

SEXUAL HEALTH PERSPECTIVES OF PASTORAL ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN SAMBURU
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ABSTRACT

Teenage girls from the Turkana pastoral community in Northern Kenya have varying views of sexuality. Some parents choose to send their daughters to school creating disparate levels of knowledge about their bodies and sexual health. To better evaluate these differences, girls (13-18 years) were asked to develop body maps, a methodological technique that enables verbal and visual data collection. Interviews and participant observations were also used to gather data. This research involved a total of 33 participants and included both school going and non-school going girls.

Triangulation of data from Interviews, participant observation, and body mapping provided multiple angles into the female pastoralist's life experiences. The study demonstrated the heterogeneity and disparities that are present within pastoralists population in Samburu county, providing a more detailed understanding for future medical anthropological studies. The research furthered anthropological inquiry methodologically by introducing body mapping as a complement to conducting traditional ethnographic research.

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DEDICATION

I am dedicating this thesis to my beloved parents and eldest sister whom I treasure beyond measure. Although they are no longer of this world, their memories live through all who shared life with them.

Boniface and Alice Odera, thank you for bringing me into this world. I might have been too young to experience your love as parents, but I know I was loved.

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“The world is a better place because you once were here.”

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PAGs.....Pastoral Adolescent Girls

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

My first contact with the pastoralist community was in 2012. I was a research assistant collecting data on women's involvement in cattle rustling; a violent act that was characterized by stealing livestock back and forth between different pastoralist communities. Since then I have been involved in different research projects as a research assistant on and off with researchers working in this community. I was fascinated by their traditional practices and how the women and girls particularly participated in the process of cultural reproduction. When I was offered funding by Ivy Pike and Bilinda Straight, Co-Principal Investigators of this larger project (NFS BCS Cultural Anthropology program, Award numbers 1430790 / 1430860), I decided to pursue the sexual health perspectives of young girls and women within this Turkana pastoral community.

In order to understand the Turkana pastoralist girls' experience with sexual health it is first important to understand how their community works. Traditional practices are essential to this population and they take pride in maintaining them. Pastoralists have a bond with their livestock that is beyond subsistence. The Turkana constantly move to settle in newer areas that provide safety and pasture for their livestock. Because livestock is at the center of their living everything else revolves around it. Another aspect of their traditional practices can be seen in their attires and beading. In Kenya, pastoralists are among the few communities that still wear their traditional attires on a day to day basis while other ethnic groups wear theirs ceremonially (Cormack, 2016).

Beading is a tradition that occurs a few months after the birth of a female pastoralist and goes on through her adolescence and into adulthood. Beading is the act of putting a single strand of beads on the neck of a female child. A mother would do this a few months after a baby girl is

born (Straight, 2002) and later together with the relatives continually gift girls with beads as a sign of beauty (Lesorogol, 2008). I was impressed by the colorful beads hanging on the girls' necks and wondered many times how heavy they were and why they wore them daily. What came as a surprise was that these beaded females co-existed with other females who had a completely different lifestyle. The other females went to school and were related to the beaded ones. In the wake of free primary and Secondary education in Kenya, some pastoralists decided to send their children to school while others were reluctant (Sifuna, 2005). The beaded girls typically did not go to school and were married early while the girls who were not beaded due to school were married later (Lesorogol, 2008).

The two groups of girls, the beaded and school going, grounded the basis of my inquiry of sexual health perspectives. I sought to find out to what extent school and traditional practices/beliefs influenced ideas around sexuality for the school going girls and the beaded females respectively. The need to engage in the study of Pastoral adolescent girls (PAG) and their sexual health perspectives was strengthened when my search for supportive literature became challenging. It was taxing to find material focusing exclusively on pastoralists girls' experiences, and this is because research revolves around pastoralists and livestock keeping traditions. This foreshadows a possible gap on how much attention PAGs are conferred.

Through this research, my goal was to elicit the choices, explanations, and opinions of adolescent girls regarding their bodily changes and sexual experiences. I also sought to find out to what extent education and traditional practices shaped their sexual health perspectives. My goal was driven by the marriage practices and the value of beads and how that would change with the introduction of education. Consequently, I travelled to Samburu county in Kenya where the Turkana pastoralists resided and initiated my research.

The study included 33 female adolescents who varied between 13-18 years of age. My participants included school going girls and girls who did not attend school. I spent one month living and creating rapport with the girls. The chief challenge I experienced firsthand was the assumption that as a Kenyan I was familiar with local norms and had relevant linguistic abilities making me an insider. As an insider I was expected to know hence local meanings were not explained further unless I probed. This is a challenge I anticipated having been in Samburu as a research assistant with NFS BCS Cultural Anthropology program, Award numbers 1430790 / 1430860, with Ivy Pike and Bilinda Straight as Co-Principal Investigators in 2016 who were white American researchers. As an insider, I blended in and was able to move around observing and engaging with the community. As an outsider I had a harder time gaining information the girls thought would bring them trouble with their parents. Onyango-Ouma (2006) argues that the fluidity in identity of a researcher is enunciated when the researcher is in their backyard.

At this point before I go further, I would like to reference a couple of significant terms that will be used throughout the research (also see the glossary in Appendix C). These terms might not be used by other ethnographers in the same way or to mean the same things. *Beaded girls*, *village girls*, and *girls who do not go to school* will be used interchangeably to mean girls who practice traditional aspects of the pastoralists and do not attend school. *Town girls* and *school going girls* will represent females who are in school and girls who have completed high school. These girls do not wear beads. *Morans*, *boys with shuka* (a form of kilt used by pastoralist groups) and *boys who do not go to school* will be used to refer to boys who practice traditional aspects of the pastoralists and do not attend school. *Boys with trousers* will be used to represent boys who go to school. *Village* and *town center* will be used interchangeably to represent the settlement area with advanced infrastructure and permanent houses where some of

the Turkana live. And lastly *manyatta* and *cattle camp* will refer to a second settlement with a connection to the town center where livestock are largely kept and has a population of pastoralist who practice their traditional rituals. The terminologies used in this study were derived directly from how the girls identified people and spaces.

In the following chapters, I will discuss literature that enhanced understanding of the position of the youth which provided a framework to examine the pastoral community, the cultural aspects that set the females apart, and the influence of education in shaping sexual health perspective. Bourdieu's cultural capital and Foucault's power dynamics are used to elaborate the reproduction of the cultural practices in Samburu and the influence of education and traditions. Gordon provides a view of lived experiences and that informs this research on how structure can enable and constrain depending on individual circumstances. Mixed methods were engaged to provide validity at the same time ensuring the research was inclusive. Body mapping, in-depth interviews and participant observation were used to capture the PAGs world views.

Body mapping as an overarching methodology in this research was vital in fully elucidating the overall topic of this paper. As both a visual and verbal method body mapping produced content that captured symbols on maps that were left out in verbal discussions that provided an enhanced interpretation of PAGs worldviews regarding sexuality. It involved drawing an image representing the girls and discussions around sexuality, the body and perceptions. With a focus on the sexual experiences of female pastoralist adolescents, these 2 guiding research questions aimed at expounding the overall topic are:

1. How do PAGs form opinions about their bodies?
2. How does education and traditional practices shape sexual health perspectives?

Anthropology And The Youth

Pigg (2005, p.1-20), in her critique of Public health developmental, asks, “When sex is foregrounded in health-related research and development objectives, what are the material implications for local sexual meanings and practices?” Does the need to develop health intervention programs override understanding of people’s lives through analysis of their cultural practices? In health-related research into issues such as cultural barriers to health, do anthropologists serve as a source to justify top-down interventions? (Nelson et-al., 2014). Its due to this sort of health intervention, which remains void of people’s stories, that I seek to center my research around youths’ perspectives of sexuality, why youth make the choices they make and how they justify those choices. Samburu county was ideal for this study as pastoral lifestyle is undergoing change due to developments of towns, school and clinics. There is a change in gender roles among the adolescents who must factor in school, this in turn shapes new responsibilities and new ways to look at what being female is (Lesorogol, 2008).

The intergenerational gap and changes brought about by school and maintaining past traditional practices in modern day provides an interesting space to look for meanings of sexuality. Moralizing or demoralizing sexuality has played a part in how adolescents make choices by either conforming to or resisting the manipulation and managing of their bodies. Adolescents are reacting to previously learned knowledge hence knowing what they know and how that has changed overtime is useful in identifying sexual attitudes (Whitefield et al., 2013; Lewin, 2006). Understanding how PAGs retaliate or conform to societal definition of morality provides knowledge of how they form meaning of their day to day life.

Adolescents in current Anthropological studies are discussed in a larger category of youth. The interest in the discipline with the question of “who is a youth?” is brought about by

the political space the youth occupy and the part they play in current global world. Durham identifies societies as a focal point for the definition of youth. Being that every society defines youth, youth becomes is hence a construct that cannot maintain the same characteristics across cultures. It is within a society that youth is defined depending on how they are treated and depending on time and space. People of a wide range of ages occupy the space of youth (Durham 2000; Cole and Durham, 2007). The discussion of youth as a construct and their space in societies prompts the direction, I took in this study of PAGs as it adds to the conversation of youth being a construct. Turkana do not have a definite age of youth and youth revolves around puberty and the space a girl occupies in the present generational lineage in the community.

Among PAGs, sexuality has been culturally constructed and concepts of wrong and right are relative depending on their socializing agent. For a school going girl, pregnancy brought shame while for a beaded girl pregnancy out of wedlock was a way of getting wed to a partner of their choice. The youth in this study PAGs are the population that can best answer what influences their choices sexually and what forms their opinions and attitudes towards sexual health, and these concerns are at the core of this study.

Sexuality has become an increasingly compelling subject for study in Africa. To pay attention to adolescents' perspectives on sexual health is to pay close attention to how sexuality is constructed around puberty (menstruation) and how this fit into the large societal picture of sexuality as discussed in anthropological inquiries. Moore (1994) in her work in Africa directs her attention to meanings of sexuality around puberty. She argues that love takes different angles in every society. The interpretation of interactions and symbols provide a scope of how feelings of want and beauty are expressed in different communities. While in Western society love is defined by proximity and being together, in Africa society women and men are segregated and

less often share space. By focusing on adolescent girls, I draw attention to how issues of sexuality can only be understood contextually providing space to interpret different aspects of sexuality.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Discussed are bodies of literature that explicate further on the pastoral deep-rooted cultural practices in changing times, the integration of education in the pastoral community and its influence on the female population, sexual health ideologies and cultural menstruation experiences. This literature provides context for further discussion of the PAGs experiences while pointing to areas that need further research.

Pastoralism

Samburu county is in the Northern region of Kenya. It is a pastoral community that is dominantly patriarchal. Patriarchal in the sense that male power expands to embrace modes of control and authority (Hodgson, 2000). Pastoralism is a way of life that has persisted over decades of change and is now undergoing a process of transition, as access to the region is opening with infrastructure development. Pastoralists in Samburu for a long time have put up temporary living structures, which they found easy to abandon when moving to a new area within the boundaries of Samburu in search of pasture for livestock grazing. Infrastructure development has fueled the growth of towns with semi-permanent structures of living. The towns have schools, clinics, NGOs, governmental offices and shops are set up. There are a few towns with several temporary living structures also called cattle camps miles away. Most of the school going girls live in the towns while those who do not go to school live in the cattle camps. The town becomes a meeting point for the adolescents and the entire community.

Pastoralism is a diffuse term, which refers to a diverse array of production systems dependent on different kinds of livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, and/ or camels) often mixed with other subsistence strategies (cultivation, hunting, gathering, fishing, wage labor, etc.) (Hodgson, 2000). The lifestyle is characterized by nomadism in search of pasture and ideal temporary

settlement (Wangui, 2008; M. Lengoiboni et al., 2010). Early anthropological ethnographic work in Africa by the British portrayed young people as a support system and were silent on women's perspectives, focusing more on men. For example, *The Nuer*, an ethnography written by E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1940) is among the most influential early ethnography of pastoralism and captures the roles of women and youth in the society from the male point of view (Hodgson, 2000).

In early pastoralism, age and gender were critical to social organizations, which put people into categories, structured their roles, responsibilities and rights. Gender relations among pastoralists have been described as patriarchal yet when put into question has nothing to do with pastoralism as a mode of subsistence rather historical constellation during colonization. Pastoralism have a communal role and that was not centered around patriarchy. Hodgson and other anthropologists point to gender and patriarchy hence as produced, maintained, and transformed through the cultural and social relations of power between women and men, but also among women among men (Hodgson, 2000, p. 98). Not all women access the same amount of power this is also same to men. As anthropologists' focus shifts to look at women's reproduction in the community and women's engagement in economic activities other than pastoralism to provide for their families, it is important to look at the girl in this area and the changing roles they grapple with (Waller and Hodgson, 2000). It is also within this community that I can study the impact of education on female adolescent identity. Samburu county becomes an ideal place to research gender, puberty and sexuality to add to the rhetoric of cultural variation. My contribution to the anthropological field will be a detailed ethnography of PAGs sexual health perspectives and the latent effect of education on PAGs perspectives of their traditional practices linked to sexuality.

Ongoing debates and research center around the sustainability of the pastoral life, the traditions, and the changes it has incurred over the decades (Cormack, 2016; Nyberg et al., 2015; Lesorogol, 2008; Sifuna, 2005). Pastoralists have continued to move from one place to another getting into crossfires with the government over land tenure laws and degradation of environment (Wangui, 2008). Temporary settlement and their lifestyle led to the lack of development, which was originally reinforced by earlier studies that represented them as resistant to change hence left to fend for themselves in the semi-arid lands of Northern Kenya (Cormack, 2016). As pastoralists reshape their ideas and advocate to maintain their heritage, which is connected to their lands and cattle keeping practices, I am left to wonder what this means for the coming generation.

Children and adolescents remain a source of labor when it comes to livestock herding; in many cases, boys and girls stay at home instead of going to school (Lesorogol, 2008). The pastoral life, has over decades, been associated with early marriages among females and lack of formal education (Sifuna, 2005). With new practices and pastoralists entering communal land-owning, development is changing conventional thinking and education is associated with the change (Lesorogol, 2008). The question for this community is at what cost? The youth are at the center of this change as they reinterpret their traditional practices with the lens of education and hence further research should focus on how youth are coping with the new understanding of themselves and community and what the changes mean for them going forward.

Kipande village, where this research was conducted, is in Samburu county and inhabited by Turkana pastoralists. Turkana are a people group identified as pastoralists and are typically found in Turkana county, but this is not often the case. Turkana county borders Samburu county to the North, it is common to find the Turkana in surrounding counties due to their nomadic

tendencies (M. Lengoiboni et al., 2010). As pastoralists conform to modern pressure, they are settling near towns for safety and because they lost their animals to cattle rustling, they are in a period of rethinking the pastoralist way of life (Kiamba et al., 2011). Temporary settlements are associated with pastoralists who have maintained earlier pastoral traditions: livestock keeping, beading (gifting their females with neck beads which distinctly identify them and enables the reproduction of early marriages; the amount of beads identifies a girl ready for marriage, the more beads the closer to marriage a girl is), and Moranism (socialization of young boys by making them look after cattle which they will later inherit through the patrilineal line)(Lesorogol, 2008; Straight, 2002). Kipande village, a permanent settlement area for the Turkana, is linked with Nakoriakwan, a temporary settlement in the valley surrounded by hills also called a *manyatta*. Pastoralists who are considered wealthy live in Manyattas and are credited with many livestock while those with little or no livestock live in town centers and are viewed as poor (Smith, 2000). There is no clear differentiation in class among the PAGs as a result of this economic concept as wealth is only measured by the number of livestock but not monetary. Manyatta among the Maasai is a dome shaped house made of soil. Among the Turkana it is the entire area which is a compilation of their houses also dome shaped but made of sticks, animal shelters and grazing spaces. The Turkana shift temporary settlement if they are invaded by another pastoral community; the invasions have widely come to be known as cattle rustling and have grown lethal with modernization and access to sophisticated weaponry. Samburu, Pokot and Turkana are pastoralists who neighbor each other and hence often engage in on and off wrangles (Kiamba et al., 2011). The Manyatta is also referred to as cattle camp since 90% of their livestock are kept there. Most of the beaded girls live in the manyatta with their mothers-in-law or parents while others live in the town center. There is a large age disparity between

husbands and wives in the pastoral community as girls are married early to old rich men who can afford to pay a bride price in the form of livestock. The young women after marriage move to where their husbands have settled at the cattle camp (Smith, 2000). Girls who go to school all live in Kipande Village which is considered a town center due to its infrastructure and accessibility to health facilities, shops schools and government offices. The beaded girls commute to and from the manyatta to get supplies in the town center. The population consists of closely related families and in some cases one sibling can be beaded while the other is not (Lesorogol, 2008, Straight, 2002).

Education

Education for pastoral communities has undergone significant progress pre and post colonialism. Kenya as a country has goals for providing education for every citizen and has invested heavily around remote areas (Winston, 2006). Pastoral communities due to the nature of their livelihood did not conform to education structure where schools were built in communities since they moved seasonally in search of pasture. To combat that, mobile schools were introduced alongside boarding schools but still many pastoralists didn't see the value of school since it would reduce the number of youths herding livestock (Sifuna, 2005). Education was viewed as losing one's identity since the structure adopted necessitated uniformity by the government. The uniformity is a form of a distinct identify for school for the pre-Undergraduate in Kenya (Lesorogol, 2008; Winston, 2006; Sifuna, 2005). School meant pastoralists had to stop wearing their traditional attire. For boys instead of shukas they had to wear trousers or shorts while going to school. For girls they could not go to school with beads on their necks and neither could they go with their stranded hair that had red ochre in it (Lesorogol, 2008). Winston (2006)

argues to choose school basically meant to drop traditional clothing and embrace a modern clothing.

Education among the pastoralist contradicts with traditional ideas of what it means to be female. The change in gender roles for the educated females is the cause of differentiation between them and the beaded girls. The division has created symbolic boundaries that are maintained and have manifested in embodied dressing and ideas (Lesorogol, 2008). Female education is seen as move to emancipation for societies that are already struggling with a myriad of disparities but instead it has plunged the PAGs into disarray by differentiating them (Lesorogol, 2008). PAGs now hold different worldviews from their peers and are not able to relate in the same level. Following up on how sexual health perspectives are formed by the PAGs then is justifiable due to the latent effects of education.

Sexual Health

How does the pastoral community influence sexuality? Cultural factors associated with pastoralism and how gender roles are constructed in this community led me to explore sexual health perspectives among Turkana Adolescents. Adolescence is associated with rapid growth and maturation this statement by Ellis (2004) holds across cultural groups.

“Sexual health is the ability of women and men to enjoy and express their sexuality and to do so free from risk of sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, coercion, violence and discrimination. To be sexually healthy, one must be able to have informed, enjoyable and safe sex, based on self-esteem, a positive approach to human sexuality, and mutual respect in sexual relations. Sexually healthy experiences enhance life quality and pleasure, personal relationships and communication, and the expression of one’s identity” (Ellis,2004, p 190).

Arnfred (2006) in his book Re-thinking sexualities in Africa highlights arguments by African scholars who question the association of sexuality with pleasure. He goes further to point out the tension of Public health definition of sexual health that is at loggerheads with ideas of

sexuality which vary cross culturally. Anthropologists are concerned with how different cultures make meanings of their bodies and sexual experiences.

In Lesorogol's (2008) study with Samburu girls, sex was found as revolving around fertility and child bearing. The girls felt education made them better care givers and the ability to run a household better as compared to the beaded girls. The research involved only school girls and hence they spoke of how education made them stand out but also isolated them from their community. Inferring from the girls in her study point of view, life as a beaded female was a form of denial of freedom and rights. Though focused on unique aspects of education in the pastoralists culture Lesorogol misses out on the beaded girls' voices on how they experience life. This study however incorporates the voices of both the beaded and school going looking at how cultural capital influences the PAGs. And provides an opportunity to further define sexual health and bring forth cultural variations of sexuality by both.

Sexual health research done among adolescents in recent years has focused on sources of information, sexual behavior, attitudes, practices and sex education (Vincanne & Pigg, 2005). For sources of information the focus is more on contraceptive use and access among youth. Research concludes the increase of resources to ensure access without considering other aspects other than access that will make youth not use contraceptive. A lot of sexual health interventions have been influenced by population control hence the generalizing of youth as risk prone and categorizing appropriate sexual behavior. The need to control the sexually responsive adolescents becomes a factor to associate them with risky behavior and hence research that focuses on risk management. The questions revolve around how many sexual partners instead of why and how the choice of a sexual partner is made. The solution is then if multiple sexual partners are involved youth should access protection. (Nelson et al., 2014; Duke et al., 2008).

Research on the youth that focuses more on their viewpoints is an alternative route to take as it will provide a better understanding of their experiences and the factors that influence them.

Menstruation

Mead (1961) in Samoa observes continuity of roles from childhood to adulthood where growing up children can experiment sexually. Sex was only prohibited in the case of incest which was considered taboo. Menstruation which was a sign of fertility was a mark for marriage which the females were deemed to be ready for due to their preestablished roles. Mead's work has influenced my desire to investigate how female adolescents in Samburu are socialized into marriage knowing that menstruation is a mark of puberty. Her work centered around ethnographical work that collected female perspectives from their experiences. It brought out a cultural understanding of the Samoa females on menstruation that varied from other worldviews. How a community teaches about menstruation and sexual health will influence behavior and perspectives formed. Females who are told menstruation is painful, dirty, and embarrassing form shameful beliefs (Rice, 1987, p.109-110). Menstruation in Samburu is key in the transition of a girl to the next stage of her life.

In Niger in a bid to control sexuality and reproduction women were put in seclusion (Masquelier, 2011) during their monthly periods. Menstruation was viewed as dirty and disgusting. Public display of blood would cause an uproar and accusation of failure to handle menstruation. Privacy of menstruation is tied to sexuality and is considered taboo to openly talk about. Menstruation becomes the earliest contact with sexual curiosities for women and a point where community needs to control the female sex roles (Masquelier, 2011). I will engage this scholarship by looking at spaces women occupy during menstruation and how this is decided in the community.

Public health workers active in the development of Samburu County view sexuality as a static feature of girls and women and aligns with western definitions and conceptions of identity and social relations. My research works to problematize this framing by examining how traditional views of sexuality within the Turkana community are being impacted by the education of adolescent girls. Not only does my research help to expose the cultural construction of sexuality, but it also illustrates the importance of understanding how youth, and girls, conceive of their bodies and their relationships to members of the opposite sex.

The desire to understand what makes this population of adolescents unique, I grounded this work in multiple concepts that sketch a picture of them. First, Bourdieu's cultural capital, habitus, and field elucidates an embodiment of a culture that is essentially differentiating the PAGs from one another. Then, I engage with Gordon's work on sociological imagination to expound on the complexities of PAGs' life.

In this study I use Bourdieu's aspects of cultural capital, field, and habitus to elaborate on PAGs lived experiences. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital moves away from the monetary attribute of economics to focus instead on the process of production (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). He provides a framework to reevaluate capital, as a resource it is something one uses, so it does not necessarily have to be money.

Value, education and daily practices are essential symbols of resources that he links with production and are at the center of this research. The value of the beaded PAGs is embodied in the beads they wear daily maintaining their identity. The embodiment of culture brings us to habitus which Bourdieu argues is a predisposition to socializing agents. Habitus is the collective view of the social world by people sharing a relative domain brought out through their habits, skill and dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990). Individuals can have varying habitus that are constructed

through socialization by the same medium. The PAGs earlier contact was mainly limited to family and the community. It is vital to follow how education is embedding itself in their lives. As a cultural capital what impact does education have on living in the Turkana community. (Bourdieu & Jean-Claude, 1977).

So how is that one population of PAGs have come to hold on to their beads and the other slowly pick new attributes aided by education? Habitus and cultural capital at work are the absolute driving force for cultural reproduction from one generation to the other (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Habitus foregrounds the PAGs embodied and unconscious daily practices; they act in ways that have become so naturalized to them through a routine.

As I raise the question of what next for the PAGs? I will contextualize Kipande village as a field. Bourdieu describes field as where habitus and cultural capital come in play. Reproduction and production do not happen in isolation but at the field where societies have collective identities and use their resources to maneuver life. The PAGs field is already defined for them at birth, having a habitus that fits increases their chances at successful reproduction. Education as a cultural capital in Kipande, however, is predisposing the PAGs to acquire a habitus that is new to their field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Education manifests as individual habitus depending on the level one has attained and how they use it to manipulate the structure. This research is hence anchored in the above concept to examine to what extent habitus and cultural capital shape the sexual perspectives of PAGs.

Gordon works from the theoretical standpoint of life being complex. We live in the now that is heavily influenced by the past and continuously threatened by the future (Gordon, 2008). I use Gordon's work on sociological imagination to attempt an evaluation of the current state of the PAGs. Looking into this needs an understanding of human experience at a personal level as

they connect to larger groups to make sense of present circumstances. For the PAGs their identities are deeply embedded in the society, and their lived experiences are shared.

The narratives that Gordon (2008) focuses on elaborates on how individuals relate and how relations form in society. The process of subjugation through control and the social difference within structures which enables and suppress individuals. Personal experiences are essential in understanding broader structures. Involving the females in constructive discussion of sexuality would provide a better view of how sexuality is structured among the pastoralists. Social differences as facilitated by structure ensure that some things remain under the control of people, but others that people are born into are far rigid. For the pastoralists beading and education create social differences that continue to divide the population creating symbolic boundaries visible in their attires and daily choices (Gordon, 2008).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Working with the female adolescent population in the Turkana community necessitated mixed methods that would avert the language barrier, lack of education and provide a safe environment to discuss ideas of sexuality openly. PAGs who went to school were fluent in Kiswahili and intermediate in English. The beaded had low novice level of Swahili and mainly communicated in Turkana. Former relation to the field site, organized and facilitated community introduction and the ease in locating the participant were factors that aided my research. The following features will be discussed in this section: Access to field, Community entry, and Participant criteria. Interviews, participant observation, and body mapping were used to provide an in-depth understanding of the adolescent population and at the same time work around the language barrier — the different samples from all three methods filled in gaps in behavior. In addition to approaches of gathering data, data analysis process is also discussed in this section. I altered identifying characteristics that may lead to identification of the participants; I used pseudonyms and pictures taken were edited to de-identify the girls. Interviews and body map discussions were recorded using a digital audio recorder to ensure accurate quotations.

Access To Field

As an undergraduate at University of Nairobi in 2015, I joined a research team from University of Arizona in Samburu county (NFS BCS Cultural Anthropology program, Award numbers 1430790 / 1430860, Ivy Pike and Bilinda Straight Co-Principal Investigators). The field site was Kipande village where my research took place, that was the first time I interacted with the Turkana population in Samburu. In collaboration with local research assistants we worked with adolescents to measure stress brought by the instability in the area. In 2016, I again joined the team for a second round of data collection which incorporated photovoice to provide a larger

scope of understanding of the adolescents' lived experiences, mainly because interviews done earlier offered limited opportunity for teens to document their experiences.

Community Entry

A community meeting was held, and I was introduced as a student who had come to work with girls to find out more about the Turkana traditions. All the girls were encouraged to join as the research would benefit the community. My humble abode was in a catholic compound with two houses made of colorful stone layers and Iron sheets. The two houses were close in proximity and were positioned in the middle of the compound. The difference in size and a cross on the roof of one the houses was a clear indicate of which one was the church. The smaller of the two which I spent my days in was initial built for the village priest. The priest unable to live in the area would only come to hold mass on Sundays and leave. The population is predominantly made of catholic faithful's and would flog the compound early Sunday mornings. The PAGs were encouraged to find me there in between their daily activities if they wanted to be part of my study. After the introduction all that was left to do was wait.

Finding meaning in the trivialities of everyday life in the shared worlds with Turkana pastoralists led to the storied existence of a lifestyle that has for decades retained its cultural attributes. The taciturnity that engulfed the shared space occasionally came to life with song and dance performed in honor of the black girl from America. It was not our first encounter; the girls' faces light up with smiles as a form of recognition and an assurance that the visit was welcome. Their morning was not measured by an hour clock, but whenever the cock crowed, the birds chirped, and the break of dawn heralded by light in the far end of the horizon. In the field time lost meaning and the subtle awareness that time was insignificant created an obstacle that necessitated change so that I could have access to the participants. The beaded girls would arrive

at the church compound early morning singing round songs and that would mark the end of my sleep. I learned times that activities happened and instead referred to activities to get the girls to come when I was ready for them. Popular times were after milking goats and before fetching firewood.

Participant Selection Criteria

Eligibility in the research entailed parental consent which I had already gotten in the community meeting. As the girls came to the compound that had come to be recognized as “*pahali pa wasichana*- place for girls”. Beaded girls would come in the compound early morning and late evenings as these were times when they just got to the center from the manyatta or were ready to leave for the manyatta. They sat under shades scattered around in groups majorly categorized by age and marital status. For body mapping, I would pick from the groups that had already formed five of the girls to provide a level of comfort and familiarity as they worked together.

The school girls would stream into the compound during their lunch breaks and co-curriculum activity times. After breaking down the process some would choose to participate while others would choose not to. Many of the participants were recruited through convenience sampling. The girls who came to the church compound and those I met around the town center were among my earliest participants.

Snowballing was used as a last resort to get more girls from the manyatta to come to the town center. I told beaded girls who had already done body mapping and lived in the cattle camp to tell other girls down there to come participate. The manyatta was located far from the town area and was in a valley surrounded by steep hills. It was a day’s journey through open and forested areas. I was only able to visit once and interact with the PAGs.

Body Mapping

Body mapping is an art-based methodology that employs visual and verbal collection of data. It is a method that provides an alternative form of communication beyond language to enable participant convey their opinions and take part in the process of data collection. This method was useful in this study as it averted language barrier and provided alternatives of talking through sexuality through representation on the map. See the next chapter for in-depth discussion of this methodology.

Body Map Procedure

I had five participants develop a body map at a time. They took a 6-foot white polyester sheet and picked colors from a range of 30 shades of color pencils. Then they had one of them lay down on the sheet as two or more traced around her. The first 10-20 minutes the girls filled on the map body parts and attires exclusively as they discussed among themselves what the map should look like. As the drawing and discussions subsided, I asked meanings of things draw and asked question about the body and its parts then finally ended with discussion questions of their sexual health perspectives and being a girl in their community. As they drew, I took notes and noted down questions I would ask about what they drew.

The participants in the body mapping reflect the diversity of PAGs in the community. This is because they were drawn from both the town center and the manyatta thereby representing the female populations present in Samburu. In terms of education, five of the participants in the study had completed high school, five were in high school, five were in primary school and fifteen had not gone to school. Fifty percent of the participants had received or were pursuing education. The age range varied from 13-18 years and this impacted on menarche. Twenty-one of the girls were already experiencing the menstruation while seven had

not yet. This representation was one that would represent the community accurately. In total there were six body maps as the adolescents were five from each respective group. The body maps varied from 40 to 90 minutes. The body map processes were strictly optional and voluntary on the part of the participants.

Interviews

The research study used interviews separate from the body mapping in an exhaustive qualitative data collection process. The interviews were a means to capture individual lived experiences in order to understand the subject's points of view. Participants were asked to engage in discussions in a conversational manner about their own experiences as female pastoralist adolescent. Individual interviews were intimidating, and the girls would shy off. This necessitated a level of trust which was built by daily participating in community activities with the girls and walking around the community to provide familiarity. Starting with body mapping then interviews was also effective in getting participant to agree to personal interviews. The interviews were conducted in English and Kiswahili. The girls who went to school were able to communicate efficiently in English but preferred Kiswahili during the interviews which involved I and the participants. For the girls who were beaded I used English and a translator conveyed the question in Turkana.

The interviews varied from 20 to 40 minutes. The interviews were strictly optional and voluntary on the part of the participants. 11 of the interviews were girls who had participated in body mapping of whom 6 were school going and 5 were beaded, while one was a participant recruited from participant observation. Due to the nature of the research and cultural preferences, the study involved face-to-face interviews with the PAGs in a room away from prying eyes. The participants in the interviews were well oriented with the research and provided a sample that

was inclusive of the two distinct female population. In terms of education, seven of the participants were school going and 5 had not gone to school.

Participant Observation

The research study used participant observation to provide further clarity of discussions provided during body map creation and interviews. Participants were asked to allow the researcher to spend a day with them from morning till evening observing and engaging in activities they partook. Having already spent a few days in the field the PAGs were discuss their daily experience, as they at that point considered me as an insider. The participant observation varied from 10-12 hours depending on whether it was done in the town center or the manyatta. They were strictly optional and voluntary on the part of the participants. Only two girls took part; one was a beaded girl and the other was a school girl. The beaded girl participant observation was done in both locations, town center and manyatta while the school going girl took place in the town center. The participant observation involved a lot of community interaction due to curious on lookers both at school and at the manyatta.

Table 1: Participant's Demographic

Name	Monthly periods	Age	School	Body map	Interview	School/beaded
1.Diana	yes	15	High school	1		School
2.Jane	yes	15	High school	1	yes	School
3.Joy	yes	17	High school	1	yes	School
4.Victoria	yes	17	High school	1	yes	School
5.Sophia	yes	16	High school	1	yes	School
6.Grace	yes	16	Dropped out	2	yes	beaded
7.Hellen	no	13	Dropped out	2	yes	beaded
8.Mercy	no	14	no	2		beaded
9.Natalie	no	14	no	2		beaded
10.Lucy	no	15	no	2	yes	beaded
11.Mitchel	yes	15	Primary level	3		school
12.Emily	yes	15	Primary level	3		school
13.Beryl	yes	15	Primary level	3		school
14.Jamie	yes	15	Primary level	3		school
15.Harriet	yes	14	Primary level	3		school
16.Valarie	no	13	no	4		beaded
17.Sheila	yes	16	no	4	yes	beaded
18.Ruth	no	13	no	4		beaded
19.Lydia	yes	15	no	4		beaded
20.Sandra	yes	15	no	4		beaded
21.Sylvia	yes	16	no	5		beaded
22.Kaitlyn	no	13	no	5		beaded
23.Esther	yes	15	no	5		beaded
24.Faith	no	14	no	5	yes	beaded
25.Phyllis	no	13	no	5		beaded
26.Sarah	yes	18	Post high school	6	yes	school
27.Maggie	yes	17	Post high school	6		school
28.Cynthia	yes	18	Post high school	6		school
29.Terry	yes	18	Post high school	6	yes	school
30.Joan	yes	16	Post high school	6		school
31.Kim	yes	15	High school	-	yes	school
32.*Rose	no	13	no	-		beaded
33.*Loyce	yes	15	no	-		beaded

**Participants who took part in the participant observation*

Data Analysis

Data analysis began after one month of rigorous data collection. Fieldnotes were taken during participant observation, body mapping and during the interviewing sessions. The interviews and map discussions were transcribed verbatim and analyzed qualitatively. I utilized open coding and Atlas ti simultaneously to sort through the data. Codes were identified through line by line identification of quotes by the participants that provided ideologies that could trace back to their view of sexuality. I developed several categories by going through the transcripts and breaking down data into multiple discrete parts. Atlas ti enabled the linking of related codes to form categories which I later merged to form themes (Charmaz, 2006). My analysis for themes focused around education, social identity and socialization factors. These guided my acquisition of patterns and themes that came up in participant observation, transcripts and other recurring activities in the field.

CHAPTER 4: BODY MAPPING

Visual methods have participatory components that can include participant voices in the research (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016). Photovoice and body mapping are methods that indulge participants in discussions of the pictures they have taken and images they have drawn (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016; Chenhall et al., 2013). Photovoice as a visual method has marked an important turn in community engagement and opened discussions about social conditions (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016). Visual researchers have defined voice as the right to have an input in the research and to be heard. Body mapping provides a road map through symbols drawn and through discussion for how participant view their experiences.

Body mapping helps maneuver through silent topics like changes in the body during puberty and menstruation that are not openly discussed (Chenhall et al., 2013; Lys et al., 2018). Body mapping is a visual technique that engages youth prompting their perspective and giving them the power to share their experiences (Chenhall et al., 2013). It provides a space in which indigenous knowledge production and alternate worldviews are brought out in the creation process. In its use among teens, they are free to construct their own ideas due to the process of power differential created, where the research relinquishes power and youth are empowered through their knowledge (Wallace et al., 2018).

Origin Of Body Mapping

The methods origin is tied to HIV and AIDS intervention and advocacy in South Africa used among vulnerable populations (Chenhall et al., 2013; Lys et al., 2018; Maina et al., 2014). Body mapping has been used; to teach/ counsel people living with HIV, to share experiences, in developing strategies to gaining an understanding of worldviews that lead to sustainable development, in sexual health research with youth' (Maina et al., 2014; Wallace et al., 2018;



Figure 2. Body map 2: Beaded girls



Figure 3. Body map 3: Primary school girls



Figure 4. Body map 4: Beaded girls

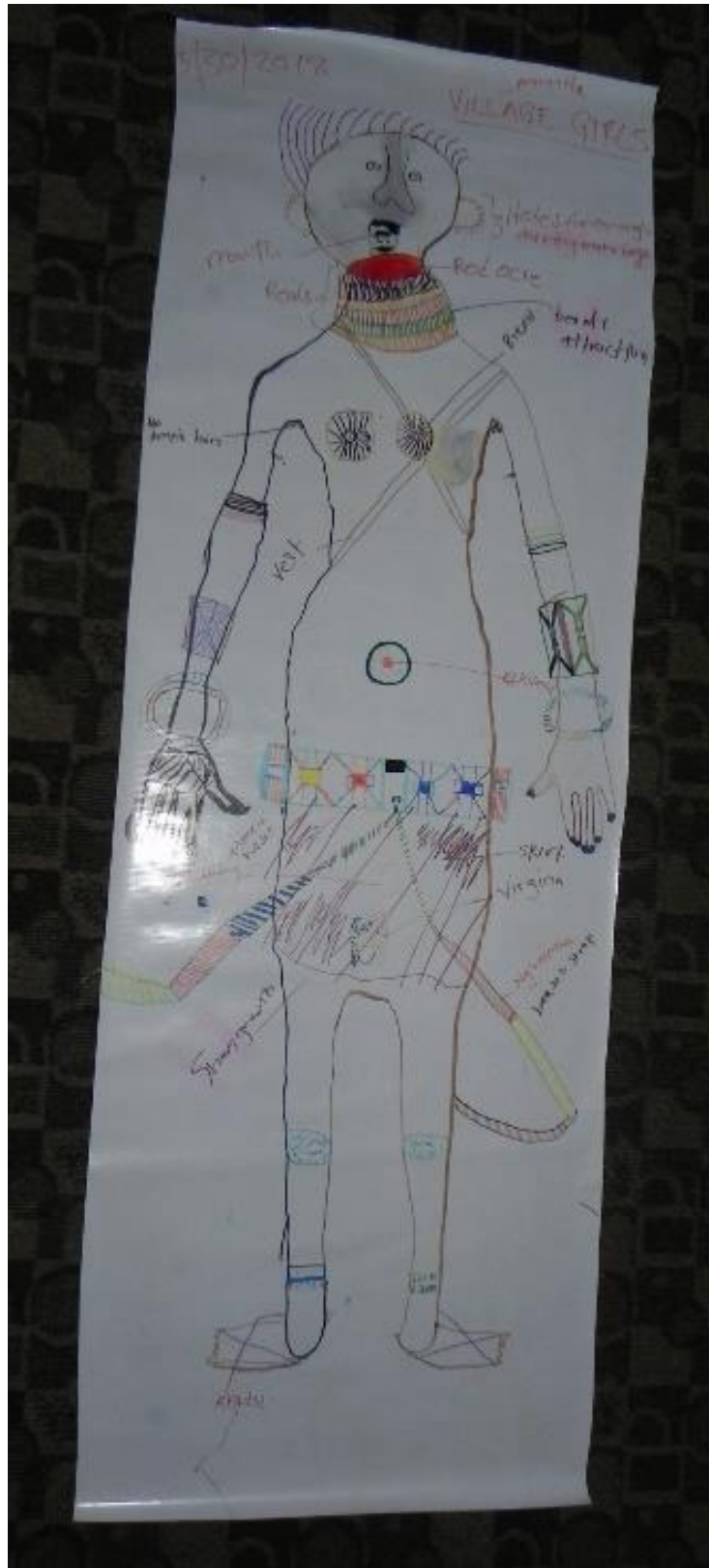


Figure 5. Body map 5: Beaded girls



Figure 6. Body map 6: Girls who have completed high school

Art based

The process of drawing, tracing and coloring are attributes of art that the females negotiate and take part in during data collection. They are all engaged in the process of developing the map (Chenhall et al., 2013). Body mapping provides a form of communication that transcends language. This useful in fields that language barrier acts as a hinderance to a study. The girls drew their Reponses and choose what to represent their body parts as. The art did not need any sophisticated skill but the ability to create.

Power Dynamics

In body mapping, the researcher and participants at different points control the session. (Wallace et al., 2018). The first scenario is when the control of the session shifts from the researcher to participant. The second is when within the session one participant takes lead and controls the body mapping process.

Researcher to participant

The participants would answer and slip back into drawing, coloring and giving suggestions on the body mapping process. Power to control the session is handed to the youth as they are at liberty to provide information (Chenhall et al., 2013).

I: what changes in your body when you grow up? P5: One experiences menstruation period. P5: Where is the other color so that we can add more? I: What else changes? P5: There is growth of hair in the pubic region. P2: Draw Aruba on the waist and add holes to the ear P3: Also, hair on armpits show growth.

Participant to participant

Power dynamics drove the process; in each group one or two played a dominant role. Dominancy worked in groups with beaded girls; a girl older than the rest would automatically step in and give instructions to the rest. They would submissively yield to her authority and let her lead.

Beaded-Girls P3: who told you to use that color and stop whispering? P4: she put that color, and I added the red. P3: put such kind of uncivilized behavior away from here. P2: and P3: we are sorry, can we use the yellow color?

This was not the case for groups with school going girls who had completed high school and those in high school, where every girl felt they could be in charge and looked at the researcher as the only authority.

School-going girls P1: draw the ears, draw something C-shaped P3: let her draw what she can P1: name it. P3, P4 and P5: don't dictate us

This was not the case with the girls in the primary level of schooling who were less talkative and would agree with most of the things the most confident in the group would voice during discussions.

Elicits Diverse Opinions

The discussions were straightforward with everyone speaking out their minds and the rest agreeing and occasionally adding on what they were discussing. A few times there were contrary opinions which one said along the popular ones. This provided an opportunity to pursue further the muffled contrary opinions in order to elicit further discussions. In the discussions the girls shared their different thoughts and ideas of sexuality as constructed by their community.

Beaded girls' body map

I: what shows you are ready for marriage? P4: your body P3, P2, P1, P5: your body and how decorated you are I: what if you are young and decorated? P5: You are still ready for marriage.

School going girls' body map

I: Suppose you get pregnant before being married how will you feel? P2, P3, and P5: I will feel bad. P1: (whispering) no not bad. I: why? P4: for us school going it is shameful according to society, but a child is not a bad thing P1: Like I said I will not feel bad

Participatory

Every participant played a role in developing the body map. The process of developing the body maps were done exclusively with the girls. Drawing was done by every girl as they felt

they needed an input in how the body map looked like. As the drawings come close to finishing points a few girls continued to decorate as other engaged in discussions. In appendix see Figure D1.

Embodiment

While the question was to depict a Turkana girl with no specific direction whatsoever, the girls immediately embarked on creating imagery of what they have embodied. The school girls took to drawing and adorning their image with school uniforms and the girls who were done with school drew one with modern clothes. All the images represented a Turkana girl to them. In further discussion there was comfort in talking collectively about the image as a representation of the Turkana girl and her experiences. The participant identified with the body maps and approved of the representational to themselves. In following discussion, the girl on the map was used to discuss experiences that the girls did not want to identify with. Body mapping hence provides an opportunity to get at embodied experiences without referencing a specific body. See figure 1 to 6 above.

Verbal and visual

The process entailed discussion questions which entailed both verbal and visual responses. The interaction with both the map and the questions enhanced communication channels. The responses were represented visually on the body maps. Whatever means of communication that was chosen the response was conveyed ensuring the girls who were not school going would find a way to participate. The inclusivity provided the voices of participant that visual methods hope to highlight in research in order to capture social and structural dynamics that breed disparities (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg 2016).

School going girls' body map

I: What shows you are growing? P2: draw two circle P1: you have drawn one large one small P5: that is okay that is how breasts are in reality

Beaded girls' body map

I: What shows you are growing? P5: Add more beads on her neck and in different colors.

In the body maps with the beaded when questions of growth came up, they preferred drawing the parts of the body that indicated growth rather than naming them verbally.

Cultural meanings and symbols

The body map images had cultural and social symbols that reflected how the PAGs viewed their body. This provided an opportunity to cross examination across the populations and school levels. The beaded girls drew a flower and a square with a round shape in the middle to represent their sexual anatomy (see figure D3 and D5). The girls in lower school level (Primary school) and high school used dots to represent their sexual anatomy (see figure 3 and D6) while the girls who had completed high school drew an elaborate advanced shape of their sexual anatomy (see figure D4). The variation in drawing can be examined education wise as the sexual anatomy depiction of the school going girls got sophisticated by the level of schooling. For the beaded the use of symbols of flower and a square with a circular shape are derived from their interactions and representations used for the vagina in the community.

Body mapping as a method provides different angles of interpreting data and collecting. The above described attributes and more can be used to investigate how effectively the method works and the ease of replicating the method with different groups.

CHAPTER 5: STUDY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Presenting the findings from the study through themes from the triangulated data produced by the PAGs brings forth their ideas of sexuality as represented by the depiction of their adolescent bodies pre and post menstruation. Even though the beaded and the school going girls live in the same community or even house, their roles and responsibilities differ. This usually results in them having different sexual experiences. Sexual health perspectives are aided by the structure surrounding their day to day lives.

Triangulation of data from Interviews, participant observation and body mapping for the study of sexual health perspectives of Pastoral adolescent girls (PAGs) led to the generation of extensive knowledge on how female pastoralists conform to societal expectations and education as a dividing factor among the PAGs. This because education is a new phenomenon to the Turkana community who had all their girls beaded and socialized into pastoralists traditional practices.

The adolescents perceived their bodies and their sexual functions in terms of their identity in the society. The two populations of PAGs are socialized differently and hence are prone to holding contrary opinions. In “The Gendered Body”, Kimmel argues that “We inscribe our bodies with a wide range of cultural signs and symbols, and our sexualities are intimate expressions of well-established social norms and practices” (2008, p.277). Education adds to the already socialized bodies a dynamic that creates diverse ideas of sexuality at the same time acting as a regulator of sexuality. Schools girls gain knowledge about their bodies and how to make safe sexual choices through education but are expected to suppress that till they are done with school before having freedom to explore their sexuality. Sexuality is suppressed and control

by a form of shaming by the community and consequences that accompany a school girl who explores her sexuality outside of the bounds of societal expectation (Foucault, 1977).

The PAGs I conducted research with highlighted these areas surrounding their beliefs of sexuality. In the thematic formation process I use the language of the girls to represent ideas of how they view sexuality. Gender performance and education played a major role in differentiating the experiences of the PAGs and are discussed along with the following: Sexual safety, Marriage rituals, menstruation, dating, good girl and bad manners. The factors above were experienced differently based on whether they went to school or not.

Gender Performance

The PAGs are placed into two categories; school going and beaded, and they assume different appearance and perform different tasks among the Turkana. Dress is a significant aspect of social identity in the pastoral community. A change from traditional dress toward western clothing was rampant during and after colonialism. It is not a new phenomenon; it was typical that people would shed off traditional attire for western style in order to symbolize modernization so for those who still adorn their traditional attires it is a source of prestige. (Lesorogol, 2008). Among the pastoralists the shedding off traditional attire in the wake of education went hand in hand with shedding of other cultural practices (Lesorogol, 2008; Sifuna, 2005). The structure of education in Kenya that necessitates a school uniform aids in the differentiation of the PAGs by dress code. The beading tradition is another form of distinction for the girls that facts into their appearance. The school girls are in their uniforms most of the time or western clothes.

The beaded females would have beaded necklaces placed on them at a young age and continuously increased as they grow. The beads are predominantly red, yellow, green, orange

and black in color. They are similar across the female population with similar designs and differentiated only by the number the girls had on. Married females have a unique addition that exhibit symbols of marriage; a brass necklace on top of their beaded necklace that had a tiny silver key (see Figure D2). The beaded female all wore wrapper skirts that had a pattern specific to the pastoral community commonly known as Maasai shukas with tank tops and had a patch of hair in the middle of their heads that was neatly divided and rolled into several strands using cow fat and red ochre. They had pierced ears that had sticks in them to maintain the space for special earrings that they would be given when they were married.

The school going had their whole hair shaven or neatly held in a bun for most of the day by evening their kinky hair would find its way out of the bun and look like an unkempt afro. They would wear what was considered modern clothes when they were not in school uniforms. Shirts with world famous singers and quotes on the front, pleated skirts, denim trousers/ shorts and bodycon dresses that were body curving. Depending on the occasion they would have make up on their faces: lipstick and a blush of foundation.

The appearance aided by attire and adornment provided the idea of beauty as a construct as it was defined differently in the two populations. For the beaded beauty was center around their beads while the school going beauty was centered around their clothes and facial appearance.

Tasks the girls were assigned in this community was also part of their identity as female. The pastoralist community is not different from other communities that have gendered work. The PAGs work was around the home and had a nurturing aspect to them (Kimmel, 2008). What stood out in this community was the segregation of work between the girls who attended school and those who did not. The chores differed by place and laboriousness.

PAGs who go to school have limited chores around the home. The proximity to amenities provided flexibility with their chores which are mainly in the town center. Their chores include cleaning the house, grocery shopping and cooking when not in school. They shared these chores with their beaded unmarried siblings who lived in the center and sometimes ended up doing less.

The beaded girls on the other hand, went miles to fetch water and collect firewood, their chores around the home included cooking, milking the livestock, building the straw houses and for others making a local brew. This choose were mostly done alongside other beaded girls. Firewood fetching was miles from their living area hence it was safer to go in a group.

The chores created patterns of interaction with their male counter parts. The school girls would meet up with boys late in the evenings in the town center. The meetings were planned around when the school girls were back home and out to get grocery. While the beaded girls would meet up during their long ventures to collect fired wood and fetch water. The roles given to the PAGs set up their behavior and choices of when to interact with males that revolve around sexuality.

Education

Education among the girls can be discussed as an identifier, source of knowledge and a source of agency. As an identifier the beaded girls identify the other girls who are not beaded as school going. The school going girls also identify the other girls who do not go to school as beaded or non-school going. This differentiation based on act of going school, the beaded girls have other activities that replace school. During participant observation with Loyce and Rose, early morning entailed three to four hours of firewood fetching venture was miles from their homes. They did this with a group of other beaded girls. After that they would get water and milk

animals in the late afternoon. In the evening they would start preparing meals. As they did all this the other girls are in school and are not part of these interactions.

In their families the girls in my study were the first generation to go to school. Hence education is seen as a foreign concept and not a necessity for a bright future. That said, education is slowly gaining acceptance in this community and among the females themselves. The choice to stay in school depended on the girls; if they were to drop out of school they would be beaded.

Some PAGs opted out of school on their own volition. The beaded life had an appeal to them as education was strenuous. As I engaged in a conversation with Grace who had less neck beads compared to other girls in her group. She explained that she was in school but later dropped out to stay at home and get beaded.

I: Why did you stop schooling?

Grace: I just didn't like school and I was not understanding anything.

She argued that life was easier as a beaded girl since it entailed less pressure and all you had to do was fetch water and firewood. Getting low grades in mathematics and not being able to read English was stressful. She concluded that school was not worth pursuing.

The choice of who went to school was not negotiable between the females and their parents. Parents would choose who they took school and who they beaded a few months after a child's birth. In my interview with Lucy who is beaded, I raised a question regarding her school attendance.

I: Why are you not at school?

Lucy: because I have many siblings at school. I am the only one who is left at home.

She explained that her parents randomly chose who went to school among her siblings. The choice was not based on gender, age, her family's economic status, or beauty. From her

understanding, her parents do not have any specific criteria for which sibling goes to school and which is beaded to get married sooner.

The body map drawings the girls made showed a level of variation of the depiction of the sexual anatomy. The girls who had completed high school drew an advanced representation of their sexual anatomy (see figure D4) as compared to the girls in lower level of school and the beaded who used symbols and dots. The school going girls also considered themselves as highly knowledgeable compared to the beaded.

In my attempt to find out what the two different populations think divides them I asked Joy her opinion. With confidence she pointed out the knowledge gap in the populations.

I: what is the difference between a girl who has gone to school and one who has not?

Joy: the one who has gone to school has a lot of knowledge, she knows everything. As compared to the one who has not gone to school. That one (beaded girl) does not know how to read and write.

I did all my interviews with school going girls in Swahili except with Joy who answered all my questions in English. When she did not understand the question, I would elaborate in Swahili and she would respond in English. English and Kiswahili were a form of cultural capital for the school going girls which would later provide job opportunities for them to work with NGOs and foreign researchers as translators. According to her knowing how to read, write and communicate in English summed up knowledge. The fact that the beaded could only communicate in Turkana made them less knowledgeable.

Education divide the female population into two distinct group and sexual knowledge gained through school varied from what was passed down through traditions. All the girls had access to traditional knowledge of sexual safety through discussions with female relatives making education an added advantage. Biological science classes entailed sex education that were woven in the curriculum. The school going girls in during the body mapping discussion

point to education as enabling them to know what goes on in their body. They attribute their knowledge of knowing when they are menstruating and how to be safe from disease/ pregnancy during sexual intercourse to biology classes.

School-going body map: those other girls don't learn biology, so they don't know even when they are raining (menstruating), but that is not a problem we are also told by our parents. Though our parents do not tell us about protection since they don't want us to use them.

They viewed the lack of education as a barrier to knowledge of the body functions. They argued that the fact that beaded girls did not go to school they were ill prepared for their monthly periods and lacked protection during sexual encounters. Parents were the main source of information for the beaded girls and that being the case would not tell them about condoms or safe sex as they would want that in the confines of marriage.

Sexual Safety

The PAGs linked education to sexual safety and their ability to make choices concerning their sexual health was depended on whether they were school going or beaded. Sexual health attributes summed up below are any form of sexual behavior, sources and attitudes the female held. The asymmetry in this population were glaring were largely associated with education. The Beaded girls have minimal sources of information and access to sexual health resources. Their access to information is limited to individuals they interact with; peers and older females in the community. Some of them felt it was not necessary to have all that information as they have done just fine without it. There was also reassurance that other beaded women in the community survived without sexual health information. Information and access of resources about sexual health varied between the populations. There was consensus that other female relatives were the main resources when it comes to figuring out menstruation and fertility. The younger female population relied on the older ones to provide information on sexual health.

Sarah pointed to school organized activities as her source of information other than relatives who she also trusted to provide guidance.

Sarah: Sometimes we have conferences that we go to and they teach family planning. We also get information on how to be safe from our mothers, friends and sisters.

Giggling she said mothers would rarely tell you about protection they tell more about periods the rest you would discuss with friends.

Sheila having only her relatives and friends confided in them about all aspects of her body with belief that they were able to help with everything.

Sheila: we trust our mothers to direct us on what to do. All older females are people who can give information and friends too. We ask about menstruation and if we are sick down there (private parts).

One time she says that her mother gave her ointment made from leaves from a bush that was medicinal to stop the itch on the outer area of her reproductive organ.

Females who go to school have topics on the body and are taught to refrain from sexual activities since it was considered a destruction. The use of protection is emphasized in family planning sections during biology classes hence they are knowledgeable. They resort to use protection because they are aware of the risks of STIs and shame that come with being pregnant before finishing school.

The beaded girls worried less about pregnancy as it was culturally accepted for a girl to get pregnant out of wedlock. After pregnancy the man responsible would take livestock to the girls home as bride price. They did not worry about disease and felt that they were fine with the information they already had. Disease in this case was HIV/ AIDS they had no knowledge of other sexually transmitted diseases and that they could be prevented by using condoms.

Faith was extremely shy, and our conversations were full of yeses and noes from her anytime I would ask questions. She however admitted to having a boyfriend who was a moran.

Faith: if you two meet and all know nothing you just do it. If something happens(pregnancy), he will marry you. He must or your parents give you to someone else before you start showing.

Her fear was not getting sick or pregnant but being married to someone else. She said many girls were not happy when they were forced to marry people they did not like.

The school girls in general were more likely to be promiscuous as they would use protection and were well informed when it came methods of contraception. The beaded girls are at risk as they interact mostly with boys who also don't go to school ensuring between them there is very little sexual health information to safe guard their sexual activity. Some as stated by Faith above have no knowledge of protection or contraceptive. Parents don't discuss contraception with the beaded girls.

Pointing fingers and teasing each other about who had more than one boyfriend the school going girls admitted to engaging in multiple relationships. They were being careful though and were aware of other risks involved.

School going body map: We protect ourselves and we are careful. Some have one or two people and so you use condoms. There are no pills so it's just condom.

I could see the, whatever happens is okay resignation on the beaded girls. They were aware of the risks; risk in this case was pregnancy and all that mattered in the end was marriage. They were more likely to have just one boyfriend for the purpose of knowing the father of their baby when pregnant.

Beaded girls body map: we know nothing so if someone is sick you also get sick. You just have one who you know will marry you.

The girls all made different decisions depending on their point of view and what was culturally acceptable for them. It was clear that their choices were made from careful negotiations of the consequences.

Menstruation Experiences

Diverse menstrual experiences emerged as the PAGs went about describing what it meant to transition from a girl to a woman. Traditional beliefs that were linked to this period in the females' life was geared more towards fertility, marriage and care for the environment (sanitation). The cultural taboos were followed to the letter due to fear of misgivings. The beaded girls believed that a curse courtesy of not heeding to a taboo would make them infertile. The concern with negative impacts from the taboos shows the amount of leverage traditions had on the females.

To find out about traditional practices around menstruation I asked Grace who had dropped out of school and was now beaded if there were things she did, or others did during this time. Grace discussed the taboo associated with sanitation. Women were not allowed to milk animals while on their periods. If they did, she was certain something bad would happen to them.

Grace: like if you do not rain (menstruate) at all then you cannot have a baby. If you stay long without raining (menstruating) it means you have not eaten a lot of things, like balanced diet. Like those women who have beads and are married when menstruating you cannot go to milk cows or goats and used sanitary pads on the livestock route would initiate a curse.

She had no doubt that a curse would befall anyone whose used sanitary pad was walked on by a herd of cows or other animals. The fear of not having children ensured she observed all the taboos. Grace also kept a balanced diet which I was surprised she associated with menstruation since she was a beaded girl. Upon asking I learnt she dropped out of school and ran back to the manyatta because she wanted to be beaded. Beading meant she could get married and have someone provide her needs.

Menstruation was something to look forward to and associated with good nutrition. For the beaded girl's menstruation would be an onset of child bearing whether they were married or

not and for the school girl it was more of a stage, an affirmation of growth and womanhood but not necessarily marriage. Menstruation is not just a physical attribute it provides access to power and claims of womanhood for school going females.

Jane was the last of ten siblings and the only who was beaded. She thought deeply when I asked her what menstruation was associated with in her community. She provided the cons then pros of menstruation.

Jane: They tell us that if you can't experience periods you cannot get children, your father will also not get animals in form of dowry from you. People say it's a good thing to have period when you have matured. The community look at you as a grown up. When you get your period it's awesome because it means you are a grown up.

According to her the community valued menstruation and associated it with fertility. This association confers the girls who were already menstruating some sort of respect as they were grownups.

The onset of menstruation was a time parents saw fit to negotiate females' behavior and tighten reigns regarding their interactions with males. The fear of pregnancy out of wedlock was instilled and the model of a good girl was taken up.

Menstruation being a turning point for the females. I asked Victoria about some of the discussions she had with her parents about it. She laughed and said that most parents were afraid their girls would get pregnant and ruin their reputation.

Victoria: They start to advise me to avoid bad company mostly those who are sexually active. Because I have become a woman and can get pregnant, they tell me to be a good girl. In my community menstruating means one has changed from a girl into a woman. They say that now you are fertile and able to bare children. They believe that when you can't see you period, you can't bear children. In my community they usually say, that a woman who doesn't menstruate is barren and should be married by a man impotent man.

The society's meaning of a good girl was associated with females who preserved themselves till marriage. Menstruation is linked to fertility which is highly valued in the society. Lack of menstruation therefore is frowned upon and the consequences are alienation.

Good Girl

The good girl syndrome is reinforced in adolescents as the reward is ultimately a desirable marriage partner. Unwritten expectations of a good girl mostly emerge with transitioning from a child to a woman marked by menstruation among school going and the increase in the number of beads a girl puts on. There is restriction in space and behavior that comes with attaining the good girl status. Good girls who are beaded are measured by their generosity, obedience and how early they get a husband.

I asked Lucy to tell me how a good girl was defined as the PAGs kept mentioning this type of girl. Lucy was proud to say she was a good girl; she went ahead to give scenarios of her good deeds in the community and give instances of her obedience.

Lucy: she is asked not to be going to places that you are not familiar with, you are also asked to respect grownups, and help old women fetch firewood

Lucy: a girl who has respect for old people. One who can be told to do something, and she does.

I: what are some of the benefits of being a good girl?

Lucy: you will be blessed and get a good husband to marry you.

Lucy was at the stage where men were asking to marry her, and she had to keep appearance of a good girl to ensure she got a good partner. She told me that different people had approached her parents and they were yet to decide.

The school girl incentive of being good however entails sexual control where they must suppress their desire to obtain independence. Being a good girl for this population was measured by their completion of school and acquisition of wealth. Joy in discussion echoed what the other girls had said in our earlier talks. It was not just being school that made you a good girl but what

you accomplished after. She argued it was useless to complete high school and just sit around the town center without a job. People would talk about you if you were that kind that sat around.

Joy: A good girl works hard at school, does not engage in bad manners with boys. Gets a job after school and takes care of parents.

She told me that the village administrators daughter failed her high school exam and had to go redo high school to get better grades. As a school going girl this would be an example of a bad girl. The acting out of this good girl character was less strenuous for the beaded who their acts were not easily measured. For the school going doing well in school was measured and if they slipped up and got pregnant that was also gauged.

Bad Manners

All the girls in the study refer to having sex as bad manners. The married girls would still call it bad manners despite being married since at an early age they are taught to refrain from it. As good girls they were not to engage in bad manners or discuss bad manners. Bad manners in the context of school going girls is associated with destruction as it can bring a stop to their career. For the beaded girls' bad manners is linked to the secrecy around sex; the idea that it is taboo to discuss it. However, for the beaded girl bad manners rules did not have huge consequences compared to the school girl. Bad manners for the beaded would lead to marriage in case of pregnancy or a less attractive mate due to a reputation of engaging in bad manners. The beaded girl would engage in bad manners with a potential spouse as a form of agency to ensure the parents did not choose for her

During their menstruation school girls would refrain from bad manners as they knew they could get pregnant. The interchange of sex with bad manners reinforces a molarity within both female populations. Sex maintains a negative connotation even among the adults in the

community. The continuous secrecy of sexuality denies the open acknowledge of desires of the body (Foucault 1990).

The giggling that this topic brought spoke volumes. We all chuckled every time somebody referred to having sex as bad manners. It is something that we all do, I used to call it that and growing up I knew bad manners was done with older people only. The school girls said it was something they found people saying and mothers would instead of saying sex resorted to saying do not do bad manners. This particular “bad manners” was associated with relations between boys and girls, it was clear and could not be interchanged with doing something wrong.

School going body map: Everybody calls it bad manners, Even big people. They warn us not to go do bad manners with boys.

The beaded girls brought a different aspect of bad manners that was related to its discussion. The taboo of the discussion of sex.

Beaded girls body mapping: It is bad because you do not discuss it with everyone. Other things you can tell other people but not that.

I: what is bad manners?

Victoria: Bad manners is being with a man (Chuckling).

Bad manners juxtaposed with good girl brings out the constrains in the structure and the boundary around how girls are expected to behave. To fall out of this boundary necessitated agency to manipulate structure and still be socially accepted.

Dating

Female- male interaction is not something that was visible at a glance in Kipande village. Females and males did not walk alongside each other during the day but did during evenings hours mostly among the school going population. It was only during community functions like weddings, funerals and church that females and males shared space. In these places the congregation maintained their distance and one could clearly see boundaries between the school

going/ modern and the beaded/ traditional populations. Modern represent populations that have gone through school, who work and dress in Western clothing. While traditional population represent parents and relatives of the beaded girls who dress in traditional attires and stay in Manyattas with their livestock. Sex segregation was seen also within the groups where morans would sit or stand away from the beaded girls same to the school going boys and girls who occupied different spots in the functions.

Dating for the beaded girls was a form of courtship that incase of pregnancy would end in marriage. They were very minimal restriction among beaded girls other than interacting with males in public. The beads acted as an attraction to lure the males that attended school and those that did not since they were all viable mates. The males oversaw pursuing the females and planning meet up locations that coincided with female chores.

When I asked about boyfriends the girls froze. I could see them fidget with their beads and pass glances around. Nobody was ready to admit they had a boyfriend. Smiling I encouraged them to speak as I was not planning to share their information with their parents; which was their main concern. Finally, they lightened up and spilled the beans.

Beaded body map: we are not allowed to interact with them where mothers can see. But if you are looking beautiful men chase after you. You can have the *Morans* (non-school going males) or the educated ones. If you have more beads you attract more people and they want, you.

They rebelled the restriction to date but not openly, they instead went ahead and dated but kept it away from the prying eyes of parents. The girls associated their beads with ultimate beauty and were open to dating outside their group.

The school going girls had dating restrictions that were associated with boys being a destruction to their learning. As a destruction boy would hinder their ability to concentrate in school as their minds will be pre occupied, also boys could get them pregnant and this would

deter their schooling. To avoid dropping out of school due to pregnancy and wasting family resource, parents were extra strict with them. Most interaction in terms of dating were done within school boundaries and co-curricular activities.

Since the community was so strict concerning female-male interaction I wondered how the school going PAGs handled the dating process. I could read mischief on their faces and what they did not say outrightly, they told me by their subtle looks.

School going body map: Teachers also warn us and during activities they monitor us. But we still meet we are just careful; because if our parents find out they discipline us by caning.

Dating was not void of policing by teachers and parents alike. This, the girls said only made them come up with clever ways to meet up undetected. Dating involved sexual intercourse during meeting and exchanging of gifts. The boys would buy the girls beaded bracelets or clothing items.

Male-female interaction is done in clandestine away from older community members as the girls would be branded prostitutes if seen with men. The concern from the community was with the PAGs and the idea of maintaining a good image that would garner a lot of bride price. Whether men were called out for being with girls did not really matter.

Marriage Rituals

Marriage is held in high esteem among the Turkana. The discussions that follow will elaborate how marriage rituals: marriage age, bride price and spouse choice are experienced with the PAGs. Marriage's most important function is the aspect of procreation among the Turkana. Having for a long while measured growth with harvest seasons, physical body indicators the aspect of age is fluid when it comes to the marriage of beaded girls. Marriage time for the beaded hence has no correlation with age whatsoever. Marriage for a beaded girl depended on largely

physical body changes, the number of beads on the neck and the wealth of parents. In order to attract more suitors a beaded girl needed to have several neck beads. Beading starts from birth for the beaded girls and represents beauty, it is also a mark of growth. Parents are obligated to continually buy beads for their daughters. The number of beads on a girl's neck sends a signal to suitors that she is ready for marriage. Late marriage for them brought shame of not being woman enough or being a bad girl.

The discussion of marriage was received with mixed feelings. The girls explained that marriage was something out of their control and something they complied with for their own good.

Beaded body map: When a man sees you with so many beads, they ask to marry you and no matter how small you are so long as your parents accept, they take you. You are their wife and you be with them whether you like it or not. If you run away and go back home, they beat you and send you back. It is shameful to families if girls run away.

They shared in sympathizing with one beaded girl who ran away from her marital home. After the beaded girl got to the town center her family disowned her. She was punished and eventually went back to her husband's family.

For the school girls marriage was considered after the completion of high school and the acquisition of a job or when they were looked at as independent. Marriage while in school was unacceptable but could still happen mostly when a girl would get pregnant. Seventeen years of age onwards was an average provided to be suitable for marriage during a body map session with the females. There was a lot of community policing to ensure at least the girls were done with high school or some primary school. Free primary and high school education in Kenya ensures education is cost free (Sifuna, 2005). In most cases since parents had very little economic input in their child's education their motivation to keep them in school would be low. The government paid part of the school fee and parents chipped in by selling livestock to cover extra expenses.

As we talked about what time was right for marriage, the girls talked of the involvement of government officials intervening in school situations. They currently see an increase in girls who finish high school unlike when school was new in the area. The schooling girls felt marriage was something that could be done after school. As it offered better a form of independence when married.

School going body map: Sometimes the area administrator advises parents to keep their girls in school. Boarding school away from home ensure girls concentrate only on education instead of marriage. Marriage is good when independent so let's say from 16 years not as young as those beaded girls.

They all agreed that when one was around 16 years of age and it was their choice it was okay to get married. They also felt that the beaded girls were married too early. The range given by the girls for beaded girls to be married was 13-14 years. Among the participants was a 14-year-old who had been married for a year.

Bride price which was multiple times interchanged and called dowry in this community was a necessary tradition whether one was beaded or going to school. Traditionally livestock would be traded for a girl's hand in marriage, followed by a traditional ceremonial ceremony to give the girl away to her family.

The bride price for school going girls was most of the time money and the beaded was livestock. The females in the study believed beading, and education had no effect on the amount of bride price and that it all depended on whom one married. Beauty was seen though as important factor to bride price amount.

The school girls seemed dismayed by the fact that they had no share in the dowry despite it being given on their behalf. They picked an I do not care attitude; stating that dowry did not concern them.

School going body map: Dowry (bride price) is something that they don't share with you so even if it is a lot or a little it should matter. The beaded and us sometimes can receive the same if you get married to a person who doesn't see the value in education. If you are pretty you are pretty.

The amount of dowry whether in cash or livestock they said only varied depending on whom you marry not whether you went to school or not.

Among other pastoral communities educated girls accrued more bride price due to the investment made by the parents (Lesorogol, 2008). Parents sold livestock to take their children to school. Bride price reflected how females were valued differently by parents and community.

Since they did not directly get the bride price, they did not care about it.

School going body map: We get more while the beaded get less sometimes. We get married to people who have gone to school so they give money but sometimes they give a lot of livestock. When you complete high school, your parents expect more money.

Among the school going there was an up and down debate of whether they get more bride price than the beaded. However, they agreed that most of the time marriages among school going there was a church wedding and money for dowry instead of livestock. Bride price for the beaded is also linked to prestige; the more a girl got the more honor goes to her family.

Marriage partner for the beaded and the school going varied in terms of choice. Parents of the beaded girls would mostly give their daughter off to marriage to rich older people. This was a way of ensuring compensation for the money they used to beautify their girl. The girls emphasized the cost of beads and according to them, a wealthy suitor would give back money used to buy the beads the girls wore. Marriage partner is 90% the choice of parents and refusal only leads to being ostracized.

Rejection of a spouse was not taken lightly. The girls said it could lead to consequences do not end up benefitting you. It can be young or old, handsome or ugly, school going or non-

school going none of those mattered to parents apart from their wealth. In their opinion it was okay as they were contented.

Beaded body map: One girl we know ran away from her in-laws. She had her hair shaved and her beads removed. Going to school or wandering around the village were her options.

On rare occasions females could interact with whomever they like and eventually get married to them. The condition was that the parents had to approve. This was the case for beaded and school going girls.

Upon asking Jane who is school going if she would agree to an arranged marriage, she said no. She saw a way out in dating an acceptable individual.

Jane: our parents feel bad when that person is meeting with an intention of coupling and doing bad manners, if he does not have such intention then our parents do not have any hard feelings about them. There are those that are liked by the family and if they hear that they are asking for hand in marriage, they are happy.

Acceptable still was defined by the parents but this one you get to choose by yourself. The restriction that surround this important life decision has a potential to influence how females behave before marriage. Marriage is not necessarily a bond they look forward to hence the freedom before marriage is valued.

Sophia's reasoning had some YOLO (you only live once) mentality in it. She gave options of dealing with foreseeable events.

Sophia: you can have a friend you like and is your age but eventually you end up not marrying them. So, you just be close do things (engage in sex) until you are married and move to manyatta.

This was a path to happiness that was short lived, but it worked for a while. She also suggested that she knew who had boyfriends that they did not marry.

The school going girls have more leverage when it comes to choosing whom they marry. They are likely to defy their parent's choice of spouse and get away with it. They are aware of

their rights and would try and fight back whenever necessary. Early marriage and forced marriages were unlawful and this they said they learnt in school.

As a joke the school girls saw eloping as a viable option. Speaking from, the stand point of educated individuals they acknowledged early marriage was a human right violation that necessitated authority involvement.

School- going body map: We can elope and start life wherever if our parents want to force us. It is wrong and one can report to the police.

This kind of talk was rather easier said than done and they admitted so. Some girls were not able to comprehend that one would have the audacity to call the police on your parents and get away with it. Or rather live in the same community after doing that without being looked at as a traitor.

Table 2. Differences

Beaded Girls	School going girls
•Beads on neck	•Jewelry mostly silver and gold
•Twisted hair with red ochre	•Shaved hair or plaited hair
•Early marriage (13)	•Marry late (17) after school
•Look after livestock	•Most have no cattle
•Fetch firewood	•Use charcoal bought in the town center
•Fetch water at rivers and manmade dams	•Get water from water tanks in the town center
•Live in manyatta and center	•Live in the town center
•Interact with boys with trousers and morans	•Interact with school-going boys
•Information about their body and sexuality is gotten from relatives	•Information about their body and sexuality is gotten from relatives and school
•Bride price paid in form of livestock	•Bride price paid in form of cash
•Growth and marriage age indicated by beads	•Marriage age was centered around completion of school
•Pregnancy before marriage punished by instant marriage to older man or the person involved	•Pregnancy was shameful while in school
•Menstruation means fertility and marked commencement of child bearing	•Menstruation means adulthood and fertility
•Spouse choice done parents	•Collective decision of girls and parents
•Work opportunities centered around the home	•Work opportunities as shop attendants and translators NGOs
•Proficient in Turkana	•Limited English, proficient in Kiswahili and Turkana

Conclusion

The table above provides a summary of differences among the PAGs. These differences highlight how gender performance and education act as identifiers among the girls that divided them into beaded and school going influences choices around sexual safety, whether to engage in bad manners, dating, marriage rituals and whether to be a good girl. Menstruation experiences were also influenced separately depending on whether they were school going or not with common characterization of womanhood, fertility and a time to reinforce community policing among the girls.

The study results and analysis revealed that PAGs who were beaded were influenced by early marriages, arranged marriages, beads, roles and responsibility they played in the community to make choices around their sexuality. Individual habitus attained provided agency to push back on traditions and social norms. The girls would engage in sex which they identified as bad manners with males of their choice to initiate marriage when they got pregnant. This would ensure their parents would not choose for them though in other cases where pregnancy was not planned for, they would end up being married off quickly. Their experiences around menstruation, good girl aspect and dating were characterized by ideas of fertility and what was acceptable in the community. Sexual safety among the bead is discussed around the information they have from their interaction with other female relatives and parents, what they know and what they choose to do. Some girls were clearly aware of HIV/AIDs infection through sexual relations but took the risk anyways as pregnancy was what would necessitate protection but since it had no major consequences, they did very little to access protection from disease.

The school girls were in between worlds and knowledge gained from schooling changed their perceptions of their traditional practices; early marriage, attires, ideas of beauty, arranged marriages. Education as a cultural capital provided opportunity to access independence which the beaded girls do not have economically. Education provides language which the girls use to attain jobs. The idea of eventually being independent and financially stable leads them to complying with the good girl aspects of school girls which entails refraining from sex till they have completed school. The policing among school girls after menstruation leads them to push back by finding ways to access their sexual freedom while at the same time maintain standards of a good girl through knowledge, they have around sexual safety courtesy of school.

In conclusion the question of what influences the perspectives of youth cannot be answered by a generalized understanding of multiple populations. Cross-cultural analysis renders a much-needed lens into what sexual experiences are important and which ones are meaningful to youth.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

According to Bourdieu's concept (1990) of cultural capital, members of a society are the "socializing agents," which means they pass on their identities and sense of belonging to each other. PAGs as part of a social group learn social norms and expectations through daily routines. Since some girls go to school and some do not, they are socialized in different environments that consequently give them different life experiences. These life experiences are a characteristic of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus refers to the idea that if an individual or a group of people spend their time within a specific social context, they develop habits, through imitation. In the same sense learn concepts and practices related to sexual health from school or outside in the community.

Gordon's (2008) work on sociological imagination focuses on the complexities of lives. She looks focuses on the interactions of individuals and how these interactions are displayed in societal contexts forming relations. The spaces PAGs occupy in their society dictate their social relations within their societal structure. The structural barriers defined by spaces that females are assigned in this community speak to the social differences that Gordon argues can enable or suppress individuals. The knowledge of sexual health for the beaded girls is entirely depended on female relatives while for the school going female relatives and school feeds into their sexual health knowledge.

Formal education in communities with resilient cultures lead to potential disparities that manifest in societal structures. Education, particularly in Africa, is linked with transmitting western traditions sidelining African cultures (Winston, 2006). It is obvious then why it is met with so much indifference in societies that have deeper cultural roots. Lesorogol asserts that education fails to propel females to attain the freedom it promises. Instead offers awareness of

rights that change their sexual perspectives pit them against their own culture (2008). Educated girls no longer conform to marrying early and arranged marriages, they opt to rather choose their own mates. This kind of self-awareness is threatened by ideas of bride price which puts a value on them. It is hence essential to look at where education meets culture and the deliberations that youth must go through in creating revamped sexual ideologies.

Moore (1994) argues that the need to be found attractive and wanted is a universal genetic predisposition. This need, however, manifests differently in every culture — understanding how youth from different ethnic groups experience and manifest sexuality presents insights into their world views. The bead girl's attractiveness is measured by the number of beads they have on, and without them they become vulnerable. To grasp what drives sexual behaviors one must look at how culture influences those behaviors.

This study fills a significant gap in the literature regarding menstruation beliefs and their influence on sexual health choices among PAGs. Three aspects of menstruation in this population are; taboos related to sanitation are effective in ensuring PAGs observe cleanliness as it is a reinforced ideology. There is also an overall emphasis on fertility and periods being a good thing; a girl can bear children, and that one is a woman. Takes us back to Mead (1961) and her Samoan Study that emphasis that females form perceptions of menstruation from how they are socialized. The idea of menstruation being good is tied to caution of pregnancy and establishment of proper roles by parents of the PAGs.

Also, by using body mapping, the researcher provides an alternative tool for discussing sexual health efficiently while providing a safe, comfortable environment for youth to express themselves. Body mapping attributes discussed elaborate why the use of the methodology is a complement to ethnographic inquiries. This research furthered anthropological inquiry

methodologically by introducing body mapping as a complement to conducting traditional ethnographic research. The attributes and techniques discussed can be replicated in studies with a focus on sexuality or other topics that are emotionally engaging.

The anthropological argument by Durham (2000) that youth is a construct is corroborated among the Turkana. Public health intervention using the age framework from the Western world to categories youth does not correlate with how the Turkana in Samburu county view youth. Womanhood among the pastoralists does not change the position and the identity of the youth. Menstruation for the school going marks womanhood but they remain young adults in the community. As for the beaded even after child birth they are identified as youth due to the aspects of early marriage. Hence it is important to consider cultural variation of sexuality when it comes to public health policies.

Lastly, while most research focus on education as a tool for advancement and liberation for pastoralist, this study provides a lens into how cultural practices shape the lives of uneducated girls in correlation to educated girls and the impact on sexual health worldviews (Lesorogol, 2008, Sifuna, 2005).

Limitations

The research was done in one month limiting the sample of females in the research to those who were available. The view of the researcher as an insider by the participants limited the discussions of symbol meanings due to the assumption that the researcher would be aware of local terminologies. This made it hard to seek further clarification as the expectation was for me to be aware.

Sexuality is a private topic in this community and talking about sexual issues is viewed about a taboo. The girls used many codes for sex that need repetition and local interpretation to

grasp. An instance is when they said met with boys, they meant to have sex. Doing it, Did it depending on context could mean having sex.

Application

The methodological approach in the study can be replicated in other ethnic communities to yield indigenous knowledge from the youth. Problems that are around matters considered private would benefit from body mapping which can be tailored made to allow all age group to participate in research (Mania et al., 2014). For a younger age group, colors could be defined to mean emotions, i.e. red for happy, black for sad, use of an A4 with an outline of a body on it would be used to guide the group to map feelings. Questions like when mummy is not around? How does this part feel? While touching a part of the body on the outline. The question and the pointing to the heart would provide an opportunity to select between the two colors and with that the researcher can use that data to analysis parental input in their young one's lives.

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APPENDIX A: BODY MAPPING QUESTIONS

1. What makes you a girl? How does a Turkana girl look like?
2. What are the meanings of the things you have drawn?
3. What indicates that you are growing?
4. What information do people tell you about being a girl?
5. What changes do you experience in your body as you grow?
6. Have you started menstruating?
7. What new things did you learn after the onset of menstruation cycle?
8. Who do you discuss with menstrual issues?
9. What are some of the sources you get information about periods and puberty?
10. What things are adolescents warned about when they experience changes in their bodies?
11. What time do you/ community consider appropriate to get married?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) What is your highest level of education?
- 3) What are your daily activities?
- 4) Have you started menstruating?
 - i) What are some of your experiences of menstruation?
 - ii) What can you tell me about menstruation?
 - iii) What are some of the things you are told about menstruation?
 - iv) Do you have any myths and beliefs around menstruation?
- 5) Who do you trust with information about your body information?
 - a) Who would you consult with when you have questions about your body?
- 6) Where do you get your information about puberty; menstruation?
- 7) Do you believe you are well informed?
- 8) What are some of the ways you would like to get this information?

APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY

Beading: Acquiring beads as a child

Beaded girls: Girls who don't go to school and wear beads on their neck

Village/ Manyatta girls: Girls who don't go to school

Town girls: Girls who go to school

Village: Town Center

Ng'aremae: Beaded strap

Aruba: Beaded belt

Boys with trousers: Boys who go to school

Boys with shukas/ Morans: Boys who don't go to school

Manyatta/ Cattle camp: An area away from the town center with temporary living structures and where livestock are kept during night hours.

Town center: An area with permanent housing, governmental offices, shops, clinics and schools

APPENDIX D: FIGURES



Figure D1: On Going Body Mapping



Figure D2: Neck Beads And Earrings

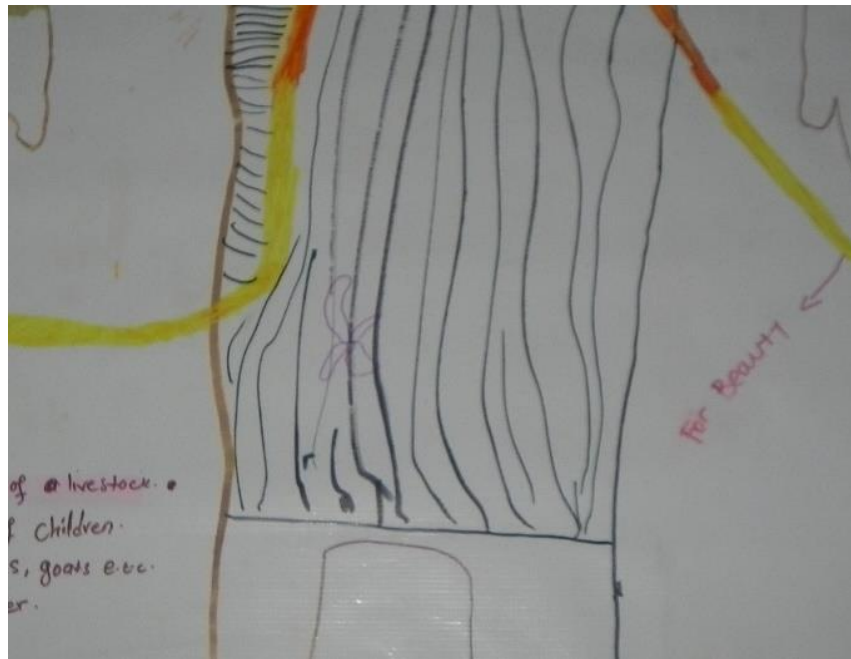


Figure D3: Sexual Anatomy Body Map 2



Figure D4: Sexual Anatomy Body Map 6



Figure D5: Sexual Anatomy Body Map 5

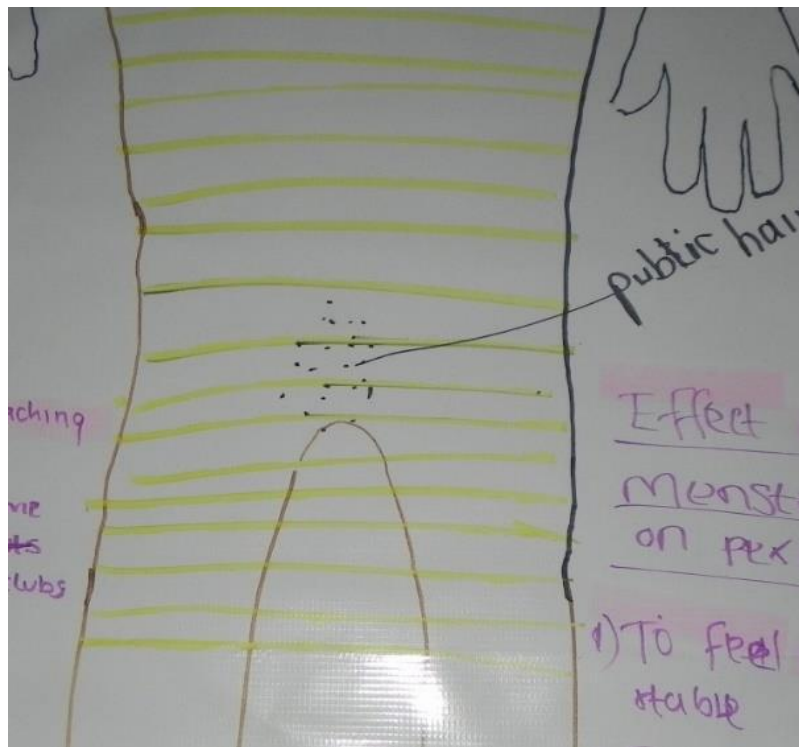


Figure D6: Sexual Anatomy Body Map 1