Structures Employed in Kamuratanet in Implementing its Social Behaviour Curriculum among the Kalenjin in Kenya

Dr. Charles J. Chemitei
Department of Educational Psychology, School of Education, Moi University, P.O Box 3900- 30100, Eldoret, Kenya.

Abstract: African cultural practices and traditions provided individuals with socially mediated contexts of behaviour adaptation and learning. With Westernization most children today have few structures to learn social self-regulating. The role of cultural structures, such as Circumcision (Kamuratanet in Kalenjin) was explored for its potential educational value and how it provided initiates with contexts for self-regulating behaviour management. The main purpose of this study was to carry out a qualitative research into Kamuratanet as an Educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin. The specific objective of the study was to describe the structures employed in Kamuratanet in implementing its social behaviour curriculum. The theoretical foundation is the Functionalist perspective as originated by Emile Durkheim. The study was qualitative, informed by Interpretivist paradigm and guided by Ethnographic research design. Purposive and Snowball sampling procedures were used to get participants with experience, deep knowledge and an understanding of the Kalenjin cultural systems of socialization. Twelve participants informed the research through intensive interviews. Consequently, a multi-method approach was used in data analysis in order to enhance findings. The findings of the study determined existence of educational structures employed in Kalenjin Kamuratanet in implementing its social curriculum for effective behaviour management.

Keywords: Kamuratanet, Social Behaviour, Management, Yatitaet, Education.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Kamuratanet is a Kalenjin traditional process of teaching its members appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards. Though carried out throughout an individual’s lifetime, it is formalized during yatitaet/circumcision and subsequent initiation (tumdo). Certainly, yatitaet and tumdo played a significant role in initiating individuals from childhood to adulthood. However, the interdependence between Kamuratanet and Yatitaet makes any attempt to discuss one feature without the other untenable in this study. Indeed, colonial attitudes made some early African Christians to attempt to abandon African cultural practices in favour of European or Christian styles but this was short-lived (Kenyatta, 1965; Ngugi 1986). Clearly, with the onset of Western education and Christianity, new patterns of social interaction emerged that seemed to negate the role of Kamuratanet. Moreover, during colonialism, Western observers misconceived the nature of content presented in the African practices. What remains a puzzle to this study is the re-emergence of Yatitaet on Kamuratanet standards even among the Urban Kalenjin and those in Diaspora. In addition, this study is persuaded by an apparent knowledge gap on the structures used in Kamuratanet to effectively implement its social behaviour curriculum in the context of Kamuratanet.

Statement of the Problem

The principles of Kamuratanet still hold much influence on general perceptions of the masses, including those of the western educated among the Kalenjin. It argues that the position of Kamuratanet has remained steadfast because it serves a purpose for which the modern western educational practices have not been able to provide a substitute. Moreover, Obanya (2008) explains that, “culture and education are inseparable, as they are simply two sides of the same coin” (p.2). The intention of this study therefore was to rediscover the specific structures that were used by the Kalenjin in implementing its social behaviour curriculum.
Objective of the Study

The specific objective of the study was to describe the structures employed in Kalenjin Kamuratanet in implementing its social behaviour curriculum.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Kamuratanet involve complex systems. This section examines three major approaches of Kamuratanet that serve as inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management.

Age Sets as Self-Regulating Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in Kamuratanet

Accordingly, to Sambu, (2007) the Kalenjin evolved a system of eight age sets, ibinwek shifting every fifteen years is as follows: Korongoro, Kipkoimet, Kaplelach, Kimnyige, Nyongi, Maina, Chumo, Sawe then back to Korongoro 120 years later and the cycle begins all over again. Moreover it is important to mention here that women too had age sets that went hand in hand with the male age sets as diagrammatically illustrated in figure 1.

![Figure 1: Kalenjin male and female age sets.](image)

Key: The age sets transcribed in capital are for male while the corresponding age sets transcribed in small letters are for female. The age-sets rotated in an anticlockwise direction. The age sets are products of Kamuratanet based on Yatitaet/circumcision and associated rituals. The rituals comprised activities that were less than ordinary in order to capture the attention of the initiates and make the entire procedure look mysterious.

Virtues as Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management

Kamuratanet strives to impart virtues and values which are essentially expected of all its members. Snell (1954) says good conduct is highly esteemed and expected of everyone. The virtues taught during seclusion play a central role in the life of the community (Sambu, 2007). Any person who disrespects them is liable to punishment as the rituals also set up self-regulating mechanisms that ensure obedience to the norms.

The Aiyepindo Virtue in Kamuratanet

Everyone who undergoes Yatitaet is expected to be aiyep. A person said to be aiyep is generous, hospitable, unselfish and kind (Chepkwony, 1997). As a provision of Kamuratanet, all Kalenjin people are expected to be aiyep. A selfish person is described as ng’ok, a distasteful term.
The Tolosiet Virtue in Kamuratanet

Another virtue in Kamuratanet is Tolosio or Tolosiet (Chepkwony, 1997). Tolosio means politeness, kindness and generally good behaviour. A person who is tala (verb form of the noun tolosiet) is of good character. Orchardson (1961) clearly captures the prominence given to this virtue during marriage ceremony. He writes about the father, who especially stresses to his daughter ‘...that she must entertain guests without restriction, particularly her relatives and relations –in –law so that the husband will not earn the stigma of meanness’ (Ochardson, 1961, p.76). Anyone who goes against this virtue is named sogoran (Snell, 1954). According to Chepkwony (1997), the term is so distasteful that the actor may not earn respect from anybody.

The Tegisto Virtue in Kamuratanet

Chepkwony (1997) says Tegisto means respect. However Tegisto goes beyond respect. Tegisto also denotes integrity. In addition, Sambu (2007) says that a person who has Tegisto is one who follows the strict rules which govern behaviour as expounded in Kamuratanet. Foremost, tegisto is owed to parents (Chepkwony, 1997). Chepkwony adds that this does not mean tegisto is limited to some people but it ought to be expressed to all members of the society including strangers.

Taboos as Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in the Kamuratanet Context

According to Hornby (2015), the term taboo is described as ‘a cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing’ (p.1219). The word taboo is used in this sense.

The Role of Taboos (Etanik) in Kamuratanet Context

Taboos serve as instruments to preserve communal secrets. They help to enhance the preservation of the “awe-aspiration” aspect of the faith and traditions by creating fear and respect among those who would otherwise break the practice with impunity (Sambu, 2007). In addition Chepkwony says that, taboos ensure that the norms of the society are preserved and maintained. Sambu says those who do not adhere to the cultural tenets stand cursed.

Role of Religion in the Context of Kamuratanet

The art of circumcision with its related rituals are operationalized by teachers known as Motirenik. Chepkwony (1997) describes Motirenik as ritual leaders and devotees of religion. Indeed in the context of Kamuratanet, they are the living embodiments of religion. As a religious function, the Kalenjin believed that curses would automatically befall those who went against the principles and virtues of Kamuratanet.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Maree (2008) describes research design as the plan on how to proceed with a research study. Similarly, Bryman and Bell (2011) describe a research design as a framework for the collection and analysis of data. While agreeing with all these positions, the study adopted Crofty’s (1998) procedure.

Qualitative Research Approach

Qualitative approach refers to research that elicits participant’s account of meaning, experience or perceptions (Golafashani, 2003). Similarly, the main goal of this study was to capture the sense that lies within Kamuratanet, the structures within it and how they influence the behaviour of the Kalenjin. Thus, the research purpose is best answered by, qualitative methods (Morse & Richards, 2007).

Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

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

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Ethnographic Case Study Research Design

Ethnography is a systematic study of people and cultures (Lichtman, 2013). According to Morse and Richards (2002),“ethnography provides a means for exploring cultural groups” (p.48). In line with Taylor’s (2002) suggestions, this study was characterized by:
a) Gathering data from a range of sources.
b) Studying the behaviour in everyday contexts.
c) Using a semi-structured approach to data gathering.

**Trustworthiness of Qualitative Research**
To ensure trustworthiness of the research findings, the study used a combination of the following strategies as suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2006).
i) Prolonged the consistent fieldwork which allows analysis and corroboration to ensure match between findings and participants.
ii) Triangulation.
iii) Mechanically recorded data involving use of tape recorder.
iv) Member Checking.
v) Participant language verbatim accounts to obtain literal statements of participants.

**Dependability in Qualitative Research**
To ensure dependability of the findings, the study employed the following strategies as suggested by Denzin (1997):
i) Combine the symbolic meanings with patterns of interaction by clarifying how the various coded words and phrases were operationalized.
ii) Observe the world from the point of view of the subject.
iii) Link the group’s symbols and their meanings with the social relationships: An example of a physical symbol is the roaring bulls (tolgugut) while abstract symbols include uttered statement with symbolic meanings.

**Location of the Study**
The study was carried out in Uasin-Gishu County. The county is a convergence zone for all the Kalenjin sub-tribes.

**Research Population**
The target population of the study comprised the Kalenjin speakers in Uasin-Gishu county who numbered 894,179 (Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

**Study Sample and Sampling Procedures**
The study employed a two stage procedure comprising purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

**Participants in the Study**
Creswell (2007) points out that qualitative inquiry usually involve few respondents. The sample consisted of six male and six female participants were selected purposively due to their expertise (Morse & Richards, 2002) in traditional procedures.

**Data collection methods:**
**Participant Observation**
To get appropriate information, the researcher keenly observed the rituals associated with Yatitaet in various seclusion sites with a goal of developing insights into Kamuratanet.

**Tape Recording**
The researcher used a small tape recorder to capture every word provided by respondents.

**Research Instruments**
A questionnaire comprising six lead questions and subsections was developed. Consequently open but guided interviews were used (Bardsley, Wiles & Powell, 2006). The study was carried out between May and December 2014.

**Analysis of Data**
In analyzing data, the study used Hycner’s (1999) explicitation procedure.

**Coding**
The researcher first assigned numbers to the informants, such as; Kanaptany 12. Next, the researcher transcribed data to determine emerging themes which were then categorized based on topics and assigned sub-headings.
V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Kamuratanet evolved various structures to oversee effective implementation of its self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management.

Structures of Kamuratanet

Kamuratanet evolved gender based structures whose members were obligated to discharge specified responsibilities in regulating the behaviour of community members (Figure 2).

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

Above them were poyopkok and korgoptum ne-oo (Elder korgoptum) who presided over matters of concern at the village level. Poyopkok presided over issues such as cattle theft, arbitration, fights and even murder and other critical issues relating to the behaviour of members at the village. On the other hand Korgoptum ne-oo served to reprimand those who did something wrong mainly against women, such as rape or a woman who neglected her family responsibilities or indulged in illicit sex with her own son or a members from prohibited age group. In such cases korgoptum ne-oo led a retributive procession known as injoget apchepiosok (punishment by women).

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

Figure 2: Gender Based Kamuratanet Structures of Social Behaviour Management

(Source: field data)

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

The Family and Home as Structures of Kamuratanet

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

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

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

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

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

Besides, the Kalejinjins are a patriarchal society. Children belonged to their father’s oret/club. Members of the same clan were considered closely related although the biological linkage could be too far for any memorable records (Sambu, 2007). In spite of this, the behaviour of individuals was identified with oret. As a result, some of the clans/oret were rated highly as illustrated another respondent, 7:1: “Tum kechang’ei motirirot. Kii mii korik chepo motirenik (7:1). (“In initiation, motirenik (tutors) were sought. There were families that produced motirenik (tutors) (7:1).

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

Community as a Structure of Implementing its Social Behaviour Curriculum

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

“Chii nekikeyatita kogitogunee pik, kiikoigei lem ra (Sortum 2:7) “A person who went through circumcision/keyatita was conspicuous. Today people are like Lem(Lem is a derogatory term used in reference to Luhya and Luos who were assumed not to circumcise).

By virtue of their Kamuratanet curriculum which included circumcision, the Kalenjin rated themselves as better behaved. The term lem is sometimes interchanged with lakwa (child) in reference to childish behaviour (researcher’s experience).Respondent 1:3 elaborates this position further; “murenik ap tumdop ra komengen atepio, kikoigei Lem (The men of modern circumcision do not know how to behave, they are like Lem (1:3). Based on this premises, it is apparent that ethnic jingoism was and is still a reality among the Kalenjin. This study submits that such pride in ways of behaving can be used as an asset to modify behaviour in the desired
In addition, the community played a significant role in ensuring adherence to behavioural standards set by Kamuratanet as corroborated by another respondent, 7:1, “Ngı mong’u kokerin pik. Chi ko kipo poror (7:1) (when you came out of seclusion, people watched you. People belonged to the community). Thus, the community served as a structure of Kamuratanet (refer to table 4.5 and figure 4.5). Indeed, to the community, Yatitaet as a unit of Kamuratanet was mandatory as pointed out by another respondent:

“Tum komokigerei–emet nyoo kependi tum. Tumi kopo ng’omnon” (5:2)

“Initiation cannot be banned – in our land, people are initiated. Initiation is for wisdom” (5:2).

Subsequently, individuals were obligated to obey the social norms that were articulated by Kamuratanet.

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

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

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

Certainly, the Kalenjin hate to be sogoran or to be referred to in such distasteful terms. In fact ill behaviour is perceived as an embarrassment the Kalenjin pride and is severely dealt with.

Ipinda as a Structure of Implementing Social Behaviour Curriculum

Age sets (ipinda) and age grades (siritiet) were assigned permanently in Yatitaet. Age sets and age grades were used to ensure members obeyed the “isms” of Kamuratanet as explained by a respondent: “Tara ngimong’u eng tum kotitla. Tolosio ko kiipu konyit (2:14) (when you come out of seclusion, you must be polite. Politeness promoted respect, (2:14). Once more, Yatitaet/circumcision was the most critical phase of Kamuratanet. It is during seclusion that initiates were assigned their agesets and age grades. On the role of age sets, respondent 5:5 says: “Pik ap ipinda ko kimotirisiei. Ipinda komokimoitos” (people of an age group served as tutors (motirenik). Age sets were respected). Age sets and age grades provided teachers to remind individual members of their roles and supervised them to ensure obedience to the accepted social codes. Respondent 2:16, further explains, “Chitap ipindang’ung ko kiuu tupchengung. Kingiroo letut kemwoei.Kingilel kokerin pik ap ipinda ako mii kirokto.(A member of your age set was like your brother. If they displayed their buttocks (to mean if they did anything embarrassing or misbehaved), you reported. If you misbehaved, people of your age set saw you and you would be punished, 2:16). Ipinda was thus a critical structure in the self-regulating processes of behaviour management among the Kalenjin. Sambu (2007) explains that the Kalenjin age set system was an institution under which moral codes were enforced. According to Sambu, “the age based moral code operates most effectively at the lower age grade level, where each age set has four such grades,” (p.142) Respondent 2:16 confirms the role explained by Sambu by stating that members of one’s age grade ‘watched’ the behaviours of its members and instituted punishment on those who were perceived to have deviated from the moral codes. As a result, members became very keen in observing the moral teachings articulated by Kamuratanet. Hollis (1909) further elaborates:

Should a youth encroach on the warriors’ preserves, he would be soundly thrashed; whilst an oldman would be so heartily laughed at and so ashamed of himself that he would not dare to put in an appearance at any of the meetings, or, in fact, show himself outside his house for many months to come, during which time his flocks, herds and crops would all suffer.” (p.76).

These punishments were instituted by members of one’s own age set. Respondent,9:15 clarified further the role of members of an age set in regulating adherence to Kamuratanet code:

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

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

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

In total, there are eight age sets for men and eight age sets for women. A full cycle of age sets took 120 years (Sambu, 2007). One ipinda lasted for 15 years before the next was named. Members of one ipinda could therefore have an age difference of up to 15 years or more. Subsequently, to check this age variation among members of one age set (Ipinda), Ipinda was subdivided into four Siritoik (age grades). Members of the same Siritet (plu. Siritoik) considered themselves as true brothers. The four siritoik in an ageset were known
respectively as Chonginiek, Kiptaru, Tetagat and Kiptaito (Snell, 1954). Similarly, members of a siritiet had a duty to observe high moral standards to ensure shame does not befall their age set or age grade so as to avoid derogatory nicknames based on the behaviour of its members; Yatitaet was not the only tool employed by Kamuratanet to initiate its members to higher social ranks. Kamuratanet had other self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management. These included:

i) Saget/Kulet ap kwet: after circumcision, one joined the junior warrior group. To be promoted to the next level of senior warrior, a man slaughtered a goat for the age set members to feast and symbolized a stop of youthful behaviour. One now joined the senior warrior group. Behaviour was important for promotion. Respondent 2:6 clarifies: ‘Kulet ap kwet kokakitil ng’olyo neng’etei, ka kotil kuyetot. Ki taunet ap sobet nelitit’ (Sortum 2:6).

Kulet ap kwet involved making a decision to stop childish behaviour. It marked the beginning of pious behaviour (Sortum 2:6)

ii) Kulet /Saget ap eito; Was a promotional structure provided for senior warriors to join the rank of junior elders.

“Kulet/saget ap eito ko kii koporunet kele imoche itunisie. Kaiegu poiyo. Ki saet sitilil oret ng’ung” (2:6)

Kulet ap eito marked a declaration of intention to marry. You have become an elder. It was a prayer so that you could cleanse your ways. This rite marked the end of warrior hood and the beginning of family life. Snell (1954) described Saget ap eito as a ceremony at which the military protection of the tribe was formally handed over to a new generation of warriors. The former warriors could now settle down to family life and serve as experienced junior elders whose advice and tuition was sought (Sambu,2007).

VI. SUMMARY

Kamuratanet, as a traditional practice embedded in culture served as a socially derived approach of behaviour management that was accepted by all members of the community. Consequently, each cultural community can derive accepted behaviour management models from its cultural practices. The past is thus called upon to lend the present time tested approaches of behaviour management.

Definition of Terms

Kamuratanet: Kalenjin traditional process of teaching appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards.

Yatitaet: Circumcision. It is accompanied by seclusion where rituals are preferred based on Kamuratanet

Self-Regulating Mechanisms: automated structures of Kamuratanet that obligate members to take specified corrective steps in regulating the behaviour of errant members.

Social Behaviour Curriculum: Contents of behavioural standards as spelt out in Kamuratanet

Social Mechanism: structures in Kamuratanet for implement prescribed social order.

Kalenjin: A tribe of Nilotic descend that traditionally live in the Counties in former Rift Valley Province of Kenya.

REFERENCES


