by nomadic pastoral communities in Kenya have lower participation and completion rates over the years despite intervention policies (Sifuna, 2005). The challenges facing provision of quality education in Kenya include; ineffective leadership, poverty, hidden Cost, low access, retention and completion rates, negative cultural factors, HIV/AIDS, distance and poor facilities, learners: book ratio, teacher: learner ratio and low individual returns. Primary and Secondary school completion rates have been increasing over the years. The proportion of girls not completing their education is higher than that of boys. There is wide regional and gender disparities in participation in education especially at the Secondary school and University level.

This research explores the influence of socio-cultural practices to Maasai girls' participation in learning institutions in Narok County. It focuses on outlawed cultural practices that are still being practice. These cultural practices include FGM, Early marriages and stereotype gender role dispositions. Okwany (2014) reported that girls are forced to undergo female circumcision. The prevalence is the highest (97.7%) among the Somali in Northern Kenya, Kisii (96.1%) and the Maasai at 73.2%. The study shed lights on the reasons behind their perpetuation and how they constitute barriers to transition rates of girls in the Maasai community. The research findings would inform the action to be taken to ensure interventions or advocacy is available to prevent further violation of rights of girls and women to education.

Aikman and Unterhalter (2006) assert that International declarations on EFA adopted a liberal feminist approach to gender equality in which gender was equated with girls and equality was associated with parity. The declarations continue to focus on achieving gender parity in enrollment, while increasingly, emphasizing the importance of a quality education. For example, the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2010) set a goal to eliminate gender disparities in Primary and Secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality. The Millennium Development Goals (2000) also focus on increasing access to Primary school education (Goal 2) and eliminating gender disparities (Goal 3).

The fourth Beijing world conference for women cited in UNESCO (2009) advocated against discrimination of women and girls in governance, skills development and education. The conference demonstrated that 75 percent of children with no access to primary education are girls. While education is widely recognized as a fundamental human right of every individual, in practice the girls face the greatest challenges. It was reported in the same conference that Girls from marginalized groups are often sexually harassed due to neglect by the government. Gurian (2002) argues that most of the girls are forced to travel great distances to the nearest school thus increasing the risks to their security. The conference emphasized that investing in girls is more than a moral obligation since it yield a high economic and societal returns. Despite several international conventions

that address the right to access education by all, including minority groups, discrimination in education is still a global challenge.

Culture and Education are inseparable as the primary definition of education is acculturation. Obanya (2005) asserts that every human society irrespective of its level of technical evolution devotes great attention to transmitting its cultural heritage to the young. Obanya argues that education in its true sense was first threatened by schooling and most societies have been questioning the educational effectiveness of schools ever since they were invented. In the case of Africa, it was not only sovereignty that was lost with colonialism but its education was also lost despite well-documented post colonial reforms. WHO (2006) argues that in traditional African societies education for all was taken for granted while in colonial setting, schooling for all was formal thus became a problem to Africans. What Africans desired was an education that keeps them psychologically in their socio-cultural frame, contrary to education that is equated to schooling. There is a need to take the drastic step of moving from merely "talking culture" to promoting positive cultural practices through advocacy and participatory approach

UNDP (2010) asserts that most African communities engage in outdated cultural practices because the education has not been relevant to their needs. The basic problem is that educational structures were formulated by colonialists who had a cultural background different to that of Africans. Although Africa is politically independent, it remains technologically and economically dependent on countries that colonised it. Reforms in African education were conceived and implemented within the framework of conditions tied to the grants, hence the governments did not go far to develop and foster African Culture. Values, norms and traditions may be different for individuals from different cultures yet these can produce an understanding of potential classroom adaptive skills and conditions under which they can be utilized to enhance learning (Jagero & Ayodo,2009).

Female genital mutilation (FGM) is recognized internationally as a violation of human rights and women (UN, 2007). The practice reflects deep-rooted inequality between men and women, and constitutes discrimination against women (WHO, 2011). FGM or female circumcision is one of the cultural practices still being practiced in developing nations and has spread to other parts of the world such as Europe and North

America, where immigrant families have settled despite global efforts to abandon the practice (UNICEF, 2005). Some 3 million girls face FGM every year (Aldebero, 2008). The majority of those affected live in 28 countries in Western Asia and Africa. The practice has also been reported among certain populations in India, Indonesia and Malaysia . The argument for FGM continuation is that the practice is a traditional cultural rite of passage (Achoka et al, 2013).

UNICEF (2010) argues that early marriages deny the girl-child the right to education. For a number of poor families, the reward of educating daughters is not recognized as an investment. Some parents belief that girls do not need an education for their roles as wives and mothers. Kimalu (2007) recognizes that without appropriate education policies in place, there can be no effective gender transformation in education system. The government of Kenya has been working towards bridging the gender gap in senior positions by putting a minimum of 30 percent representation of women in all sectors (Republic of Kenya, 2007). The Kenya Constitution (2010, CAP 4, Article 27, clauses 3 and 8) requires that both women and men have the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. Sheila (2006) argues that the target of Education for All by 2015 may not be met unless efforts are made to improve access of girls to secondary school education among the Nomadic groups in Kenya.

The study by the United Nation (UN) special envoy for global education, (Nation Daily Newspaper, 2012), reports that nearly 3 out of 10 girls are having babies and disrupting their schooling in Kenya. Sifuna and Chege (2006) found that women constitute about 42.1% of primary teachers and 35.4% of secondary school teachers in Kenya. They noted that the factors that have depressed women's access to schooling have restricted their entry into the teaching career. The factors include attitudes, financial constraints and cultural considerations. These have led to regional and gender disparities and of concern are the low transition and high dropout rates of girls compared to boys in the Pastoralist communities.

According to Juma et al (2012) family socio-economic status affects children's education and the girl-child is adversely affected. The study concluded that family income, parental education, birth order and family size influenced girls' transition rate. The study also demonstrates that most parents are not adequately meeting the needs of their children. Oloo

(2003) observes that children whose parents are of high educational levels have a better chance of doing well in class work. Yara et al (2012) says that female students in pastoralist areas have been victims of diverse and turbulent circumstances that have made them to either drop out of school or obtain low quality academic grades.

Roy and Edwina (2005) argue that the rate of primary school enrolment is significantly low in nomadic communities. Provision of quality education to children in a pastoral community is a nightmare (Kratli & Dyer, 2009). When girls reach sexual coercion, unwanted pregnancy and early marriages may interfere with their academic performance and force them to drop out of school (Yara, 2010). The UNICEF (2010) Report on Education for All (EFA) states that two-thirds of the 759 million adults lacking literacy skills today are women.

The decision to waive tuition fees for all secondary school students and offer free secondary day education in 2008 was a bold step that was expected to address the rising cost of secondary education (Republic of Kenya, 2007). However, the persistent low participation of low income households indicate that the policy have had little impact on the pastoral communities. Levine et al (2008) argue that though many countries have adopted free basic education to ensure girls are retained in school, indirect costs in Kenya continue to be barriers to enrollment and retention of girls in secondary school education. Lee (2008) observes the cause of girls' drop out at secondary school in Kenya is attributed to reluctance of parents to buy essential school materials for the girls.

Tobik (2009) notes that the pastoralist groups during colonial rule in Kenya were the most educationally disadvantaged group. In spite of the government effort to improve pastoral communities in the area of education, the culture orientations were directed to one side development. Tobik observes that the males became the beneficiary of the education system and the female factor was ignored. Analysis of distribution of education on enrolment in marginalized areas reflects disparities between the sexes. The number of girls who were in schools was less than 50% of the total enrolment. The study further found high drop-out rate among the girls as they advance from primary to tertiary levels. The research findings of Tobik showed high education enthusiasm among non-maasai minorities who have migrated to the area

Juma et al (2012) found that parental education is indeed an important and significant unique predictor of child achievement. There is direct effect of parental education as both parental education and income exerted indirect effects on parents' achievement-fostering behaviors, and subsequently children's achievement. The behavioral problems affect young children's opportunities to learn because these youth often are punished for their behavior and might develop conflictual relationships with teachers, thus leading to negative attitudes about school and lowered academic success. Thus, it is possible that low socio-economic status including low parental educational levels could affect negative family interaction patterns, which can influence child behavior problems and in turn lowered academic and achievement-oriented attitudes over time

Jones et al (2011) note that Parent education and family interaction patterns during childhood also might be linked more directly to the child's developing academic success and achievement-oriented attitudes. In the general social learning and social-cognitive behavior is shaped in part through observational and direct learning experiences. Those experiences lead to the formation of internalized cognitive scripts, values, and beliefs that guide and maintain behavior over time (Anderson et al, 2003)

Obanya (2004) argues that promoting African culture in education and educating the African through culture would require a functional curriculum. Prazak (2007) observes that the psycho-socio status of the girl is radically transformed after the initiation ritual while Messi-Mathei (2008) reveals that tradition dictates and outweighs academic demands. The Maasai girl easily opts for her cultural ways at the expense of educational opportunities. The girls have been encultured with an attitude that formal education through the school system belongs to the little uncircumcised ones not her. Philips and Bhavnagri (2002) notes that parents, especially mothers, favour boys' education because they depend on them during old age. This perception may negatively impact on girls' academic achievements.

Tarayia (2004) says that despite the progress that has been made to rectify gender disparities in Sub-Saharan Africa cultural practices remain barriers to girls' access to quality education in the region. UNICEF (2012) says that as long as girls do not have equal access to education, equality is far from being achieved. Communities should have sensitive environments

that promote equal participation and empowerment. Tobik (2009) states that 60% of the maasai children in rural areas do not attend formal schools and only 8% of all girls in rural areas have had a chance to complete secondary school education. The Maasai Association argues that the greatest hindrance to girls receiving an education is that they are being sold into early marriage after undergoing FGM. The parents neglect the education of the girl child so that she drops from school and get married.

Bunch (2005) asserts that early marriage is a barrier to girls' education as young girls drop out of school to get married which impacts negatively on the future of girls' young generation. The practice stands in direct conflict with the goals of millennium development goals especially the promotion of basic education and fight against gender disparity. Bunch observes that the widespread practice of child marriage makes it difficult for families to escape poverty in the developing world. Clark et al (2004) found that about 30 percent of women in developing counties are married by the age of 18 years with the highest in Sub-Sahara Africa. The study shows that African women in general marry at a much earlier age than their non-African counterparts leading to early pregnancies and child bearing.

International Centre for Research on Women (2010) shows that girls living in poor households are almost twice as likely to marry before 18 years than in higher income households. It also reveals that more than half of the girls in Bangladesh, Mali, Mozambique and Niger are married before the age of 18 years. Girls with higher levels of schooling are less likely to marry as children. In Mozambique about 60 percent of girls without education are married by the age of 18 years, compared with 10 percent of girls with secondary schooling and less than 1 percent of girls with higher education. Educating girls is critical in reducing early marriages in developing countries.

Theoretical Framework

Ogburn (1964) advanced a theory which states that a culture lag occur when one of the two parts which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other part does; thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts that existed previously. The theories of cultural lag are grounded on the social change and factors that drive it. The theory describes a society in which both traditional and modern values are in

co-existence.

Ogburn attributed cultural lag to perceived benefit which recognizes that most individuals when faced with a choice would choose the option that carries the greatest potential benefit. The marginalized communities seem to value FGM and early marriages as a source of wealth.

Research Methodology

This study adopts pragmatic world view that allows the use of a mixed methods design, an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms in tandem or concurrent so that the overall strength of the study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative. It involves mixing both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study to understand a research problem (Creswell, 2007).

Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Purposive, stratified and simple random sampling were used to select the respondents. Purposive sampling was used to pick the two constituencies of Transmara and Narok Norh, Maasai girls' students and the principals in a sample of 20 secondary schools. The schools were stratified per the constituencies. Simple random sampling was used to pick the girls for the study. The researcher identified the names of the Maasai girls in the class attendance register. The three Maasai girls from form 1, 2 and 3 classes were randomly picked giving a total of 9 girls for the focus group discussion in each school. There were a total of 180 maasai girls in the study. The sample size for 200 teachers was determined using the Sloven's formula of determining the sample (n) for finite population while the number of schools was determined using proportionate sampling.

Research Instruments

The researcher used questionnaires that comprise close- ended questions to obtain numerical data for providing the objectivity of the research. The use of focus group discussion and interview schedules provided qualitative data that reflects the actual feeling of the respondents in the community. Since the culture is surrounded by beliefs and theories, it was worth to seek the opinions direct from the participants themselves as regard to the impact of harmful cultural practices on the girls' transitional rates.

Results and Discussion

Enrolment of Girls in Narok County

Document analysis schedule was used to capture the data from the County Education office on the enrolment of girls in the County. The results are as shown in table 1.

Table 1: Analysis of Enrolment of Girls

Year/Category	Level	2009	2010	2011	Mean
T	Primary	29956	19961	18556	22824
Transmara	C 1	1501	1500	1.410	4506
West	Secondary	1581	1580	1418	1526
Narok	Primary	25407	26667	28168	26747
North	Secondary	2462	2695	2718	2625

The enrolment of girls in Transmara West has been decreasing both in primary and secondary schools as shown in Table 1. The decrease for the last three years represents 40% and 10% in primary and secondary schools respectively. What is significant is that the enrolment in Narok North has been increasing over the last three years representing 10% in both Primary and secondary schools. The data revealed high disparity in the enrolment mean of girls in secondary schools as compared to primary schools in both constituencies.

The ratio of mean enrolment in primary and secondary schools in Transmara West is 15:1(22824/1526) while that of Narok North is 10:1(26747/2625). This indicates that Transmara West has got higher disparity of girls' enrolment in secondary schools than Narok North. For every 15 girls in primary school, only 1 girl join secondary school in Transmara West while for every 10 girls in Narok North, only 1 girl join secondary school.

Transition Rate of Girls in Narok County

The data from the County Education office was collected using Document analysis schedule on the enrolment of girls in primary and secondary

schools in the County. The data were analyzed and the results are as shown in the table

Table 2: Analysis of Transition Rate of Girls from Primary to Secondary schools

Year	Category	STD 8	Form 1	Transition rate (%)
2009-2010	Transmara	840	447	53
	Narok North	1439	448	31
2010-2011	Transmara	879	508	57
	Narok North	1607	657	41
Average	Transmara	860	478	55
(2009-2011)	Narok North	1523	553	36

In both constituencies, the transition rate of girls has been increasing since 2009 as indicated in Table 2. However, the average transition rate of girls from primary to secondary schooling in Transmara West is higher (55%) than Narok North (36%). In average, there are fewer girls (860) who are enrolled for examinations in primary schools in Transmara West than Narok North (1523).

The enrolment of girls in both constituencies is inversely proportional to transition rate. The higher the enrolment of girls in primary school the lower their transition rate. There is lower enrolment of girls in both primary and secondary schools in Transmara west but has higher transition rate. On the other hand, Narok North has higher enrolment in both primary and secondary schools but has lower transition rates.

Once the girls get an opportunity to do examinations in standard 8, there is higher chance (55%) for them to access secondary school education in Transmara West than Narok North(36%). This indicates that more girls drop-out in primary schools in Transmara West before reaching standard 8. But, in Narok North, majority of girls drop out after completing

standard 8, thus access to secondary education is minimal. The transition rate of girls from secondary to University education is shown in table.

Table 3: Analysis of Transition Rate of Girls from Secondary Schooling to University Education

Year	Category	No. of Form 4 girls (Candidates)	No. joined University	Transition rate (%)
2009	Transmara	334	6	1.8
	Narok North	495	1	0.2
2010	Transmara	432	8	1.9
	Narok North	336	0	0
2011	Transmara	467	10	2.1
	Narok North	359	16	4.5
Average	Transmara	411	10	2.4
(2009-2011)	Narok North	397	4	1.0

Generally, there are very few girls 14(3.4%) who access direct university education in both constituencies as shown in Table 3. However, the transition rate of girls from secondary schooling to university education has been increasing in both constituencies since 2009. Narok North posed an average transition rate of 4(1.0%) girls to university education for the past three years. Transmara west has a better transition rate 10(2.4%) than Narok North constituency.

Out of 20 head teachers interviewed in both constituencies, 15(75%) said that parents do not pay school fees on time. Only 3(15%) and 2(10%) of the head teachers have parents who are willing to pay the school fees for their daughters. This is in agreement with the reports from the teachers that majority of the parents have negative attitude towards girls' education and do not provide adequate educational resources for them to perform

better. The head teachers reported during the interview that most of the parents depend on bursaries and other donations.

The head teachers further argued that there are some parents who have the ability to pay the school fees but because of their negative attitude towards the girls' education.. Some of the head teachers said that the father finds it difficult to sell the cattle for girls' school fees but he would rather do farming for paying school fees. Access to education by the girls is not the current challenge but quality academic achievements are the main arguable issue among the Maasai community.

Table 4: Results of Pearson correlation Test on Cultural determinants and girls' participation in schooling

	Maasai girls engaged in sexual experiences.	Sexual practices by maasai girls lower their academic performance.	Teenage pregnancies in the community is common	FGM influences early marriages of maasai girls
Maasai girls	1	.294**	.431**	.376**
engaged		.000	.000	.000
in sexual	101	101	101	101
experiences.	181	181	181	181
Sexual	.294**	1	.311**	.219**
practices by	.000		.000	.003
maasai girls				
lower their				
academic performance.	181	181	181	181

	Maasai girls engaged in sexual experiences.	Sexual practices by maasai girls lower their academic performance.	Teenage pregnancies in the community is common	FGM influences early marriages of maasai girls
Teenage	.431**	.311**	1	.223**
pregnancies in the	.000	.000		.003
community is common	181	181	181	181
FGM	.376**	.219**	.223**	1
influences early	.000	.003	.003	
marriages of maasai girls	181	181	181	181

From the results in table 4, the p-values in all the rows and columns (0.000 or 0.003) are less than the significance confidence interval level of alpha 0.05, thus the paired variables has significant associations. This means that engagement of girls in sexual practices lower their academic performance and leads to teenage pregnancies. The results implied that FGM has linkage to early marriages of the Maasai girls. It also has association to girls' engagement to sexual practices and teenage pregnancies as indicated by the Pearson correlation test of 0.00 or 0.003 which is less than the significance confidence level of alpha 0.05

The research findings revealed that when resources are scarce and the children to be supported in schools are many, the parents ignore the girl-child. The head teachers assert that the Maasai community gives emphasis on the boys because they are seen as a means of continuity in the lineage while the girl is on transit. This in the end may lead to low girls' academic performance which will impact negatively on the society. One of the goals of education is to provide the learning environment in which all the

children have equal chance to achieve their potential. In spite of the goal, girls continue to perform dismally in national examinations.

The study showed that the socio-economic status of the parents in Narok County is generally low hence justifying inadequate provision of educational facilities for improving girls' academic achievements in the county. Majority of the women are house wives and men tend to keep cattle that are rarely sold for girl- child education. This implies that educated parents who are employed are able to provide for their children a better learning environment and pay school fees. This study has revealed that parents tend to be bias towards provision of educational resources for the girl-child thus affecting them psychologically, socially and academically. There is a need for good partnership among the parents, members of the community and the teachers.

Atsiaya (2010) converge with this study as that more girls get pregnant in schools and consequently discourage other girls from pursuing their studies. This research has also demonstrated that parents in Narok County still fear that their daughters may drop out of school due to pregnancy and may also transfer the family wealth to their marital homes. The parents therefore become reluctant to pay school fees and provide less attention for the girl-child education.

Namasaka (2012) found a lot of work at home as one of the problem affecting the girls' academic achievement especially in day schools. The chores the girls are engaged in include cleaning the house, farming, cooking and rearing the young ones. One of the girls had to say "we are given so much work to do at home and we do not have enough time to study". The girls argue that most of their parents engage them in force labour or working on other people farms to get money for their school fees. One of the principal says" This community value girls only for dowry".

Most of the principals argue that the Maasai community does not practice children's rights to education as enshrined in the constitution of Kenya (2010). This assertion is in support to the study of Muola (2000) which established that stereotypic gender dispositions do not favour the girl-child education. The study findings agree with Otero and Coshan (2005) who blame the decline in secondary school enrolment on high subsidized education costs. The assertion of Omoraka (2001) that children whose

parents are poor lack personal effects thus reducing their concentration agrees to the current study. Couple with poverty and attitude, the provision of quality education for girls in marginalize communities are far from the attainment.

Conclusion

The findings demonstrate that the Maasai have fear of exploitation, exposure to poverty and teenage pregnancies. The argument for FGM continuation is that the practice is a traditional cultural rite of passage which guarantees girls' marriage. The high illiteracy level and poverty among the Maasai community further influence FGM and Early marriages. Most parents are reluctant to pay school fees on time forcing the girls to drop out of school and consequently opt for early marriage.

Recommendation

The study recommended for empowerment and enforcement of women and girl's rights through participatory/advocacy for education-in-culture and culture-in- education. The local leaders should be supported in spearheading the advocacy.

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