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**Høgskulen
på Vestlandet**

MASTER'S THESIS

**An insect under the elephant.
Maasai perception of education in relation to their culture.**

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15.05.23

I confirm that the work is self-prepared and that references/source references to all sources used in the work are provided, cf. Regulation relating to academic studies and examinations at the Western Norway University of Applied Sciences (HVL), § 12-1.

Abstract

The theme for this master's thesis is education and culture. The overall objective of this thesis was to do an in-depth study of a group of Maasai on how they perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture. The Maasai are well known in tourism, but very little research has been conducted involving them. The Maasai are historically known to be reluctant to accept formal education, but this seems to be changing. The Maasai traditional lifestyle is under pressure due to globalization, climate change, and ongoing land conflicts. This thesis explores if these changes have affected their acceptance of formal education.

The data was collected during one-and-a-half-month fieldwork conducted in Northern Tanzania. The first three weeks were spent in a secondary school with predominantly Maasai students, where I had field conversations and participatory observation. The following weeks were spent in a rural Maasai village, where I conducted interviews, field conversations, and participatory observation.

To understand how the Maasai perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture, I have examined what factors make them embrace or be reluctant towards education and how they view the importance and relevance of education. In addition, I have used Bourdieu's forms of capital to discuss how the Maasais can gain or lose capital due to education and discussed culture through Thomas Hylland Eriksen's definitions.

The main conclusion is that the Maasai perceive secondary and higher education as necessary to maintain their culture and traditional lifestyle. While some Maasais might still be reluctant towards formal education, it is considered an essential key to the Maasai culture's existence.

Samandrag

Temaet for denne masteroppgåva er utdanning og kultur. Det overordna målet med denne oppgåva var å gjere ei djupnestudie av ei gruppe maasaiar om korleis de oppfattar vidaregåande og høgare utdanning i relasjon til sin kultur. Maasaiane er velkjende innan turisme, men svært lite forskning har blitt utført om dem. Maasaiane har tradisjonelt vert motvillige til å akseptere formell utdanning, men dette ser ut til å endre seg. Den tradisjonelle maasai-livsstilen er under press på grunn av globalisering, klimaendringar og pågåande landkonfliktar. Denne oppgåva undersøker om disse endringane har påverka deira aksept av formell utdanning.

Dataen har blitt innsamla under halvannan månads feltarbeid utført i Nord-Tanzania. Dei første tre vekene ble haldt til på ein vidaregåande skule med eit fleirtal maasai-elevar, der eg gjennomførte feltsamtaler og deltakande observasjon. De følgande vekene blei haldt til i ein rural masai-landsby der eg gjennomførte intervju, feltsamtalar og deltakande observasjon.

For å forstå korleis maasaiane oppfattar vidaregåande og høgere utdanning i forhold til kulturen deira, har eg undersøkt kva faktorar som gjer at de omfamnar eller er stiller seg motvillige til utdanning og korleis dei ser på betydninga og relevansen av utdanning. I tillegg har eg brukt Bourdieu's kapitalformar for å diskutere korleis maasaiane kan tene eller tape kapital grunna utdanning, og diskutert kultur gjennom Thomas Hylland Eriksen sine definisjonar.

Hovudkonklusjonen er at maasaiane oppfattar ungdomsskule, vidaregåande og høgare utdanning som ei nødvendighet å sikre kulturen og den tradisjonelle livsforma. Til tross for at nokon maasaiar framleis kan være motvillige til formell utdanning, blir det sett på som en viktig nøkkel til maasaiane sin kultur sin eksistens.

Acknowledgments

Working on this thesis has been a great learning experience for me. Studying a field where I had very little prior knowledge has been challenging but even more rewarding. I have learned that education can be a matter of life or death, and I truly wished that I had more time to learn from the great people I have met through this project. Looking back, there are many people I need to thank.

First and foremost, I want to express my gratitude to all of the participants in this study, that chose to share their life stories and thoughts with me. To the Maasai friends in both the village and the city, thank you for being so welcoming and including me in your life and activities. Without your knowledge, this thesis would not exist. Asante sana!

To my Maasai big sister Esupath, it is a fictional name, but you know who you are. Thank you for welcoming me into your home, your family, and for your importance in this whole project.

I also want to thank my fellow master students for excellent company these past five years and for making this writing process more enjoyable.

Last, but definitely most important, to my supervisor Vibeke Vågenes. Thank you for your time, support, and encouragement. Your knowledge, your faith in me, and your interest in the project have been my greatest motivation in this writing process. Thank you for making this thesis possible.

And to anyone else reading, enjoy!

Guro Tennefoss Fiske May 15th, 2023

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1. Introduction

The traditional life of the Maasai is under pressure. It has changed in multiple ways due to the economic and political realities of the 21st century, influenced by politics, formalized education, land tenure changes, and the monetization of traditional economies. (Martinez & Waldron, 2006). The Maasai are now finding themselves in a delicate and challenging situation due to ongoing armed land conflicts with the Tanzanian government and severe drought in their grazing areas.

The statement “Education is the strongest weapon,” introduced by Tanzania's first president Julius Nyerere, adheres to the worldwide consensus that education leads to development. The global Education for All (EFA) movement, which started in 1990, committed the world community to achieve universal access to basic quality education “for every child, youth, and adult in every society” (WCEFA, 1990). The world has also moved towards the 2030 sustainable development goals (SDGs) agenda with a shared global vision for ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all (UN, 2015).

That education can be an asset for the individual and the community seems to be accepted globally. However, this does not say that reluctance toward formal education does not exist in certain communities. Policy debates and discourses within the EFA movement articulated an increasing concern overreaching the marginalized, including nomads and pastoralists, who remained excluded from formal education. While substantial progress has been made globally, education provision amongst the pastoralists is still problematic due to contextual issues such as student mobility, remoteness of the areas, harsh environmental conditions in their regions, and scattered population (Pesambili & Novelli, 2021). Some problems are linked to pastoralists themselves, such as cultural conservatism, poverty, and the child labor economy. The pastoralist group studied in this project is the Maasai, historically known to be reluctant to formal education (Pesambili & Novelli, 2021).

This project is based on my field studies in Tanzania (12.09.22-1.11.22). Three months before I arrived in Tanzania, in June 2022, Maasai in the Ngorongoro district in northern Tanzania protested what they said was the government's move to evict them from their ancestral land in the name of conservation. The government responded with excessive force, leading to two

days of violence. What happened here is not unique, and the Maasai fear for their land and livelihood. The Maasai people in northern Tanzania have a history of being pushed off ancestral land to make way for protected areas. Since 2009, the government has used various abusive tactics to displace about 150,000 people (Nyeko & Nnoko-Mewanu, 2023).

In 2022, the Tanzanian government restricted access to essential grazing areas and water sources, potentially displacing up to 70,000 Maasai. In June, the government, without consulting affected Maasai communities, declared the conversion of 150,000 hectares of land, arrested 10 Maasai community leaders, fired teargas and rubber bullets, injuring at least 30 people, including women and children, and charged 27 Maasai for the murder of a policeman who was killed in the conflict. This resulted in hundreds of Maasai fleeing to seek refuge in neighboring villages or crossing into Kenya to seek medical treatment for severe injuries (Nyeko & Nnoko-Mewanu, 2023).

In addition to the serious ongoing land conflict with the government, the Maasai are experiencing severe drought, affecting their economy and traditional lifestyle. The figure below presents the rain season for 2023 in Tanzania, and many of the areas affected are where the Maasai live.

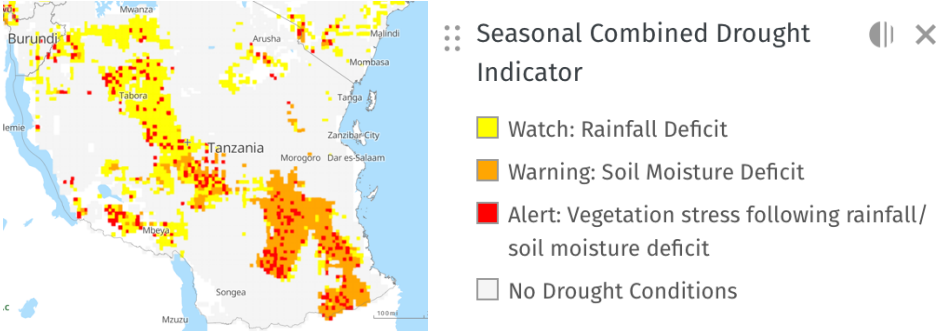


Figure 1: Seasonal Combined Drought Indicator Tanzania December 2022-February 2023 (ICPAC, 2023).

Due to not only globalization and modernization, which all cultures are in some ways affected by, but also because of the extremely delicate situation that the Maasai currently are experiencing, I found it interesting to study if the assumed reluctance towards formal education amongst the Maasai community has changed. The loss of the pastoral lifestyle and the need to participate more in politics and the modern economy is evident, and education is an integral part of this transition. This project investigates the tension between the challenges, demands, opportunities, and expectations of education for Maasai and its impact on their cultural identities.

Before continuing, it is important to disclose that because of the tense situation the Maasai are experiencing with the government, I have had to be very aware of what information to include in this project. This is to protect the informants that have contributed to the project.

Anonymization of both the informants and locations is essential. Some of the information I came to learn during my fieldwork that might have strengthened this study has had to be left out to ensure the safety of the informants.

1.1 Research Questions

The overall objective of this thesis is to do an in-depth study of a group of Maasai on how they perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture. Based on this, the following research questions were formed:

- I. What are the factors that make the Maasai embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?*

- II. What do rural Maasai think about the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education, and whether this has changed over the last years?*

2. Context

In studies based on field work it is important to understand the context in which the data collection takes place. In this chapter, I will therefore present background information on the Maasai, the pastoralist context, and the education system in Tanzania based on previous research.

2.1 Maasais and the Pastoralist Context

The Maasai are an indigenous group that inhabits Tanzania and Kenya. They are often characterized as archetypal pastoralists, which means subsistence is based primarily or exclusively on livestock herding. At the outset of the twenty-first century, Maasai land comprised about 150,000 km² of arid and semi-arid rangeland straddling the Kenyan/Tanzanian border. Maasai land is internationally famous for both its spectacular wildlife and its pastoralist population (Homewood et al., 2009, p.1).



Figure 2: Map over Maasai areas (Maasai Association)

Traditionally in the Maasai culture, age and gender are the key axes of social organization that distinguish categories of persons and structure their rights, responsibilities, and roles in their daily life (Hodgson, 1999, p.44). For the Maasai men, age differences are marked formally by designated age grades. The young boys are herding the cattle, and when they age about twelve, they get circumcised and become *Ilmurran*, which translates to “warrior.” The warrior's responsibility is to guard the cattle and the village against intruders and wild

animals. When the warriors retire, they become elders, and their responsibility shifts to be the decision-makers of the families (Hodgson, 1999, p.47).

The Maasai women are not formally divided by age grade. Still, their progression from young uncircumcised girls, *Endito*, to married women, to old grandmothers, *Koko*, is marked linguistically and often ritually (Hodgson, 1999, p.48). The young uncircumcised girls' responsibility is to help their mothers with childcare and household chores, such as fetching water, firewood, and milking cows. When the girls become married, they are seen as adults and continue their responsibilities with household chores. The responsibility increases when their sons get married, and they gain the responsibility of a daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law would in turn care for the women when they become elderly grandmothers, *Koko* (Hodgson, 1999, p.48).

Historically, the Maasai have depended on livestock keeping. However, specialized pastoralism, at the core of Maasai cultural identity, declined throughout the twentieth century (Homewood et al., 2009, p.1). The Maasai are still primarily rural and strongly livestock-dependent, with some communities and households remaining entirely livestock oriented; the majority is increasingly diversifying, either towards agropastoralism or away from natural resources-based livelihoods to non-farm activities. The Maasai culture and way of life are undergoing rapid change. The events unfolding are of central importance to developing trajectories for many struggling against poverty (Homewood et al., 2009, p.1)

Due to the Maasai's proximity to the major East African national parks and their distinctive customs and dress, they have become perhaps the most globally recognizable ethnic group in sub-Saharan Africa. They are commonly (mis)represented in advertisements and tourist commercials for Tanzania and in recent years, have become the focus of a burgeoning cultural tourist economy (Lawson et al., 2014).

The Maasai were amongst the earliest African people specified and named in mass-produced European images and have been over-exposed in the commercial film industry to a greater extent than any other ethnic group in Africa. This fascination with a "tribe", whose traditional pastoral lifestyle has come to symbolize "Africa" to many in the West, has increased over the past decades (Salazar, 2009, p.54).

It could be argued that the development of the Maasai image and the representation of their culture in the tourism industry has taken over colonial images to use Maasai culture as “additional anecdotes” in the safari experience. Stories and elements of Maasai culture have been torn from their sociocultural context to function as entertainment around the safari campfire (Salazar, 2009, p.60). The jumping warriors and their heroic stories about killing lions and their sexual potency, expressed by the number of their wives, to mention some. These Maasai representations fit perfectly within the fantasy of authentic indigenous Africa: seemingly untouched and unaware of the globalized world, living in mud huts, and herding cattle (Salazar, 2009, p.60).

While these representations could be accurate to a degree for some Maasai, this idea, reinforced by tourism promotion, could lead to the attitude that the Maasai are part of the landscape in the same way as zebras and lions. Tanzanian tour guides now jokingly say that foreign visitors do not come to see the “big five”, but the “big six,” the five most dangerous African animals plus the Maasai (Salazar, 2009, p.60). In reality, the areas that draw tourists are often created by removing the Maasai people from their land. On-going land ownership conflicts, primarily fueled by the expansion of parks and protected areas for the profitable ecotourism industry, are causing the Maasai to be displaced from historical and often the most fertile rangelands (Lawson et al., 2014).

Despite the representation in media and tourism, the Maasai culture is dynamic and evolves to adapt to new circumstances. Maasai are now intermarrying, adopting both the Swahili and English languages, and participating in various national and international development activities. Many Maasai children are currently attending secondary school, and there is a rapidly growing group of urbanized Maasai (Salazar, 2009, p.60).

The Maasai have a history of being involved in land conflicts and having to fight for their rights. As mentioned in the introduction, this is also an important issue pressuring the Maasai communities. In Homewood’s review of D. Hodgson’s book “*Being Masai, becoming indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*,” it is written about how the Maasai have organized themselves as indigenous peoples and established political structures. Through the help of community-based organizations and engaging with the global discourse on indigenous people’s rights, international organizations, and NGOs, the Maasai have gained more recognition for their rights and support for their causes (Homewood, 2012, p.683).

2.2 Education in Tanzania

Since the Tanzanian liberation and formation of the Republic of Tanzania, the country has invested in education and the development of schools. This has been an important feature in building the nation (Christophersen, 2018, p.59).

After the first world war, Germany lost its colonial rule at the Treaty of Versailles, and Tanganyika became a British mandate and colony. Tanganyika was, in this period, a society divided by race and class, where the top of the pyramid consisted of a European upper class that dominated economics, politics, and administration. At the bottom were the Africans, who made up 99% of the population, however only a tiny minority of them were allowed to go to school (Christophersen, 2018, p.52). Those who gained access to school experienced a racially biased and segregated education system. Africans, Asians, and Europeans each had their schools, and the curriculum emphasized different skills in the various schools. The African primary schools emphasized basic skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, while the Europeans had access to science, business, and technical education (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.128).

After liberation in 1961 and the formation of the Republic of Tanzania in 1964, Julius Nyerere became the country's first president. The authorities took the initiative to ban education based on race and introduced a system of education that would promote independence and self-reliance (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, 128). Nyerere introduced the slogan "Education is power." During Nyerere's presidency, Tanzania's three great enemies were pointed out: diseases, poverty, and analphabetism (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.129). To fight these three "enemies," Nyerere declared education as the only weapon capable of conquering them and the other obstacles to Tanzania's development.

In the Arusha declaration in 1967, Nyerere started the Universal Education program to ensure access to primary education for all Tanzanian children by removing the school fees and making primary school compulsory for all Tanzanian children. The main idea behind the Arusha declaration was African Socialism, self-reliance, and creating their own development (Christophersen, 2018, p.57). Due to Nyerere's education politics, analphabetism in Tanzania fell drastically, and literacy increased by 40% from 1975 to 2015 (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.128). Tanzania also implemented the international strategy from the UN's 1990 Education

for All (EFA), which aimed to access primary schools for all children in the world (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.129).

Education was a public responsibility in Tanzania until 1980 when private schools were opened to meet the growing need for access to education. Tanzania was not forced to open for private initiatives. Still, the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) forced the government to reduce expenses for public goods like education and health by introducing school fees (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.130). This particularly applied to the need for secondary schools. Today, studies show that private schools are still an issue. Low-quality public schools and schools in villages have become a “refuge” for children from low-income families.

School fees decreased participation and created a lack of equality and quality in the education system. School enrollment dropped from 90% in 1980 to only 66% in 1996. Due to this, Tanzania removed some of the school fees in public schools, and school enrollment increased after a short time (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.130). Still, Tanzanian schools were not fee-free before 2016. The figure below shows the enrolment in primary education in Tanzania. We can see the decrease in enrolment in the mid-80s when the school fees were implemented, the steady increase from 1996 when the school fees were decreased, and the rapid increase from 2015 when the school fees were removed.

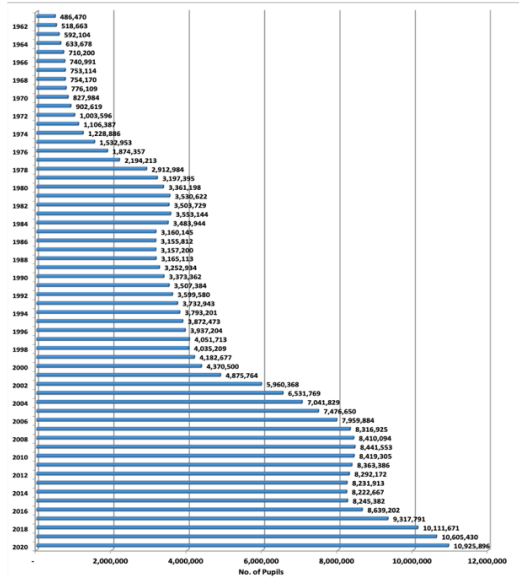


Figure 3: Enrolment in Primary education in Government and Non-Government schools in Tanzania, 1961-2020 (MoEVT, 2020).

In contrast, high-quality education in private schools is reserved for children from higher social classes. Despite the expansion of the education system in Tanzania, the increase in enrollment in primary education, and the implementation of national and international strategies to ensure education for all children, it became harder to access secondary school for children from disadvantaged families, such as many Maasai families. This is because most private schools and higher education have expensive school fees, which only high-income families can afford (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.130-131). Private and secondary schooling are more common in urban areas and among some ethnic minorities, which does not include many Maasai.

The Tanzanian government invested highly in EFA and built primary schools across the country, including the rural areas. This resulted in fewer new secondary schools being built. Hence, secondary schools often have long distances between them and are not based in rural areas. This has resulted in many Maasai, including the informants in this thesis, having long distances to secondary school.

Nyerere’s educational vision was built on preparing children to enter the workforce after completing the first seven years of schooling. Today's education policy in Tanzania focuses on primary education’s responsibility to prepare students for upper secondary education. Since Nyerere, the school system in Tanzania has been through different faces of investment and down-prioritizing. Today it is structured on a two-seven-four-two-three system, as shown in the table below. The educational system consists of two years of pre-primary school, seven years of primary school, four years of ordinary secondary school, two years of advanced secondary school, and at least three years of university or other forms of higher education (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.127).

Table 1.1: Educational system of Tanzania (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.128).

Level of Education	Age	Duration	Medium of Instruction
Pre-primary school	4-6	2 years	Kiswahili
Primary school	7-13	7 years	Kiswahili
Secondary school O-level	14-17	4 years	English
Secondary school A-level	18-19	2 years	English
Higher education	20 years and older	3 years and over	English

Only primary school is fee-free and compulsory. The language being used in primary education is Kiswahili. In addition, the language used in secondary and higher education is English, which places greater demands on language skills. For many Maasai, this entails that none of the education is taught in their first language *KiMaa*.

In terms of gender, there are more girls than boys in primary school, but this is changing as there is a greater dropout rate among girls when they start secondary school. The figure below shows that more girls than boys are in school until they reach the age of 16-17 (MoEVT, 2020). There are several explanations here. Early pregnancy or early marriage in girls is not uncommon and can therefore lead to "dropouts." In addition, the prioritization of boys over girls is also the case, especially in poorer families (Mashaza & Majani, 2018, p.139).

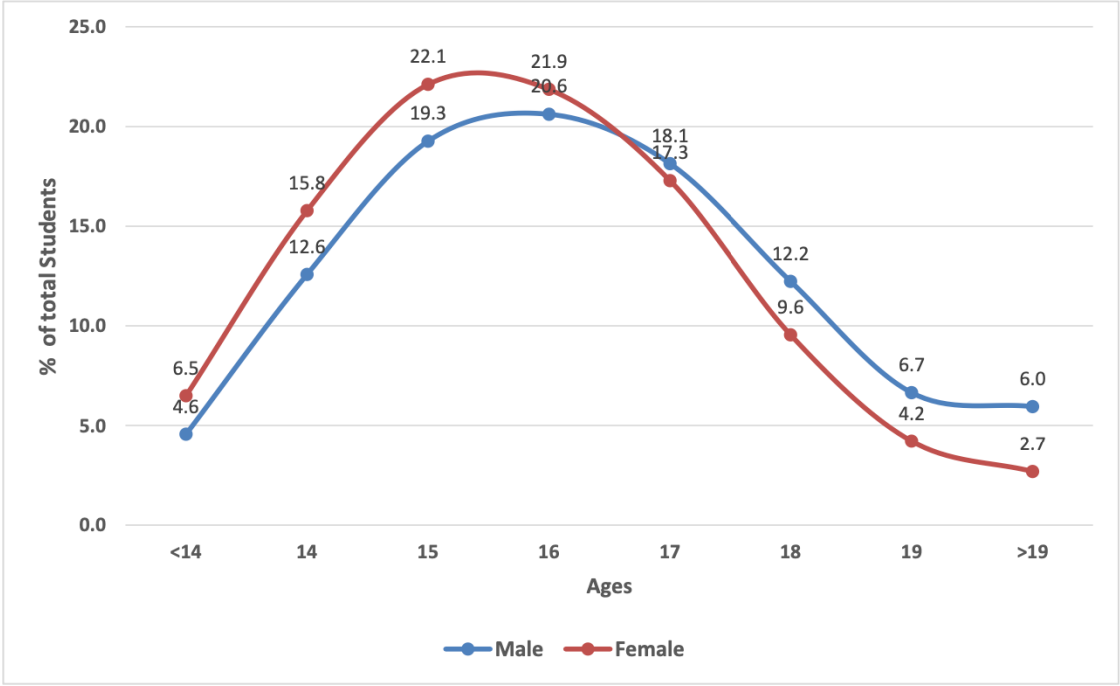


Figure 4: Secondary Education. Percentage of Students Enrolment by Age and Sex, 2020 (MoEVT, 2020).

3. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical frameworks and terms used in the following analysis. First presented is the *Theory of Capitals* by Pierre Bourdieu, followed by the views on culture by Thomas Hylland Eriksen. In addition to these, I will briefly explain the concept of Empowerment by Naila Kabeer.

3.1 Theory of Capitals

Pierre Bourdieu (1931-2002) was a well-known French sociologist concerned with understanding social life and researching social differences in society. What was central to his work is the notion of different capitals. Bourdieu saw people's assets as something more than money, and in a social system, we use different types of assets to achieve what we want (Wilken, 2008).

According to Bourdieu, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Economic capital is capital in the form of material objects or legal guarantees for such objects, i.e., money or property that can be invested in the ordinary economic sense (Bugge, 2002, p.225). For the Maasai, cattle are an important part of economic capital. Cultural capital is the form of resources acquired through growing up and through the education system (Wilken, 2008, p.56). Social capital is determined by social networks, such as friends, family, relatives, and personal contacts (Bourdieu, 2006, p.5). In addition to these three main forms of capital, Bourdieu also operates with the concept of symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is not a separate form of capital, but the way other forms of capital or power appear and are perceived under predetermined conditions. Symbolic capital is capital that is not experienced or recognized as capital and which by this is perceived as legitimate. Bourdieu's examples are various forms of prestige, honor, authority, reputation, etc. (Bugge, 2002, p.225).

The reasoning behind using the concept of capital by Bourdieu in this study, is that it may help us understand the rationality of the Maasai culture. Under certain circumstances, capital can be converted between the three different forms of capital. For example, cultural capital in educational qualifications can be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 2006, p.5). In Tanzania, economic capital can also be converted into cultural capital in educational

qualifications, or at least the opportunity to reach academic qualifications due to higher education expenses. A cattle-driven economy drives the pastoralist communities, such as the Maasai. The value of cattle differs from the Maasai villages to the city's money-driven economy. In both the Maasai villages and the town, cattle represent economic capital, but for the Maasai, it can also strengthen symbolic, social, and cultural capital. To understand the distinction, I will use the capitals described by Bourdieu to see how different features of the Maasai lifestyle and culture represent different capital that can be converted and therefore might affect their perception toward secondary and higher education.

3.1.1 Economic Capital

According to Bourdieu, economic capital is the most important form of capital, and it is described as the root of all the other types of capital (Bourdieu, 2006, p.22). The concept of economic capital does not differ much from traditional economic definitions and encompasses all kinds of resources that can be invested to yield economic returns. Examples of economic capital include real estate, commodities, money, and for the Maasai, cattle. Economic capital provides power through purchasing power (Aakvaag, 2008, s.152). The Maasai live in a world that, for them, uses two different economic systems where one is driven by cattle and the other by money. The cattle are for many Maasai the main source of their economy. But they must also participate in the money-driven economy when interacting with other communities and in the formal education system.

3.1.2 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, exists in three forms. The first form is *embodied* cultural capital. The embodied cultural capital is created through primary and secondary socialization and is expressed through manners, body language, articulation, general demeanors, and how you appreciate cultural expressions (Aakvaag, 2008, p. 152). Embodied cultural capital tends to be inherited and involves education and experience. This often begins in childhood and gives the individual a feeling of what is natural and what is not. Hence, differences in cultural capital are often hereditary and are evident in different upbringings, socialization, and experiences in life (Bourdieu, 1997).

The second form of cultural capital is *objectified* cultural capital. The objectified cultural capital is represented through objects that you own. This could be literature, art, or furniture

that the individual owns. However, its value depends on the embodied form of cultural capital to benefit the objectified cultural capital. If you are illiterate or unable to discuss your book, it will not contribute to your cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997).

The third form of cultural capital is *institutionalized* cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital exists through educational titles, diplomas, socially recognized authorizations, and professions. In difference to the embodied form, institutionalized cultural capital is more visible, concrete, and less changeable. If you have completed higher education, you become more attractive when applying for a job (Bourdieu, 1997).

Amongst the Maasai I met doing my research, high cultural capital was, for some, seen as having much indigenous knowledge or being the son of a respected man in the community. For others, high cultural capital was considered to be part of modernization, where higher education is important. The people in Tanzania that are growing up in wealthy families will often have educated parents and can attend expensive private schools and afford higher education. This could help them gain a stronger position in society later in life. While many Maasai are struggling with poverty and often operate with a cattle-based economy, it is common that they are not presented with the same opportunities. This is an example of how economic capital can be converted into cultural capital, which will be briefly explained below and applied in the analysis.

3.1.3 Social Capital

Social capital is the actual and potential resources linked to the network of the individual. It could be networks of family, friends, colleagues, and others that a person can access and gain prestige from because they belong to a certain network (Bourdieu, 2006, p.16). Social capital pertains to the resources that exist in these various social relationships and the structure of these relationships. Social capital provides power through the ability to mobilize different networks when needed (Maclean et al., 2010). A typical example is if one gains advantages through friends and acquaintances when looking for a job. Several of the informants expressed the lack of job opportunities due to a lack of connections with people from surrounding communities. They said that in Tanzania, it is important to know the right people because it would make it easier to get a scholarship to higher education or a job, but the Maasai have few of these connections.

Social capital also comes to light in the Maasai community when it comes to the question of marriage. It was explained to me by both the older informants that it is common to arrange for marriages where the families can benefit from each other, and these marriages are sometimes arranged before the child is born. These marriages create lasting bonds and networks from which they could gain prestige if they marry their child to someone from the “right” family.

3.1.4 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is described by Bourdieu as “economic and cultural capital when it is known and recognized” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.21). Both economic, cultural, and social capital can be converted into prestige and recognition, which is symbolic capital. Bourdieu believed that symbolic capital is about the individual's ability to utilize the other three forms of capital and convert them into other forms of value - e.g., morality. For example, if you donate time and money to charity, you convert the economic capital into symbolic capital or moral value (Wilken, 2008, p.39). You could also validate your symbolic capital by converting cultural capital, such as a prestigious diploma or social capital, through being associated with a prestigious group (Bourdieu, 1989). For example, if a person is a surgeon, they might receive respect based on their profession.

3.1.5 Conversion of Capitals

Each form of capital can be used to acquire another form of capital. One can argue that the most obvious is how economic capital can be used to buy another form of capital (Maclean et al., 2010). In Tanzania, it is possible to pay to get into schools that will increase cultural capital. It is also possible to “buy” social connections and networks to increase social capital (Maclean et al., 2010).

However, it is not only economic capital that could be converted into other forms of capital. Social capital can lead to increased economic capital by providing access to job positions that would otherwise be unattainable. A high degree of cultural capital can be transferred to increased economic capital since higher education is often associated with good salaries (Maclean et al., 2010). Hence, if the Maasai have less capital than the rest of the Tanzanian society, whether economic, cultural, social, or symbolic, it gives them a disadvantage outside

the villages, which could affect their opinions regarding education. This is why Bourdieu's theory of capitals has importance for this study.

3.2 Culture

Culture is a complex term that refers to different things and can have different meanings. The Norwegian anthropologists Eriksen and Sajjad refer to the word culture as one of the most difficult words in the language and point out that the word is used in many different contexts (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.34). In this study, the social scientific or anthropological concept of culture is used, which I will further explain briefly. Eriksen and Sajjad (2015) highlight the English anthropologist Edward Taylor's definition of culture from 1871 which states:

Culture, or civilization, is the complex whole that consists of knowledge, forms of belief, art, morals, law, and customs, in addition to all the other skills and habits a person has acquired as a member of a society (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.35).

This definition highlights that differences between people are not innate. People living in different societies and environments acquire different skills because their surroundings demand them. Hence, the difference between people can be said to be cultural and not genetic or biological. One can distinguish between what is innate and natural, and what is cultural and learned. Still, it is not always easy to separate these because innate characteristics can also be expressed in a cultural sense (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.35).

Culture is also transferred from generation to generation. We learn many of the rules, knowledge, and skills we use daily from previous generations. Depending on where you come from, we learn different things (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.37). There are thus more or less systematic differences in what people have learned and transmitted, that can be referred to as cultural differences. Culture is linked to tradition, but it would be more precise to say that it lies in people's experiences. Our experiences make us who we are, and people are both culturally similar and different (Eriksen, 2001, p.61).

An important part of culture is that it is constantly changing due to various processes such as migration, modern mass media, the internet, industrialization, smartphones, airplanes, and

other processes that can be described as globalization. These processes do not necessarily lead to people worldwide becoming culturally similar, but they lead to greater contact and mutual dependence (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.38). The Maasai culture, just like any other culture, is dynamic and constantly changing. These changes very are prevalent now due to outside factors such as globalization. The informants in this study emphasized culture as something that was very important to them. Many expressed that education is somewhat of a threat to their culture and existence, which will be further looked at and discussed in the analyses.

Eriksen explains that there is a divide between individuals and culture. Regardless of whether individuals grow up and live in the same environment, it does not make them the same. Due to this, there will be cultural differences within a culture (Eriksen, 1997, p.41). Therefore, it is important to disclaim that when I use the term “the Maasai culture” in this thesis, I am aware that culture is individual. The justification for referring to “the Maasai culture” is because all the informants that have contributed to this study have referred to their culture as collective for the Maasai as a community.

3.3 Empowerment

Similar to the term *culture*, the notion of empowerment has been used in a variety of ways. Empowerment is a complex term that, in this thesis, will be briefly explained through the notion of empowerment based on Naila Kabeer's explanation (1999). This is due to the term being used in Chapter 5.2.3. and 5.5. In these chapters, it will be discussed what opportunities that can emerge through education for Maasai women in a patriarchal culture and how education possibly can result in collective empowerment for the Maasai.

Central to the idea of empowerment is the idea of power. Naila Kabeer conceptualizes the notion of empowerment in terms of the ability to make choices: to be disempowered implies being denied choice. The notion of empowerment is therefore connected to ‘disempowerment’ and refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

Empowerment entails a process of change. People who exercise a great deal of choice in their lives might be powerful, but not empowered in this sense. This is because they were never disempowered in the first place (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

4. Research Methodology

In this chapter, I account for the methodological approach for this master project. In the autumn of 2022, I collected data through my teaching practice in a Maasai secondary girl school and fieldwork in a rural village in Tanzania, to try to answer my research questions:

- I. *Have the views on the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education changed amongst the Maasais compared to the historical reluctance?*
- II. *What are the factors that make the Maasais embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?*

This project focuses on a group of Maasai people's personal and individual experiences, which influenced the choice of research methods. Lived experiences are challenging to quantify, and I chose to use semi-structured interviews, participatory observation, and field conversations to produce qualitative data. This is because qualitative methods, in contrast to quantitative methods, which are more number-focused, provide knowledge in the form of language and expression. The qualitative approach offers the opportunity to describe the Maasai experiences and thoughts through words and not numbers (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p.47).

A qualitative approach was a good foundation for learning about the multiple perspectives of my informant's experiences and thoughts on how different factors in the Maasai people's lives interact in shaping their perception of education. To avoid basing the data collection on my assumptions, I chose a qualitative study that allowed for a flexible approach to the data collection where the methodical approach could be adapted during the fieldwork.

4.1 Presentation of the Village and Participants

The sample population of this study includes Maasai that has grown up in a rural village in Northern Tanzania where I conducted my fieldwork. The village is located approximately 100 km from the nearest town, and 20 km from the nearest road. The village is positioned in a dry plain, exposed to repeated droughts. During drought, the Maasai men often have to travel far with their livestock to get access to water and grass.

The village is traditionally designed with several bomas for each extended family, and with a meeting point where a small market was held. A boma is the home of one elder man and his family. The wives build their own huts, and these huts are placed in a set structure, often a circle. Coiled acacia branches and shrubberies fence in the area to protect it from wild animals and intruders.



Figure 5: Picture of a boma with traditional Maasai huts (private)

In the village I visited, several other villages share a local primary school. From some of the villages, the children must walk about 7 kilometers each way to get to the primary school. I was told that the local primary school struggled with the teachers not showing up at work, and the children often arrived at school only having to entertain themselves for the whole day. The nearest secondary school is located 4 hours by car from the village. For the children in the village, the only option to attend further schooling such as secondary school, is for their whole family to move or to attend boarding school.

The secondary school where I had my teaching practice before leaving for the village had students that had grown up in the village where I did my fieldwork. This secondary school

was located about 5 hours by car from the village. The secondary school was a boarding school for girls, with mostly Maasai students.

During the teaching practice, I conducted participatory observations and countless field conversations. During the rest of the stay in Tanzania and fieldwork in the village, I interviewed 30 informants, some in pairs of two but mostly individually, and continued the observations and field conversations. Out of these interviews I have chosen 8 interviews, who represent a variety of ages, gender, education level, and way of living that will have a greater saturation in this thesis in the form of quotations. I have given these informants fictive names to protect their identities. For some informants, I have also adjusted their professions and other personal characteristics for the same reasoning.

Tables of interview participants and information about their positions and involvement in the project can be found in Appendix 1. In addition to this, the next chapter will include an overview of the informants that are being quoted in this paper with background information that might contribute to understanding their individual statements.

4.1.1 Presentation of Participants

This chapter contains background information on the key informants. These informants were vital to my research and contributed insightful information about the Maasai community and education.

The purpose of this chapter is to give some insight into who the people that partook in this research are and how their background could be important for how they view education. It also shows that the Maasai in the rural villages all have different life stories and experiences, contributing to how they live their lives in the Maasai communities and how they practice their culture. This disproves the stereotypes you often see in tourism and media, portraying the Maasai as being solely a primitive tribe, which will be further addressed in Chapter 9. The informants are given pseudonyms to protect their right to be anonymous in the project.

Esupath and Neema – The Inspiration for Young Girls in their Villages.

Esupath and Neema are two friends who grew up in the village where my fieldwork occurred. They are both females in their early thirties, educated at the university level, and working in the city. Both girls have supported their local community both financially and by being helpful in providing medical assistance by driving community members to hospitals, driving children to boarding schools, sponsoring other peoples' children's education, and advocating for Maasai rights.

Neema grew up in a wealthier family where her father only had one wife due to religious reasons. Neema's father is also educated, and she grew up with four siblings, who were all encouraged to get an education and could afford it without the help of sponsors. Neema now works for an NGO (Non-governmental organization), that is working on issues such as providing basic social services to Maasai villages and sponsoring young girls' education.

Esupath grew up in a traditional extended Maasai family where the father had four wives, and she has about twenty siblings. Esupaths father was educated and supportive of his children getting an education. Esupath now works several different jobs and is an activist for Maasai rights. Esupath is one of the key informants, but she was also tremendously helpful in arranging for me to conduct the fieldwork in her village and introducing me to other informants.

Daudi – The respected elder.

Daudi is an elderly man that lives in the village. Daudi has three wives and nine children. He is seen as one of the community's leaders and is a very respected man due to his life experience and knowledge. Daudi is one of the few at his age who has finished a university degree. His passion for the Maasai culture and education made him a vital informant that gave me much insight into the Maasai culture and history.

Lekuta – The Government Employee.

Lekuta is a middle-aged man that lived part-time in the village and part-time in the city due to his employment in public administration. Lekuta has attended secondary education through

the help of sponsors and is now working for the government. Lekuta's parents were uneducated and felt like education was useless in the Maasai community. Lekuta himself, is supporting and encouraging his children to attend school.

Naeku and Lemuani – The Traditional Husband and Wife.

Naeku and Lemuani are a married couple in their early eighties that lives in the village. Naeku is Lemuani's first out of four wives, through an arranged marriage. One of their sons is educated and lives in the town. The rest of Lemuanis boys live in the village, and the girls have been married through arranged marriages. Naeku had attended primary education, and Lemuani have not gone to school.

Napanoi – The Women's Rights Advocate.

Napanoi is a woman in her early twenties from a rural Maasai village, who lives and works in the city. Napanoi has finished a university degree, through the help of sponsors. She became pregnant while attending the university but still managed to graduate with the help of her siblings to take care of the child. Napanio works both in the city's informal sector and in public administration, working with issues regarding Maasai women's affairs. Napanoi is considered a role model for other girls in her local village.

Kiaro – The Successful Son.

Kiaro is a man in his thirties whom I met in the city. He grew up in a Maasai village but left the village to attend school. He holds a university degree and works with legal cases regarding the Maasai's rights in the country. Kiaros's family did not support him in attending school but is now very proud of his achievements. Kiaros older brother encouraged him to attend school and paid for his education, despite their parent's opinions.

Mary – The Teenage Mother.

Mary is a girl in her late teens who is a mother of two children who live in the village. She has tried to attend school twice but has gotten pregnant both times. Mary has a resourceful

member of her extended family who has advocated for her education since she was a young girl. The only reason she was allowed to go back to school after her first pregnancy was because of the support of this family member.

The second time she got pregnant, her parents decided that she needed to get married in the village instead of going back to school. She is now in an arranged marriage living with her husband's family.

Kelembu and Daniel – The Brothers in Search of Employment.

Kelembu and Daniel are two brothers in their late teens and early twenties. Kelembu is attending university in the city, studying economics. Daniel has finished his university degree in economics and is now living in the village with his parents while applying for jobs in the city, which has been more challenging than he expected. Kelembu is worried that this will become a challenge for him as well when he graduated.

The brothers were encouraged by their parents to attend formal education and were supported financially by them to attend education at the university level.

4.2 Accessing the Field and Recruiting the Informants.

My data material was collected through one-and-a-half-month fieldwork in northern Tanzania from mid-September to early November 2022. The first week in Tanzania was spent in a bigger city, preceded by three weeks of teaching practice in a boarding school with a majority of Maasai students. The last three weeks were spent conducting fieldwork in the village, where most of my data were collected.

My supervisor arranged a meeting with one of her connections in Tanzania to access a Maasai village. This connection referred me to Esupath, whom I have presented in Chapter 4.1.1. Esupath is an activist in the Maasai community and became not only a key informant but a facilitator for both my fieldwork and other interviews. I stayed in her house in the city on two occasions, and she became both a safety net and a friend. Esupath arranged for an interpreter

and me to stay in a boma with a family she knew was familiar with Western visitors in the village where she grew up.

Esupath drove me to the village, and upon my arrival, she introduced me to the elder and his oldest son in the boma where I was staying. This was an advantage for me, as she is a known and respected part of the village. Through this introduction, I explained my intentions for the stay and what my research included. Jessica, my interpreter, had also grown up in this village and knew the family whose boma I stayed in. That I was accompanied by someone they had a relationship with was, I believe, reassuring for both myself and the family living in the boma.

The first evening in the village, the first wife of the head of the boma, Mama Nashipae, invited Jessica and me for tea in her hut. During the visit, Mama Nashipae was eager to show me around her hut and explain her daily chores. I expressed interest in this, which started an essential unity for my research, including Mama Nashipae, Jessica, and myself. The following days I volunteered to partake in some of Mama Nashipae's chores, such as fetching water and wood. While walking to fetch wood, Mama Nashipae guided us to different bomas, where she arranged for me to interview people she knew would have interest in participating in my project. On other occasions, since she does not speak English, she gave Jessica the name of people in the village that she thought would be an asset in my research. Jessica arranged the interviews by guiding me to the bomas and introducing me to the possible participants.

Having chosen a qualitative study approach, I used the help of Mama Nashipae and Jessica to recruit new informants; this to a degree, was the use of the snowball method as opportunities presented themselves to me. Because the snowball method can lead to having many informants from the same network sharing characteristics, it has been suggested to lead to sampling bias (Grønmo, 2016, p.117). Due to this, I tried to conduct as many interviews as possible during my stay, with as much variation in factors such as age, gender, and level of education. However, having a qualitative approach, I believe the snowball method, rather than bias, contributed to the in-depth descriptions I sought. Still, I do not claim to represent the Maasai as a whole in this thesis, but it is representative of the Maasai in the village I conducted the fieldwork.

The informants that partook in interviews outside of the village were also recruited by the snowball method. Neema, Napanoi, and Kiaro were all introduced to me through Esupath and her extensive network of Maasai in the city.

4.3 My Role and Position in the Field

It is important to reflect on my role and status in the field. This is because doing fieldwork is a process where you are a participant in the construction of the data, and the results will be influenced by the roles I have in the field. Initially, the people in the field will always place the researcher within existing power relations and their normal social landscape. Therefore, the participants in the research and the researcher must share similar role expectations and understanding of relevant status (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.69).

I was prepared to negotiate my role and position in the field. Before I arrived in the village, my reflections on my role during the fieldwork were that I wanted to avoid being labeled as a visitor as I believed that this could give me limited access to information. I experienced that my role expectations and position changed multiple times a day according to whom I surrounded myself with. Expectations of roles are often determined by unwritten norms and regulations you must relate to, and the role is how you act in terms of your status in the field (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.67). My status in Tanzania was a white, young, educated female from Norway, that clearly was not a part of the normal social landscape.

In the village, most of my interviews were held with people living in different bomas from the one I was staying in. Due to the long distances between the bomas, I only met the participants once. Hence, I was seen as a visitor in the mind of my participants, which was demonstrated by the traditional customs such as having tea prepared upon my arrival and me being told by Jessica to bring a bag of sugar as a tradition when visiting other families' bomas for the first time.

Despite being labeled as a visitor in the different bomas, being accompanied by my interpreter, who was a known person in the village, and often by Mama Nashipae, who was considered a respected elder with ties to the whole village, might have served to create a non-threatening and trustworthy status for me as a researcher. To make myself as “non-threatening” as possible, I sought to establish a learner role and emphasized that I was there to

learn from them. Combining this with my relation to Mama Nashipae and Jessica, I hoped to gain trust and be an “accepted outsider”. The sought role as an accepted outsider is a role I felt was beneficial for my project as the time with the informants was limited (Thagaard, 2009, p.105).

There is no certain way to tell if my sought role as an accepted outsider was seen as such amongst the informants. Only the Maasai I got to meet knows their perception of me and my role in their normal social environment. Regardless, I experienced on several occasions signs that I interpreted as acceptance by the Maasai in the village. I tried to dress accordingly to the Maasai customs to show respect for the culture, which I was told was appreciated. I also learned how to greet the different age groups and genders in KiMaa and apply the traditional Maasai gestures in the different greetings. When greeting older Maasai, the custom is for you to bend your head and let them put their palm on it to show respect. When I initiated this greeting with the elders in the village, I was immediately met with big smiles and a feeling of acceptance. Another example that I interpreted as a sign of acceptance as an outsider was when Mama Nashipae invited me to stay with her and her grandchildren in her hut. The boma had a separate house for me and my interpreter to stay in and Mama Nashipae made me feel very accepted when she offered me to stay in her traditional hut instead. Every evening after this was spent drinking tea in her hut together with her grandchildren, with her trying to teach me new KiMaa words.

Regardless of my sought position as an accepted outsider, I came to Tanzania as an educated woman who was a young white European meeting a culture that was significantly different from my own. These differences meant I had to reflect on how my previous experiences influenced my thinking. The absence of a shared background made both the informants and I make more or less educated assumptions about each other’s lives. The informants’ view of me, and my role, might influence the participants’ level of openness and adjust their answers to what they assume I would want to hear. To avoid this, I tried not to let my values affect the interviews (Thagaard, 2009, p.105). However, my external characteristics are undeniably important to how I was perceived as a researcher, and they might have shaped some of the answers I received (Thagaard, 2009, p.82).

An example of this could be that whilst conversing about Maasai traditions and rituals, many of the informants brought up, on their initiative, the issue of female genital mutilation and

emphasized that this was something they did not support. In many cases, this statement could be true. Still, it could also have been brought up because the negative attitude towards female genital mutilation in Western societies seemed well-known in the Maasai community. Also, one of the informants, Daudi, whilst talking about the benefits of arranged marriages argued in the interview that he knew arranged marriages were frowned upon in “your world” implying that I as a researcher also shared this opinion regarding arranged marriages. However, the fact that Daudi chose to share his views on arranged marriages regardless of him knowing that his views might seem controversial to me as a researcher strengthens my sought position as an “accepted outsider” and the trustworthiness of my research.

4.4 Choice of Research Methods

A qualitative mixed methods approach was used to collect the data for the project. Collecting data through a triangulation of different methods such as interviews, field conversations, and observation allowed me to study the Maasai’s different perspectives towards education from multiple sources, which helped minimize bias and added to the trustworthiness of the data collected. The issue of trustworthiness will be returned to in Chapter 5.7.

4.4.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are a common method for collecting qualitative data that has proven versatile and flexible. One of the main advantages of using the semi-structured interview method is that it enables reciprocity between the interviewer and participant, enabling the interviewer to improvise follow-up questions based on the participant’s responses and allowing space for participants’ individual expressions (Kallio et al., 2016).

I conducted 22 semi-structured with 30 informants where most were individual and some in pairs of two. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours. I recruited informants until my last day in Tanzania. This was important for my thesis because the questions in semi-structured interviews require a certain level of previous knowledge and my knowledge about the topic got broader after each interview. In addition to this, the semi-structured interview allowed for new topics to emerge during the conversations. This resulted in me adjusting

some of the questions in my interview guide and adding further follow-up questions (Kallio et al., 2016).

My knowledge about the Maasai, and my knowledge about how to conduct interviews, and understanding what questions that were important to ask for my research grew gradually during my fieldwork. When transcribing and analyzing the interviews, I found that the added follow-up questions were important to answer my research questions and gave a better understanding of the answers I already had received. Therefore, I chose to give eight of the interviews that were conducted later in my fieldwork more saturation in the thesis than the others, and these are the ones that are presented in Chapter 4.1.1.

That I have chosen to give these eight interviews more weight in this thesis by presenting them and using their quotes, does not make the other interviews and informants any less important for the research. All the interviews are used to form a picture of the situation and improve the trustworthiness of this study.

The interviews were conducted in the informants' bomas, most often in their huts. I offered the informants to choose where they would prefer the interviews to be held, but I suggested that to choose a place where we had privacy. This was to ensure their anonymity in the thesis and that they could speak freely without the inference or impact of bystanders. Before the interview, the informants were either given or read the information letter and consented to participate in the study.

To guide the conversation, I developed interview guides with open-ended questions. The interview guide covered my study's main topics, offering a focused structure for the discussion during the interviews, but it was not followed strictly. I used the semi-structured interview to collect similar information from each participant by providing guidance on what to talk about (Kallio et al., 2016). This also increased the trustworthiness of the material by attempting to avoid guiding the informants' answers in the "right" direction. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 2.

4.4.2 Participant Observation and Field Conversations

The fieldwork I conducted required a high level of participation from me as a researcher. Participant observation is often characterized by the researcher entering a society or a situation where you can participate and at the same time observe various actions or events that take place in the natural setting (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.63). Participant observations can give a different view of what everyday life is like and often provide different information than you would get through interviews (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.64). During my fieldwork, I was a participant in the society I studied. I partook in daily activities and became a known presence in the village. Participant observation is about getting behind the façade and observing life as it evolves for the informants, which is only possible when there is established predictability to base the interactions on (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.99).

All discoveries were noted in a notebook and later categorized along with the rest of the data material. The observations I made included a description of situations and my impressions of what happened, which I tried to keep separate from each other. This is because my interpretations could have impacted what is supposed to be neutral descriptions, and therefore an important part of the observation was to reflect on my role and how I as a researcher could have impacted the field.

In the process of recruiting and interviewing informants, I got to visit the boma of many different families which also meant I got to observe the differences in their daily life. In advance of visiting the different bomas, I had prepared some guidance for myself on what to especially be aware of observing.

The following questions guided the observations:

- Are there many children of school-age staying at home during school hours?
- Where is the boma located concerning distances to the primary school?
- Are there signs that could implicate the economic status of the family? E.g. number of cows, state of the huts, clothing, hired men to care for the cattle, etc.
- What traditional and cultural practices does the family follow? E.g. multiple wives, underage wives, daily activities, cultural greetings, and norms.
- How do they interact amongst themselves, with me, and with my interpreter?

These questions gave contextual knowledge about my informants that is important for the analysis of the data. They are an important source of knowledge about the informants' lives and the differences in Maasai households.

Participatory observation provided the opportunity for field conversations. Field conversations are informal and non-scheduled interviews, discussions, or conversations during fieldwork. Field conversations can add to the questions and nuance of the topic and create relevant data (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.30). Observations are not only what can be seen but also what can be heard, and I used field conversation as a separate source for obtaining empirical material. The field conversations would on various occasions provide me with answers to questions I had not planned to ask, but that emerged naturally in conversations (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.33). The field conversations were noted in a notebook and categorized thematically.

4.5 Transcriptions and Analyses

To process the data from the fieldwork, I transcribed the interviews using voice recordings and field notes. I transcribed the interviews manually which was time-consuming but provided the opportunity to dive deeper into the material and get clarity on what connections there were across the interviews (Gleiss & Sæther, 2021, p.97). I have attempted to transcribe my materials as close to the utterance as possible. The quotes used in this thesis are not corrected, as this ensures low interference from me as the researcher and the risk of changing the meaning of the informants' statements. Therefore, there will occur some grammatical errors in the quotes because I would not want to change words around and introduce words that were not there in the initial data (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017).

To analyze the transcriptions, I did a thematic analysis. The goal of thematic analysis is to identify patterns in the data that are important or interesting and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). I tried to avoid using the main interview questions as the themes because this could result in the data being summarized and organized, rather than analyzed (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). I began by reading and re-reading the transcripts until I was familiar with the data. I then proceeded to organize my data in a meaningful and systematic way. Coding reduces lots of data into small chunks of meaning. I was concerned with addressing the research questions and analyzed the

data with this in mind. Given this, I coded each segment of data that was relevant to or captured something interesting about my research questions (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017)

Further, I examined the codes, and some fit into a theme. For example, I had several codes related to the participants' perceptions of education's effects on indigenous knowledge. I collected these into an initial theme called "Loss of indigenous knowledge." A theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and research questions (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). When this was done, the codes had been organized into broader themes that seemed to say something specific about my research questions and the themes were predominantly descriptive in the way that they described patterns in the data that were relevant to the research questions (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

4.6 Challenges and Ethical Considerations

As presented earlier in the thesis, one of my main challenges during the fieldwork was understanding my role and position and how it influenced the data collection. However, there were some further overreaching challenges and ethical considerations that I will be addressing in this chapter.

4.6.1 Time

A methodological challenge I faced was the issue of time. I spent three weeks in the village which limited the opportunity to gain the trust of the informants. Due to distances of several kilometers between the bomas I visited, I often only met the informants once. If my fieldwork had been longer, I would have had the opportunity to revisit the bomas of my participants, getting to know them, and strengthening my sought role as an accepted outsider. Having a limited amount of time in the field, efficiency was crucial for the progress of the data collection. Unfortunately, getting enough informants and interviews sometimes came at the expense of building mutual trust between the informants and me, which resulted in my role being labeled as a visitor by some of the informants in the village.

In the city, I would often schedule interviews that fell through because the informant(s) was occupied or did not show up in time for an interview. This often meant that scheduled

interviews had to be moved and some fell through because I had to leave Tanzania before the informant had the opportunity to meet. I for example had scheduled an interview with a Maasai activist that was continuously pushed forward on his request at the last minute when I had already arrived at the agreed location. I, therefore, regard challenges with time as something that lead to some missed opportunities.

4.6.2 Language

An important consideration is the use of language. The shared language between the interpreter, most of the informants, and I was English. To reduce the risk of having the meaning of the data changed in translation, this thesis is written in English rather than Norwegian. I acknowledge that language is important because it could be a barrier and has influenced the study both in a positive and a negative manner. Most of the interviews actively used in this thesis were conducted in English, with informants having English as their third language and KiMaa, and Swahili as their first and second language. To be able to have a lingua franca when studying another culture is a great asset in the way that it creates a more personal atmosphere than only having to conversate through a third party. Still, Jessica, my interpreter, was present during most of the interviews in the village and available to help if some of the informants struggled to find the right translations of what they wanted to convey. A few of the interviews relied solely on translation through her, for example, the interview with the elderly couple, Naeku and Lemuani who did not know English.

On several occasions, men in the village with very little knowledge of English reached out to me with the intention of participating in my project. I suggested the use of an interpreter in advance of the interviews, but they declined the offer. I perceived this as them being proud of knowing English and wanting to convey this skill to me. The issue was that many of them only knew basic English phrases and could not understand my questions. During these interviews, I again suggested including my interpreter in the conversations, but it was still declined. To avoid offending the participants by insisting on the use of the interpreter, I tried to keep the conversation going and show appreciation for their volunteering to take part in my project. These interviews had to be excluded from the study because they were too incomprehensible and most of the questions and answers were misunderstood by both the participants and me.

The interpreter, Jessica, is female and a few years younger than me. She is studying for her bachelor's degree and has little experience with being an interpreter. Before leaving for the village, we carefully reviewed the interview guide, the information letter, and the importance of the participant's knowledge about consent and confidentiality. I was careful to make sure that she got an understanding of my research. Jessica's English was not perfect, and during the interviews, she sometimes struggled to find the right translations. An advantage of having Jessica as my interpreter was that she had grown up in the village where the fieldwork occurred. She was of great help during my stay, guiding me to the different bomas and introducing me as a friend of hers to the community, which supported my sought role as an accepted outsider.

To ensure that there were no misunderstandings in the interviews, I asked Esupath, who is more advanced in English, to listen to some fragments of the recordings to ensure the quality of the translations when I got back to the city. I acknowledge that this could conflict with the confidentiality of the informants, but it was a decision made to ensure the study's trustworthiness. She was only asked to listen to fragments of the interviews with informants that she had helped me recruit, and I listened with her to ensure she did not hear any sensitive information being discussed. Esupath has worked as a translator previously and was informed about the importance of her confidentiality, which she was aware of due to previous experiences with similar projects.

Still, there were sometimes challenges with the language. On some occasions, there was confusion due to the informant's accents or words. Some of the informants used local slang or word that I had to make them further explain for me to make sure I did not misunderstand. Sometimes I also had to help the informants find the right words to describe what they wanted to convey. Most of these challenges were easily discovered, and I was aware of the importance of asking if I was unsure of something rather than assuming what was being said.

4.6.3 Ethical Considerations

Informed consent, confidentiality, consequence, and the researcher's role are important when dealing with ethics in research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2012, p.79). It is always important to consider and observe ethical principles before and during the research. In my research where sensitive topics such as personal life, finances, and political views were discussed during the interview, it is especially important (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.246).

Informed consent means that the research participants are informed about the research's overall purpose, and about the main features of the design. This is to ensure that those involved participate voluntarily and that they are informed that they can withdraw from the research at any time (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.86). Informed consent also means that the person to be examined knows the advantages and disadvantages participation may entail (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.246). Prior to the fieldwork, I designed an information letter in line with the Norwegian Center for Research Data's (NSD then, SIKT now) template, which can be found in Appendix 3. The information letter was presented orally by either the translator or me, to ensure that the consent would not be based on ambiguity or lack of information about the project. If I had any doubts regarding the participant's level of English, I had the translator inform them about the project to ensure all the information was understood.

The participants received my e-mail and phone number and were told that they could withdraw their consent at any time. Since my fieldwork was conducted in a rural village, not all the informants have access to the internet, and withdrawing their consent could be challenging. Therefore, I needed to be open about what kind of research I was doing. I carefully explained what the purpose of the project was, that they understood it was completely voluntary, that it would be recorded, and that they were going to be anonymous. Together with the translator and the participant, we went through every step of the consent form to ensure it was properly understood.

Confidentiality means private data identifying the participants is not revealed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2012, p.90). As important as the participants consenting to the project, is the right to privacy, especially since the topics could be perceived as sensitive (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.249). Topics that I am comfortable discussing could be difficult or uncomfortable to

others. Hence, I needed to reflect on the information sensitivity concerning whom I was studying (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.250). Every participant in the study is anonymized, and it should not be possible for outsiders to identify the participants based on the data material. The data material has been processed in relation to principles for research ethics and the Personal Data Act (Postholm & Jacobsen, 2018, p.250). I never wrote down any personal details of the participants, nor were their names part of my interview material or in the field diary. To anonymize the participants as much as possible, I have chosen not to share their real names, the real name of the village, their exact age, or their employment. Apart from myself, no one had access to the data, and the audio recordings were deleted as soon as I had finished transcribing the data. The audio recordings were kept only on the audio recorder and on a memory stick that I kept on me during my whole stay in Tanzania.

Both positive and negative consequences that my project may have had for the participants are also important ethical guidelines that I have considered throughout my fieldwork (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2012, p.91). Some informants disclosed serious accusations against the Tanzanian government regarding their treatment of the Maasai community which I chose not to reproduce in this study, to protect the informant's anonymity and in a worst-case scenario, their life and freedom. This required me to consider how, and if, I wanted to include any of this material in my thesis. In most cases, it has been left out, as my research questions can be answered without it. I believe that the precautions I have taken during and after the fieldwork to ensure the confidentiality of the participants have significantly reduced the risk of negative consequences due to the project.

The Maasai are often portrayed in movies, advertisements, and tourism in Tanzania, but there is little research about them. Some of the informants are considered activists for the Maasai community and are actively working internationally to spread the word about what challenges the Maasai are currently facing. The advantage of being a part of my projects is that the participants' thoughts and experiences are potentially reaching a new audience, promoting knowledge, and interest in the Maasai community. Therefore, I got the impression that the participants felt it was meaningful to participate in the project.

4.7 Transparency and Trustworthiness

While conducting research, concepts such as reliability and validity are important. Reliability concerns the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings and validity is a measure to indicate if the method investigates what it is supposed to investigate (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p.276). The project's reliability is decided when it is evaluated thoroughly. It gives the impression that it is executed in a reliable and trustworthy manner, which means that another research would get the same results by using the same methods (Thagaard, 2009, p.298).

This study is structured on a qualitative research design. It is less structured and more flexible than a quantitative research design. Hence, it will not be possible to replicate by other researchers. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on transparency and trustworthiness. By being open about my research, I can ensure the trustworthiness of my research.

Qualitative methods require a high level of involvement from the researcher which can lead to researcher subjectivity and bias (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p.273). Previously in the thesis, I have explained how I positioned myself in relation to the informants, my reflexivity about my role in the field, and my involvement in the process can be used to avoid my subjectivity influencing the material. During my fieldwork and data analysis, I reflected on my personal bias that may influence my findings. I am a woman from a Western culture who sees education as something essential in society. I have attempted not to let my personal views affect my conversations in the field, and I have been conscious of when I have done it. During my fieldwork, I sought to become a part of the community and be aware of not distancing myself from the participants of my study and viewing them as "others".

It is also important to consider that the data collected in qualitative studies is based on the participants' subjective experiences. This means that a sense of intersubjectivity is sought, where the data collected results from the intersecting perspectives of the participants and me. I have therefore considered that the participants represented their interpretations of their experiences and that they can also have biases and wish to present themselves in certain ways.

To increase the trustworthiness of this thesis I have tried to make a detailed description of the research methods and the challenges that affected this research. The use of method triangulation contributes to the trustworthiness of my research by me comparing the data collected from the semi-structured interviews, field conversations, and participant observation, which allows me to look at the data from different angles. I have also

triangulated informants by having a range of ages and genders. The semi-structured interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, which can provide others further context to the quotations used in the thesis if it is deemed necessary.

Since this study only contains data from Maasai from one village, it will not be possible to generalize the answers for the whole Maasai community. Still, it can be a starting point for more research on the Maasai and education. It is also important to note that many of the informants in this study had attended school, whether it was primary, secondary, or advanced level, which could have colored their opinions on education. Especially the key informants are resourceful Maasai, both in status and education.

5 Analysis and Discussion

Throughout the following chapters of analysis and discussion, the study findings will be continuously related back to the theories and concepts explored up to this point. The aim is to show how a group of Maasai from rural villages in Tanzania perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture, through the two research questions:

- I. What are the factors that make the Maasais embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?*
- 2. What do rural Maasai think about the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education, and whether this has changed over the last years?*

In this part of the thesis, the informant's lived experiences and narratives will be explored. This is done by collecting data from the interviews, observations, and field conversations and categorizing them in the following chapters.

5.1 Access to Secondary and Higher Education.

This chapter will discuss how accessible formal education is for the Maasai, and the potential costs involved in financially supporting a child through formal education. I will also discuss the expectations and challenges with regard to financial return after graduating from higher education. Related back to the theories of capital by Bourdieu and culture by Eriksen, this chapter will discuss how these various factors can make the Maasai embrace or be reluctant towards higher education.

5.1.1 Free Education.

To be able to attend higher education in Tanzania, one of the requirements are that you have completed primary and secondary education. Since 2015 the government has stated that primary and secondary education should be free for everyone, and current president Hassan has continued that policy.

In conversations and interviews with the Maasai, a recurring argument for not sending their children to school was the financial aspect of education. Every informant I spoke to mentioned the expenses linked to education as a challenge, except for Napanoi, who works for the government.

Now that education is free it is much better than before. Since the Maasais are very poor, most of them do not want to sell cows to send their children to school. If they do not send their children to school, it is not because of money. It is just because they do not want to.

- Napanoi.

This statement was contradictory to what I learned from the other informants. Naeku and Lemuani told me they could only afford to pay for a few of their children attending primary school. There are no school fees, but the parents must pay for food, school uniform, and equipment such as books and pencils. Daudi also mentioned that there are often cases of corruption where the parents must pay fees for their children to attend school.

The government say that primary, secondary, and a-level are free, but it is probably just 40-50% of it that is free. They are still asking for a lot of money, but they ask for it to be paid quietly

- Daudi.

Regardless of the parents wanting to give their children the opportunity to attend formal education, the lack of economic capital often makes it difficult for the Maasai. Bourdieu refers to economic capital as something immediate and directly convertible to money (Bourdieu, 2006, p.8). The Maasai's economic capital is their cattle, which differs from the modern outside society. Cattle is a long-term investment and needs to be sustainable regarding calves, blood, milk, etc., which the Maasai depend on to sustain the pastoralist lifestyle. For the Maasai in rural areas, the resources that the cattle provide are also being used in trades for other needed resources.

Cattle do not only function as economic capital for the Maasai. Cattle are also an important part of their symbolic capital. This is because for the Maasai, being the owner of many healthy cows is related to prestige and honor.

Some cattle could also be acknowledged in the Maasai communities as cultural capital in its objectified form. Bourdieu refers to objectified cultural capital as something that is expressed through material objects you own. Still, the value of these depends on the embodied cultural capital, which makes you able to benefit from these objects (Bourdieu, 2006, p.13). In society, a chair is not considered cultural capital, but in certain communities, an expensive designer chair would be. The same applies to the Maasai when it comes to their cattle. A regular cow is not considered cultural capital, but a big healthy cow that stands out amongst the other cows would be. Still, the value of cattle for the Maasai does not transfer to the value of cattle for the outside society, where mainly money functions as the economic capital, and cattle are not necessarily seen as symbolic or cultural capital.



Figure 6: A cow that was considered cultural capital in the Maasai village I visited. (private)

Education in Tanzania is not free, even though the government says it is. When you start school, you pay about 500 USD to buy everything your child needs for school. And there is where many parents are failing because you need to sell maybe three cows to afford that. The Maasai people are now coming to realize that education is very expensive.

- Neema.

This is not to say that cattle cannot be converted into money. However, the ongoing drought in Tanzania that has resulted in a lack of water and grazing areas for the animals has made the price for cattle decline. The informants that kept livestock explained that because of the drought, the prices the cattle are sold for are now at an all-time low. To sell cattle to afford education for your children, the possible long-term consequences of selling cattle must be assessed thoroughly. The herders explained that the number of cattle that needed to be sold to afford education for their children, can lead to a decrease in both their economic capital and cultural capital.

Napanoi mentioned in the first quote of this chapter that, regardless of the Maasai having little economic capital, if they choose not to send their children to school, it is because of a lack of will, not financials. This might be the case for some Maasai parents. Still, from my observations in the field and through conversations with Maasai parents, I recognized that most households possessed very little economic capital and were struggling to afford the most basic needs and keep their remaining cattle alive.

The two other statements in this chapter, by Daudi and Neema, identify the importance of fee-free primary and secondary schools in Tanzania. Since it is hard enough for most families to afford the additional expenses such as school supplies and uniforms, adding school fees would make it impossible for many to send their children to school.

When enrolling in higher education, the school cost is considerably higher compared to primary and secondary education, due to school fees, accommodation in the city, and other expenses. The lack of economic capital amongst many Maasai results in it being close to impossible to attend higher education without sponsors or help from family members with more economic capital.



Figure 7: Picture of the dry grazing area in the village (private).

5.1.2 The Costs of Education

As discussed in the chapter above, due to the harsh climate conditions surrounding the Maasai villages and the effects this has on the cattle, the pastoralist lifestyle is under pressure. The perceived insecurity that the pastoralist lifestyle is at risk for many Maasais has resulted in parents wanting their children to get an education to provide an additional income for livestock keeping.

In my field conversations and the interviews, I discovered that one of the current challenges is that many Maasai parents need outside help to afford to either keep their cattle or to send their children to school, especially for higher education which is a lot more expensive than primary and secondary education.

It is only the Maasais that work with minerals have the money to send their children to school, but not the pastoralists. I think child marriage will be an even bigger issue these days because people have no cattle or no money to send their children to school.

- *Mary.*

Mary elucidates that the Maasai working with minerals, probably Tanzanite mines, often have more economic capital than other Maasai households and, therefore, easier access to education. For the majority of Maasai households, it seems necessary to have someone sponsoring higher education for their offspring. Sponsors may be members of the family or the clan. Mary also mentions that the lack of economic capital, which makes it challenging to provide access to education for the children, could increase child marriages. This will be further addressed in Chapter 5.2.3. and 5.5.

For the many Maasai families whose economic capital is too limited and hence, are unable to send their children to secondary or higher education, their social capital is of significance. Bourdieu refers to social capital as the engine of the actual or potential resources linked to having a lasting network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition that gives each of its members support through collectively owned capital (Bourdieu, 2006, p.16). These relationships can exist in a practical form, that is, in material and/or symbolic exchange that helps to maintain them (Bourdieu, 2006, p.16).

If one of the children is going to school and are getting some money, now they can pay for other kids to go to school.

- *Lemuani.*

Since most Maasai are based in rural areas and have little contact with outside society, most of the Maasai's social capital is often based on extended family relations. If a family member is educated and working in the city, it is generally expected that this person renders economic assistance to other members of the family. This economic support is exchanged with recognition, gratitude, and respect from the parents and the children that receive the support, in which the social capital is maintained in the relationship.

This kind of exchange also describes the educated Maasai converting their economic, cultural, and social capital into symbolic capital. That they are able to share, increases the symbolic

capital for the one who is sharing. Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as the individual's ability to utilize other forms of capital and convert them into other forms of value (Bourdieu, 1989, p.21). For these educated Maasai, the value is represented in recognition and repute as a person of high moral amongst the other family members, which is an example of symbolic capital.

The exchange of economic support from educated Maasai, for recognition as a "good Maasai" in the family increases their symbolic capital, but it is also often expected as a cultural norm. There was a consensus in the Maasai households I visited in the village that you should share what you have with the rest of the family selflessly, whether money, food, or other goods. Through observations, I recognized that when urban relatives came to visit the village, money was handed out to the rural family members. On one occasion I observed that a rural family member reached into an urban relative's purse to grab money that was not offered to them without protest from the owner of the capital. The urban relative explained that this was not unusual when visiting their family in the village.

Eriksen explains that this applies to several cultures and that it means, in other words, that the distribution of goods should occur without a price being set for them within the families. Within the household and family line, goods are distributed according to individual needs and rights, regardless of who produced them (Eriksen, 1998, p.237). In the Maasai culture, there is a norm for resources to be shared. It is not necessarily innate generosity in the people but norms in the culture that emphasize solidarity (Eriksen, 1998, p.240).

Common to all norms is that they are linked to sanctions, both positive and negative (Eriksen, 1998, p.72). A positive sanction for following this exact norm for the educated Maasai could, as mentioned earlier, increase their symbolic capital. A negative sanction could be to weaken their symbolic capital, in the sense that they could lose social recognition and status among family members. This puts pressure on the educated Maasai to get employed in jobs that allow them to fulfill this cultural norm and expectation. In conversations with the young and educated Maasai, it was explained that this could be quite difficult due to the lack of most Maasais' lack of social capital in society outside the villages. This will be further discussed in the following chapter and Chapter 5.5.

5.1.3 Job Opportunities

Daniel, as mentioned in Chapter. 4.1.1., has finished his university degree and is living with his parents in the village while applying for jobs. This is the current situation for many young Maasai in Tanzania today and might be one of the reasons why some parents are hesitant to support their children regarding education.

Due to the high expenses and economic challenges regarding education, explained in the previous Chapters 5.1.1. and 5.1.2, it is common for Maasai parents to expect financial results when their children have finished their degrees. The school curricula prepare the students for modern society opportunities and motivate them to move to the cities to seek jobs instead of imparting them with the values, norms, and customs of the Maasai societies. Many parents might experience that their children going to school is not only at the expense of their economic capital but also of their cultural capital (Mlekwa, 1996, p.59). The issue of education at the expense of culture will be further addressed in Chapter 5.2.

In the interviews and field conversations, there was a consensus amongst all informants that the parents are expecting to benefit from their children's education financially. When parents see examples of other young, educated people without a job, such as Daniel, it is being used as an argument not to support their children getting an education. Esupath explained that this results in many young educated Maasais excluding themselves from their family, community, and culture because they want to avoid coming home to their villages and being seen as a failure.

It is hard to go back to your village without a job because you go back without being useful. People will say “You are not being useful to the community” and that is why many people are struggling in the towns without going back. They feel like a failure. They are educated but a failure.

- Esupath.

Institutionalized cultural capital, such as diplomas, may give economic returns. Still, this payoff is often determined by the social capital or even economic capital that the person already has (Bourdieu, 1996, p.276). When the educated Maasai are unable to convert their

institutionalized cultural capital to economic capital, it could be challenging for their families, living in the rural villages, to perceive education as valuable (Bourdieu, 2006, p.25).

Neema and Esupath further explained that the way the job market in Tanzania is mainly based on connections and networking rather than on what education you have. Since there has not been a tradition for education amongst the Maasai in the past, there are very few connections to reach out to compared to other tribes. Relationships in politics and more extensive cooperation are almost nonexistent among the Maasai. Neema argued that this is also an example of how the Maasai are being marginalized outside of the villages, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.3.2.

We don't have connections you can call. In Tanzania, it is all about networking and not about what you have. We have been marginalized for many years. Even though we have the education, we don't get the opportunities.

- Neema.

Most Maasai retain great social capital in the villages and Maasai communities in terms of networks and connections, but as Neema and Esupath explained, there is a lack of social capital in the outside society. When recruitment to the job market is based on connections rather than education, it could make it difficult for the Maasai to get employed. Hence, it is also difficult to increase their economic capital through education and meet the expectations from their families that education will create additional income for the family.

According to Bourdieu, the Maasai's lack of social capital outside the villages results in the loss of "a helping hand" and someone "pulling strings," which tends to correct the effect of academic sanctions. Bourdieu argues that educational qualifications never work perfectly as currency, and they are never completely separated from their holder. The value increases in proportion to the value of the holder (Bourdieu, 2006, p.25). Without sufficient social capital outside the Maasai communities through the "right" connections, the Maasai's value as a holder of educational qualifications has little value in a job market based on connections.

As mentioned earlier, when the young and educated in the village fail to get a job, it can make other parents reluctant to support their children going to school. In other cases, where a young and educated member of the community has succeeded in getting a job and providing helpful

knowledge or financial support to their families, they are being used as an inspiration and argument for other parents to encourage their children to get an education.

The village is very proud of me. We have done a lot for the village, compared to the ones that did not get an education and married early instead. We are helping them to pay the hospital bills if they get sick. The whole village is very proud of me and wants their children to be educated like me.

- Napanoi.

When education increases the educated Maasai's economic capital, their institutionalized cultural capital can also increase. During my stay in the village and through conversations with the Maasai, I experienced that formal education as an institutionalized cultural capital was in many cases in the rural village seen as less valuable than, for example, indigenous knowledge. In cases like Napanoi's, formal education gets recognition as a great cultural capital in the villages, such as in the modern outside society.

To attend higher education and to provide additional income for themselves and their families, the young Maasai must move from the rural villages to the cities. This entails leaving the traditional Maasai pastoralist lifestyle and breaking with many traditional cultural rites. In the following chapter, I will discuss how formal education interferes with the traditional Maasai culture and if formal education is seen as a threat or a contribution to the culture.

5.2 Education, a Threat to the Culture?

In this chapter, the general idea that education is a threat to the Maasai culture will be discussed, and whether this is a factor that affects the perception of formal education amongst the Maasai while reaching back to the theory of capital by Bourdieu and culture by Eriksen.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, accessing higher education requires leaving the rural villages and the traditional pastoralist lifestyle. Having the young Maasai leave the traditional lifestyle for urban life to pursue higher education is changing the culture. Culture is dynamic, and change is inevitable (Eriksen, 1997, p.56). Still, change can be intimidating for some and

exciting for others. The changes happening to the traditional Maasai culture due to education can determine whether higher education is being embraced.

Julie Skotte Ferstad's master thesis, from 2018, "*Everything around us is changing*" conducts a qualitative study of the perception of secondary education among a group of rural Maasai. This study concludes that the Maasai are experiencing education as a threat to their culture. The results of her study also concluded that many Maasai embraced formal education. However, due to the views of education as a threat to the culture, there still were many Maasai, especially older men, that were very reluctant and did not support their children attending formal schooling (Ferstad, 2018, p.126).

In comparison to Ferstad's research from 2018, I also discovered that there is a perception amongst the Maasai that education is changing their traditional culture and lifestyle. Still, as mentioned in the introduction, the Maasai have experienced many changes and newly emerged challenges which have resulted in the findings in this research differing from Ferstad's.

5.2.1 Loss of Indigenous Knowledge

In the Maasai communities, indigenous knowledge has continuously been transmitted to the younger generation. The children are taught by their parents and older relations how to earn a living and survive in an environment often characterized by drought, poor communication, diseases, and livestock rustling. Through the indigenous knowledge they are taught, they become resourceful and aware of the environments and their cultural values (Mlekwa, 1996, p.57)

While researching the village, I observed that this transmitted indigenous knowledge is often seen as high cultural capital in the Maasai community. An example of Maasai indigenous knowledge is the hut pictured in Chapter 4.1, figure 4. This hut shows the woman who built the hut's knowledge about how to create the colors, which symbols to use, and how to apply the available resources to make it functional. Bourdieu describes this kind of knowledge as embodied cultural capital since it is created through primary and secondary socialization and expressed in how they appreciate cultural expressions. Despite this, the indigenous knowledge transferred by older generations in the Maasai community is not valued as very useful outside

the rural villages. Therefore, this cultural capital is not seen as high cultural capital in the cities (Bourdieu, 1997).

The formal education introduced to the Maasai communities was, and has remained, insensitive to the socioeconomic characteristics of these societies and has yet to be formed by the indigenous traditional educational practice (Mlekwa, 1996, p.57). Due to this, the inherited indigenous knowledge that the Maasai consider high cultural capital loses its value in formal education.

In my interview with Daudi, one of the oldest informants, he told me about his worries regarding how education affects indigenous knowledge in the Maasai culture. Daudi continued to explain that for girls, there are two cycles in life; first, you are a girl, and when you get married, you become a woman. The girls get educated by their mothers and other women in the village on how to do the chores that are required of them as women.

Daudi further explained that boys have three cycles of life: childhood, warriorhood, and elderhood. These cycles are divided into different age groups. He spoke about how the young boys help their family with the cattle and that while doing this, they get educated on how to take care of cows and defend the cattle against wild animals. The boys train with the elders through childhood; when they are old enough, they get circumcised and become warriors. The previous age group of warriors retire and become elders, the decision makers, with the knowledge they have already learned from the ones older than them. In this way, the indigenous knowledge and traditions continue with each generation. Daudi said the following concerning how formal education has disrupted traditions:

That tradition has completely died already, with people leaving for education because they break that cycle. All of the traditions and these systems we have has never been written down or recorded. People only have it in their heads. The systems and traditions are still being held, but it is disappearing. I am sure the culture will die because of this, and I think it will die soon.

- Daudi.

Eriksen describes why this exact tradition is seen as important among certain societies. In some cultures, age is an important principle for differentiation, such as the Maasai culture. The transition between each degree means that they rise in rank in Maasai society. For each

level, the boys are taught traditional and secret knowledge, and therefore, it seems natural that the oldest men function as decision-makers in important matters. Through these rites of passage, the Maasai society recreates itself repeatedly. The members of the society gain new statuses without the structure of society changing, and the public character of the ceremonies is a reminder of the strong community that the Maasai society constitutes (Eriksen, 1998, p.169).

As Daudi mentioned in his statement, when the young Maasai leave the village to pursue an education, cultural rituals, and traditions change. There was an overall consensus amongst the older informants that the potential loss of indigenous knowledge amongst the younger Maasai previously had made them unsupportive of formal education. What had changed is that because of the pastoralist lifestyle now being under pressure due to the ongoing drought and political conflicts, the older Maasai are now also starting to consider education as something that renders cultural capital.

In my interviews and field conversations in the village with the younger Maasai, I got the impression that they sought to inherit the indigenous knowledge of the Maasai culture themselves and pass it on to future generations. They were hopeful that they and their children would keep many Maasai traditions and indigenous knowledge. Despite this, they were more hesitant when I asked if they thought this would be possible.

Most of my friends forget to teach their children about the Maasai culture. For example, my youngest brother does not even know how to speak the Maasai language. Because they are going to English schools, they only know English and Swahili.

- Kelembu.

Regardless of some younger Maasai informants being unsure if it was possible to transfer the indigenous knowledge to their children, I experienced through observation and conversations that there was a sense of pride in having indigenous knowledge and that it was still considered high cultural capital amongst the young Maasai. The young Maasai I met during my stay in Tanzania are experiencing, through Eriksen's words, existing in two different worlds, in the sense that what is expected from them in the urban world is very different from what is expected from them in the villages. The young Maasai become part where the modern outside society is meeting the traditional pastoralist lifestyle (Eriksen, 1997, p.49).

Through observations, I saw that the young Maasai in this situation were great at switching between the different cultural codes required of them in the city and the village. Eriksen explains that many young people often enjoy being in this situation, where they get to switch both “worlds”, but it can create situations where you are forced to choose one or the other, for example, in the question of marriage, which will be discussed in the following chapter (Eriksen, 1997, p.49).

5.2.3 Traditional Marriages

During my stay in Tanzania and the village, I learned through conversations with the informants that the Maasai had a long history of patrilocal settlement. Therefore, the tradition of polygamy, according to traditional knowledge, originated from many men dying in wars against other tribes while traveling across Africa hundreds of years ago. They then decided that the men should be allowed to marry multiple women, so they did not lose the women to other tribes.

In the village, I experienced that this tradition was still prominent, and most of the older men I encountered had more than one wife. Of all the couples I met during my stay, both parties in the marriage were Maasai, and their marriage had been arranged through their fathers. In these marriages, the bride's family received bride price from the husband's family. The bride price is an essential cultural practice and remains significant to the economic capital of many families.

Eriksen explains that arranged marriages can be a valued cultural tradition because marriage entails people entering a lasting, committed relationship with a new set of people – the parents-in-law. The relationship between the families is built over a longer period of time, with the groom's family regularly visiting the bride's family to negotiate and pay the bride price (Eriksen, 1998, p.171). The bride price creates a special bond between the families because it is a contract based on mutual trust (Eriksen, 1998, p.133).

These arranged marriages can also increase the social capital of the families involved. This is through arranging marriages that are beneficial for both families. A relevant example may be

wedlock relations being formed between two families living in areas with different rainfall seasons or vegetation for grazing. Then they could transfer their cattle to the groom's family during the dry season, and the bride's family can return the favor when their land has better grazing conditions. This social capital can be converted to more economic capital because it makes it easier to care for more cattle, which functions as the Maasai's main source of economic capital. This is an example of Bourdieu's theory of capital conversion applied to the traditional Maasai lifestyle (Bourdieu, 2006, p.23).

Lekuta expressed that some parents choose not to send their girls to school because girls learn about their rights, choices, and the legal age of marriage. This empowerment of Maasai girls can complicate parents' efforts to arrange marriages for their daughters. Parents can lose potential bride prices, which will affect their social and economic capital. During my teaching practice at the secondary girls boarding school, I learned that several of the Maasai girls were enrolled against their parents' will. Their education was sponsored through NGOs because the girls wanted to attend school themselves, but their parents had already committed them to arranged marriages.

Daudi argued that for him as a father of girls, the reasons for choosing a husband for his daughters had nothing to do with the bride price but with knowing the family values and the boy's background. He argued that young girls choose their husbands based on criteria such as looks and financials, while he as a parent, could choose someone he knew the right values and intentions. Another argument was that the Maasai parents did not like it when the girls married someone from a different tribe. This happens more often when the girls move to get an education and meet men from different parts of the country.

The Maasai, we are a small tribe in Africa. We do not want our blood to be crossing, we want to keep to ourselves. But right now, the girls are crossing, and there is nothing you can do about it as a parent. When the girls find a man outside the Maasai tribe, we do not feel good as parents, but it is their life. If my daughter comes home with a man that I do not want I will say "It is up to you, if you want to be in trouble, it is up to you, I am out, it is your choice"

- Daudi.

The younger female informants had a different point of view on the question of arranged marriages. Esupath stated that arranged marriages could be beautiful because the parents know the family and know they will support the daughter in the marriage and be proud of them.

It is very complicated, but it is beautiful in its own way. You are marrying the family.

The whole clan becomes your clan.

- Esupath.

Despite this, both Esupath and Neema agreed that having the choice of whom to marry themselves overcomes the positive aspects that could potentially be with arranged marriages. They stated that them leaving the village for education also opened the door to knowledge about women's rights and freedom. Education changes the culture, but that does not necessarily always mean for the worse.

5.2.4 All Traditions are not Good Traditions.

Just because our culture is valuable, beautiful, and has a lot of good things, we also have a lot of bad things. With education, a lot of those things are going to change.

- Neema

When conversing with Maasai about the culture, traditions, informal knowledge, and way of living everyone could mention plenty of examples of what they found valuable and treasured which could fade due to education. In these conversations, some informants argued that despite this, some parts of the Maasai culture and tradition should be removed through education.

Naeku and Lemuani, the oldest of the informants, stated that through education the younger generations are figuring out which parts of the Maasai culture are not sustainable. In some people's minds, education is believed to influence young people's opinion of for example female genital mutilation, contributing to a growing opposition to the continuation of such cultural practices. Naeku and Lemuani argued that due to education, more Maasai choose not to partake in that tradition.

Amongst the younger informants, there was an agreement that cultural practices and traditions such as early marriages and female genital mutilation were practices that belonged in the past. Through education on which consequences these practices could have on a person, it will in time disappear.

This is coherent with how Eriksen describes culture as dynamic and constantly changing. Eriksen explains that cultural perceptions change through encounters with other people, other ways of thinking, and other ways of relating to the world. There is a consensus that one should show respect and tolerance for cultural differences. Nevertheless, this does not imply an ungenerous moral tolerance for cultural traditions that can have serious consequences (Eriksen, 1997, p.187). Eriksen highlights genital mutilation as an example, explaining that understanding the background of female genital mutilation does not mean that one does not distance oneself from it (Eriksen, 1997, p.187).

5.3 “An Insect under the Elephant”

As described in the introduction, the Maasai are undergoing an extremely tense situation regarding land conflict with the Tanzanian government. Many informants explained that the Maasai are marginalized and are a target of racism and discrimination in Tanzanian society. In this part of the analysis, I will discuss how education can affect the Maasai's political position in Tanzania and how their political position can affect how the Maasai perceive the importance of education.

It is important to mention again that many of the issues the Maasai are currently facing with the government are comprehensive and complex, and because of this I cannot get into details about the situations. In addition to this, what I have come to learn about the current conflicts is taught by the local Maasai communities, and other stakeholders in the conflicts might disagree with the statements.

5.3.1 Political Influence

Most of the informants of this study conveyed that secondary and higher education for the Maasai is not only important for the individual but benefits the whole community. They explained that the more Maasai educate themselves, the greater the chances for the Maasai's rights are getting heard, taken seriously, and strengthened in the country. In other words, education opens up for more political power and perhaps collective empowerment.

The Maasai are sharp, intelligent, and resourceful, but it often takes a degree for their voices to be taken seriously. The Maasai's are being seen as primitive and stupid by the rest of the society. And yes, we might be primitive, but we are not at all stupid and have a lot of important to say.

- Lemuani.

In the book "*Flerkulturell forståelse*," Eriksen writes that there has often been modest contact between the indigenous population and the majority before the state's expansion. When contact has been established, the results have often been fatal for the indigenous (Eriksen, 1997, p.14). Eriksen continues by writing that indigenous people have almost always been politically weak and have been encapsulated and incorporated into the state. When not physically exterminated, they have often either been relegated to special reserves or attempted to be incorporated into the majority (Eriksen, 1997, p.14).

Some informants referred to the "education is the strongest weapon" quote from Nyerere and argued that now more than ever, the Maasai need a weapon due to the ongoing land conflicts, explained in the introduction of this thesis. I was told by Maasai activists that several Maasai men who have finished a law degree had joined forces to fight for the Maasai's rights and are making it difficult for the government to evict them from their homelands legally. These Maasai lawyers write legal documents for international human rights organizations and the human rights court. The lawyers are taking the cases pro-bono, and by them having an education, they are a clear example of how education could be an important asset for the Maasai as a whole.

They are doing it for free. Because it is their land, their community, and they are defending themselves and their culture despite not personally being affected. If some of us are being mistreated it is all of us.

- *Napanoi.*

This statement by Napanoi is important to understand the Maasai mentality. Regardless of whether the lawyers are born and raised in areas not affected by the conflicts, they still want to contribute and fight for their community. This is not only the case for the lawyers but for the Maasai as a whole. If Maasai in other villages are being mistreated, there is a consensus that they all, as a community, are being mistreated.

In the book “Flerkulturell forståelse” Eriksen writes that there is no doubt that it is correct that when communities have specific interests that bind them together internally and experience external pressure, the inner community strengthens (Eriksen, 1997, p.42). Eriksen writes that this can apply to cultural and territorial rights and uses the Sámi in Norway, who have a long history of issues linked to territorial rights, as an example. He continues to explain that the inner community within cultures does not necessarily have to be close. However, how close it is can depend on how strong the perceived pressure is, how well the group is organized, and what resources they manage (Eriksen, 1997, p.42)

Due to statements like Napanoi's, I was left with the impression that many Maasai are now experiencing a sense of a very close-knit community. The Maasai are experiencing severe external pressures, they have organized themselves as an indigenous group, and they are applying the resources available through indigenous rights. The Maasai also possess resources such as trained advocates and activists who work to protect the Maasai community and culture. These three factors are coherent with what Eriksen explains creating a strong sense of community.

Despite educated lawyers and stakeholders fighting for the Maasai's rights, a few of the informants argued that education does not help in the Maasai political disagreements with the government. This is because no matter their education, they will always be outnumbered. It was also argued that no matter how many great lawyers the Maasai had, the government has more money and can choose whomever and how many they want to employ. In the quote

below, Lekuta refers to “the lawyers of Tanzania” which is important to notice because it explains many Maasais' attitudes towards society outside their villages. This statement conveys the message that the Maasai does not feel as if they are equal members and an active part of Tanzanian society.

Education does not help in this because we are way too few. It is a number question, not an education question. Ngorongoro is one of the Maasai places where the most people are highly educated, and most of them in their education are lawyers. But compared to the lawyers of Tanzania, they are like an insect under the elephant.

- Daudi.

I followed up these doubts by asking if it was possible that education could get the Maasai into political positions that could include them in decision-making in Tanzania. To this, I was told that for the Maasai it is possible to be employed by the government. But to gain important positions, such as for example ministers, is hard for the Maasai. This is because, just as with any other job in Tanzania, these positions are given through connections, which the Maasai are lacking. Despite this, according to some informants, Tanzania has now gotten its first Maasai judge and one minister, which had the informants hopeful even though it is a small step toward Maasai influence in Tanzanian politics.

This could be related back to social capital. For Bourdieu, social capital can be seen as one of several resources that an actor uses to pursue their interest and to position themselves (Bourdieu, 1996, p.265). The Maasai's lack of social capital in connections outside the Maasai communities makes it difficult to position themselves in powerful political positions and pursue their interests in political matters such as the ongoing land conflict. That the lack of connections in politics was a great issue for the Maasai was confirmed to me by the Maasai I spoke to, that worked for the government.

During my fieldwork, I got to meet some of the Maasai that were employed by the government. They could show to various projects they had advocated for that benefitted the Maasai communities. Examples of this were campaigning for women's health in the villages, which resulted in the building and government founding of local healthcare clinics. Regarding other political subjects, such as conflicts the Maasai have with the Tanzanian government, they were hesitant to voice their opinions. This is because of the serious consequences this

could have for them. When the government employs a Maasai, it is expected from the other Maasai that they will be the ones to speak their case. However, this could be dangerous for the individual.

5.3.2 Discrimination and Corruption

The reason why the Maasai who become government employees do not speak up on the human rights issues regarding the Maasai against the Tanzanian government is that it could lead to various consequences for them. They are afraid to be fired or even imprisoned.

There was a consensus amongst all of the informants that the government does not care about Maasai representation. Lekuta, who is a government employee, told me that if an educated Maasai is vocal about the issues with the government, the government will offer them a position so they will stop. If the government employs you, you cannot publicly argue against their politics.

Several informants argued that the Tanzanian government does not care about the Maasai. Many informants were worried that the Maasai are forgotten and not being seen as a part of Tanzanian society by the government since they live in rural areas. Some also argued that the political treatment is based on racism.

The government overlook the Maasais' rights, and not because they are not educated, it is just purely racism. The government sees the Maasais as just animals that goes around and just eat dirt.

- *Esupath.*

Eriksen explains that when one is denied the same treatment as the rest of society, cultural conservatism can arise. When a minority is not treated as equals in society, some may respond by being skeptical of this society's values, and cultural conservatism can act as a counterweight to the discrimination (Eriksen, 1997, p.32). When the Maasai are experiencing not being treated as equals in Tanzanian society, the fact that education is considered valuable in Tanzanian society could be affecting why some Maasai have been reluctant towards formal education.

Despite this, there was a consensus amongst the informants that education is helping to resolve many of the issues concerning the Maasai perceptions of being “forgotten” by Tanzanian society. Neema presented an example; on the same day I interviewed her, the water in a Maasai village had been severely contaminated. The residents had sent a video of it to one of their family members who was educated and living in the city. This urban family member had posted it on social media with a statement, and it had gotten some attention, which resulted in the government supplying the village with clean water tanks the following day. This can be related back to the importance of having social capital outside the villages for the Maasai.

It was argued that more Maasai having an education would result in them reaching out to different networks and NGOs to help the local communities. In this way, education plays an important part in self-protection for the Maasai community.

5.3.3 Self-protection

Both in interviews and field conversations, a recurring theme amongst the informants was that education is a tool for the Maasai to know their own rights. Due to education, it is easier to protect themselves from wrongdoings by the outside society.

It was explained to me by some of the informants that one of the most prevalent reasons why the Maasai are facing the current issues is a lack of education. The Maasai have struggled with knowing how and where to raise their voices when a problem occurs. The lack of education and social capital is limiting the Maasai’s communication with the government on how to raise concerns for different issues, whether it is issues of land conflicts, access to basic social services, or issues of drought. Kiaro, who is very engaged in Maasai rights, explained that the Maasai have a history of saying yes to agreements that would under no circumstances benefit them, because of the lack of education and knowledge about the issues they are being presented by outside stakeholders.

Maasai with education are now able to contribute and advise to these conversations with their knowledge that could help protect the Maasai's rights and interests. According to the views of the people I spoke with, education protects the whole Maasai community. Several informants

argued that if it were not for education, most of the Maasai people in the rural areas would not have had access to basic social services such as medical services. Many educated Maasai have done a lot of advocating for the governmental provision of basic social services to the Maasai communities. This is another example of why education amongst Maasai could benefit whole communities. It could be argued that some of the young educated Maasai have gotten a new role as a type of “*Ilmurrans*”, which is the role of the warriors that protect the Maasai in the villages.

During the forceful evictions in the ongoing land conflicts, educated Maasai reached out to NGOs in Kenya to help with medical supplies and to take the injured to hospitals. The young, educated informants argued that if it was not for education, this issue would not have gone as viral as it did and that the educated Maasais did their best to get the issue known worldwide through international media.

The need for self-protection in the Maasai communities is currently essential for the Maasai in the rural villages future. The efforts that are being made by the educated Maasai activists are being noticed by other Maasai in different villages across the country. This has both inspired and changed the opinion of people who were initially opposed to the value of education in the context of the Maasai culture and lifestyle. Elders in the Maasai communities that have seen education as a threat to the culture are now changing their minds, and the view of education as a way of self-protection is one of the factors in this change. This will be further discussed in the following Chapter 5.4.

Education is killing the culture but also saving it because it is education right now that all that keeps the Maasais alive. Through education we are defending the Maasais culture by trying to defend our land and our people.

- *Kiaro.*

The statement above, by Kiaro, is essential to the overall objective of this study, which is how the Maasai perceive education in relation to their culture. Eriksen describes culture as a complex that consists of knowledge, forms of belief, art, morals, law, and customs, in addition to all the other skills and habits a person has acquired as a member of a society (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.35). Eriksen also highlights that culture is dynamic and always changing (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015, p.38). Could the Maasai culture survive if cultural traditions such as

age rites, keeping livestock, arranged marriages, and genital mutilation were removed? And if these cultural traditions were to be removed, what would be left of the Maasai culture? Amongst the Maasai that have contributed to this thesis, there was a difference in opinions between the older and the younger Maasai regarding these questions. This will be further discussed in the following Chapters 5.4 and 5.5.

5.4 A Change of Heart

The Maasai are historically known to be reluctant to formal education (Pesambili & Novelli, 2021). Through field observation in the village, I noticed that several older men I encountered were missing one of their eyes. I came to learn that this was because when Nyerere became president of Tanzania, and primary school became mandatory for all children, this did not include children with a disability. This resulted in some parents rather damaging one of the eyes of their boys, than sending them to formal education.

To answer the research question “*Have the views on the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education changed amongst the Maasais?*” I found it relevant to discuss if there has been a change both between and within the generations with the informants in this study.

5.4.4 Generational Shift

In both field conversations and interviews, I often was told by Maasai that they attended school despite their parents not supporting it or that they had not attended school because their parents did not allow them to go. Despite growing up with parents that had enabled them to avoid formal education, there was a clear consensus among the adult Maasai I spoke with that if they were given a chance to provide their children with formal education, they would support and encourage it. When asked if there is a generational shift in how the Maasai perceive the value and importance of education, there was consensus amongst all informants that it is true.

It is very different from the younger generation to the older. Now it is very rare that you see someone who does not take their children to school, even those who are not educated themselves. It is very changed now compared to the older generation.

- Lekuta

The informants I spoke with, regardless of being in their late teens or their fifties, who have had parents encouraging their education, all emphasized that this was unusual and that most of their friends did not receive encouragement from their parents to attend formal education. This suggested that the consensus I experienced with the Maasai stating they are supporting their children in attending formal education has newly emerged and is currently changing.

When I grew up, my situation was quite unique with me having a father who supported me in having an education. So I have had it very easy compared to others. Most others had parents that didn't like them go to school.

- Esupath

There were several arguments among the informants for why this change of perception toward formal education is currently changing. One of the factors in this change that were repeated by several was that the need for your children to stay home to take care of the animals has declined. Due to the severe drought the Maasai are experiencing in their grazing areas, most families have fewer animals. Hence, they are not as reliant on the help of their children, and in addition they need other sources of income.

Before they needed some of the children to stay at home to take care of the animals, but now when they have less animals, they don't need their children to stay at home so now they all can go to school instead of just one. And since the man often have many wives and many children, you need the children to make money so that you can feed the family.

- Lemuani

As discussed in Chapter 5.1, it has become difficult for the Maasai to rely on cattle as the only form of economic capital. Additional income through jobs their children can acquire with education can add to the family's economic capital, which again can help them afford water,

medicine, and food for their cattle. In that way, the Maasai parents also maintain their symbolic capital by being able to show their ability to take care of the remaining cattle.

Amongst the younger informants, globalization was mentioned as an important factor in this change. Access to social media, TV, and international media creates insight into what opportunities can be provided by education. Education could provide the opportunity to make their own choices regarding their own lives, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.5.

Amongst the older informants, drought and the pressured political situation the Maasai are experiencing, both regarding the ongoing land conflicts and the lack of access to basic social services, was repeatedly mentioned as an important factor for the changes. Witnessing educated Maasai making an effort and a difference to protect the Maasai culture and community creates the perception of education as beneficial for the Maasai culture. This factor has not only created change in the perception of the value and importance of education for the Maasai community between the generations. It is also one of the factors why some Maasai are less reluctant towards formal education.

Eriksen explains that rapid social and cultural changes often result in a cultural gap between generations (Eriksen, 1997, p.127). Through the data collected in this study, it can be said that the rapid social and cultural changes the Maasai are experiencing have resulted in differences between the generations in how they perceive education in relation to their culture. On the other hand, when it came to the perception of the value and importance of education, there seemed to be a change not only between the generations but also within the generations.

5.4.5 The Older Generations

In addition to the consensus amongst all the informants that there is a clear generational shift between the upcoming and the older generations in how formal education is perceived, there was also a consensus that there is an undergoing shift in how the value of education is perceived within the older generations. In interviews and field conversations, several older Maasai disclosed that they have previously been very reluctant towards formal education but admitted to now regretting this reluctance.

It has changed a lot in the last 10 years, you can see very clearly that the ones that used to be very negative to education is now much more supportive. And that is not unique to my Maasai village, most of the Maasai villages are very very changed.

- Daudi

In Chapter 5.3. it was mentioned that the Maasai do not feel like they are included and seen as equals to other tribes in Tanzanian society. Daudi, who is in his 70s, explained that in the years following Tanzania's independence, when he was a young boy, the government came to the villages in cars to bring young Maasai children to school against their parents will.

In that time, in the Maasai community, they were thinking that if a kid went to school, they went to the enemy. The government tried during that time to push the Maasai people to school, because they thought of the Maasai people as pastoralists people that lived in the bush and didn't want to take their kids to school, so they tried to push the Maasai to send their kids to school. They (the parents) thought they were going to lose them.

- Daudi

This could be related back to Chapter 5.3.2, referring to Eriksen's explanation that when a minority is experiencing being treated as equals in society, some may respond by being skeptical of this society's values (Eriksen, 1997, p.32). The older Maasai that experienced the government removing them from their family against their own and their parents' will to attend formal education might have created reluctance towards formal education.

The idea that by sending your children to school, you are losing them to the outside society was still prevalent amongst the older Maasai I encountered. Several explained that it feels as if their children are participating in formal education, they are losing their culture, they are marrying people outside the Maasai community, and they never move back to the villages because the jobs are in the city. As discussed in Chapter 5.2.3, the Maasai have a history of patrilocal settlement. The younger, educated Maasai who are breaking out of this tradition because of education, seemed to be a change in the Maasai culture that some of the older Maasai I encountered struggled to embrace.

Still, outside factors such as drought and political matters jeopardizing the traditional Maasai lifestyle have resulted in many of the older Maasai reevaluating their reluctance by seeing the benefits education can provide.

The reasons for these changes are seeing the importance of education from the people that are already educated, globalization, and climate change. You see before everyone had a lot of cows, now it is too dry people have less cows and the Maasai see that the cows are less important than their children having an education, because they will have more money from their children than their cows.

- Lemuani

By witnessing how young, educated Maasai contribute to the community and their families with useful knowledge and financial support from other sources of income than cattle, older members of the society have seen how education could be beneficial for the Maasai. This has resulted in changing people's minds, from being reluctant to encouraging education.

Many of the older generations and my generation now regret not sending their children to education because we now understand the importance of education. And for the younger generation, everyone wants to send their children to school.

- Lekuta

Lemuani, who was the oldest informant I interviewed at over eighty years old, disclosed that at the time he had his first children, he and all his peers were against sending their children to school. He continued by explaining that this has now changed, and many, including himself, regret not giving their children the opportunity of an education. Regardless of the feeling that they are losing their children to the rest of society, the benefits and opportunities they have seen that education can provide now that the traditional Maasai lifestyle is under pressure surpass the fear of their children's transgression out of the traditional Maasai lifestyle.

In other words, Lemuani explained that he previously was reluctant towards education but now considers formal education as valuable because of the perceived pressure that the traditional Maasai lifestyle is undergoing. This was coherent with what I was told by all the older Maasai I encountered during my fieldwork. This differs from the results in Julie Skotte Ferstad's study from 2018, mentioned in the introduction of Chapter 5.2., where she

concluded that many older Maasai, especially older men, were very reluctant towards education and did not support their children attending formal schooling (Ferstad, 2018, p.126). In contrast, I experienced a consensus amongst all the older Maasai I encountered during my fieldwork that they supported their children in attending formal education. This can possibly be understood as an indication of changed perceptions in the last five years in how the older Maasai perceive the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education.

Still, it can be difficult for Maasai parents to watch their children break out of the traditional way of life that the Maasai have followed for hundreds of years. For the younger generations, it can also be challenging to leave the traditional Maasai lifestyle in search of other opportunities. In the next chapter, which will be the last in the analysis, I will discuss the tension between the challenges, demands, opportunities, and expectations of education and its impact on their cultural identity amongst the young Maasai I have met during my stay in Tanzania.

5.5 An Easier Life?

Previously in this thesis and in the analysis, the research questions below have been discussed to answer the overall objective of this thesis, which is to do an in-depth study of a group of Maasai on how they perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture:

- I. Have the views on the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education changed amongst the Maasais compared to the historical reluctance?*
- II. What are the factors that make the Maasais embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?*

To add to the overall objective of how the Maasai perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture, it will be relevant to discuss further how education is perceived by the young Maasai who has moved out of the local villages to attend higher education. Esupath, Neema, Napanoi, Kiara, Kelembu, and Daniel are young Maasai who has moved from rural local Maasai villages to the city to pursue an education and a career. This chapter will discuss the tension between the challenges, demands, opportunities, and expectations of education

and its impact on these young Maasai's cultural identity. Does education equal an easier life for the young and educated Maasai?

5.5.1 Esupath and Neema

In the interview, the many conversations we had, and by observing Esupath and Neema in their daily life, I was under the impression that they were under much pressure from their families and local communities. As described in the participant presentation, both Esupath and Neema are active members of the local community who provides a lot of both financial help and services to the others in their villages. They combine this with working full-time jobs in the city and being vocal activists for the Maasai.

When educated and employed as a young Maasai, it is expected that you help your family financially and increase the family's economic capital. Neema explained that the costs of living in the city in relation to income are already expensive. When expected to help with medical bills, to sponsor family members' education, and help to support your whole extended family financially, it creates a lot of responsibility and difficult expectations to fulfill for the Maasai that are educated. Relating it back to Chapter 5.1.2, in some cultures, it is a cultural norm that the distribution of goods should occur within the families, regardless of who produced them (Eriksen, 1998, p.237). This applies to the Maasai culture.

We grow up in big families. We grow up living together, eating together, and sleeping together. In our culture, a lot of the focus is based on sharing, and that's how we grow up. The parents that invest in education do it as a way of dividing the economy, so our parents depend on us and what we earn.

- Neema

They explained that this is one of the reasons why many young Maasai who moves to the city to attend higher education do not come back to visit their villages. Suppose they are struggling to get employed, or the job they have does not provide sufficient income to both survive in town and support the rural family. In that case, the person will most probably be regarded as a failure who does not live up to expectations and demands from their family. Their symbolic capital within the Maasai community, which Bourdieu says can relate to

prestige and honor, declines (Bourdieu, 2006, p.8). This is because if the young Maasai fails to fulfill the cultural norm of sharing their resources with their families, they might be considered “bad Maasai”. The perceived anticipation that education provides financial stability is often not the case for the young Maasai. This is often due to the lack of the Maasai’s social capital in the cities, discussed in Chapter 5.1.3, which are important in the Tanzanian job market.

Despite this, the cultural norm of sharing is something Esupath and Neema value the most in their Maasai culture. They argue that through education and living in the city, the act of sharing is a difficult cultural norm to preserve.

When we grew up the focus was on sharing. We shared everything you had. But with education, the changes come naturally, and you need more space for yourself. You are more focused on yourself personally than your family. So in this house for example, I don't even know my neighbor, we don't even say hello, and that is so different from our culture back home. I really miss that a lot. Education is making us very lazy, very mean. The phone is calling all the time, I am making money on the cost of my own time, what does that even mean?

- Neema

This life makes us very very mean, like this is not the kind of life I want to live. I wish I could live the life like they do in the Maasai villages here. They might say that the life in the cities as educated is rich, but it is a lot more rich in the bomas, like back home. But I cannot have the life I live in the city, in the boma.

- Esupath

Esupath and Neema further explained that regardless of how much they miss their villages and their traditional Maasai lifestyle, it is not an option for them to return permanently. The costs of moving home to the villages would be to give up their careers and return to a pastoralist lifestyle, which is at risk because of all the previously discussed current changes. Most professions also demand access to the internet and better infrastructure than the Maasai villages can provide.

Although the lifestyle is beautiful, we are missing a lot, we are compromising a lot. If I want the lifestyle we have now, we cannot go back.

- Neema.

There was a consensus amongst Neema and Esupath that life, as educated and working in the city, is more stressful than living the traditional Maasai lifestyle in the villages. Despite this, they both agreed that because of globalization, climate change, and drought followed by the death of cattle, the Maasai's traditional pastoral lifestyle is not sustainable. They argued that the Maasai should be prepared to lose the lifestyle, but not the culture, and that education should be incorporated as a part of the Maasai culture, as in most other cultures.

That Neema and Esupath argued that the Maasai should be prepared to lose the lifestyle, but not the culture can be related to the following questions presented in Chapter 5.3.3. In Kiaro's statement in Chapter 5.3.3., he argues that education is killing the culture. There is reason to ask whether the Maasai culture can survive. There were disagreements among the informants regarding this question. Some believed that the Maasai culture could survive without the traditional practices, and some did not.

As previously mentioned, Neema and Esupath disclosed that they miss their village and the traditional Maasai lifestyle. Eriksen explains that longing for the society where you grew up can make you particularly concerned with traditional norms and customs. When moving to a society different from the one you grew up in, it is understandable that is natural to hold on to the imagined safety of well-known aspects of your culture (Eriksen, 1997, p.32).

Society and cultures are changing, and people react differently to these changes. Some people want to maintain their culture, and some people want to change it, but most people might attempt to do both (Eriksen, 1997, p.32). There was a consensus amongst the younger informants that they attempted to both maintain and change the Maasai culture. To attempt to answer the question of what is left of the Maasai culture and if it can survive if certain cultural traditions were to be removed, according to the younger informants, the culture will change but survive. The younger Maasai contributing to this study all expressed that they were hopeful that many of the values, morals, and knowledge from the Maasai culture will be passed on to future generations.

Despite Esupath and Neema's claims that life in the city is less fulfilling than the traditional Maasai lifestyle, they expressed their gratitude for the opportunity to access higher education, the importance of education in their culture, and the opportunities that education has given them. As young women in a patriarchal culture, education has allowed them to become decision-makers in their own life, in other words, they have become empowered.

5.5.2 Choices

In the Maasai culture, where it is common for the eldest man in the family to oversee all the decision-making, it can be liberating for the young Maasai to be able to make their own choices regarding their own life. This is an opportunity that education can provide.

Especially for Maasai girls, education provides an opportunity to make decisions on their own life that normally would be made by their fathers or other men in their families. In other words, education can provide empowerment. Naila Kaaber conceptualizes the notion of empowerment in terms of the ability to make choices, and to be empowered you have to previously been denied the ability to make these choices (Kabeer, 1999, p.437). That the younger Maasai, through education, can make choices regarding their own lives that usually would be decided by their fathers, empowers them.

If I did not get education I would probably be living in the village, having five children, and being the sixth wife of an old man in the village. So education is something that is very very important to me, and I always thank my dad that I got the opportunity to go to school. If I was not educated, I would not be able to get in the position that I am now and to be free. So it is an opportunity.

- Napanoi

It is important to note that Napanoi uses the word «free». The young Maasais in the city, they are torn between the traditional Maasai lifestyle and the urban lifestyle. Eriksen describes this situation for young minorities as “living in two worlds” (Eriksen, 1997, p.48). To refer to an example of this, the young Maasais in the city are free to dress how they want. When they are returning to the village to visit their family, they must wear traditional Maasai clothing. Through observation and conversations with young urban Maasai, I learned that most were particular about how they portrayed themselves in the village compared to in the cities.

In the secondary school where I did my teaching practice, many of the Maasai girls were attending against their parents will. The school recruits and sponsors young Maasai girls that were supposed to be child brides through arranged marriages when they finished primary school. Education empowers them and provides the opportunity for them to choose another path in their own life.

Kiaro, Kelembu, and Daniel, the young educated male informants, also emphasized empowerment as a factor in why they are embracing higher education amongst the Maasai community.

For me, education is something that can lead me in the direction I want in life. Like, now I am educated and I know how to control my life, what are bad things, what are good things, what to avoid. So education it really opens the mind of a lot of people, and it is an opportunity for me.

- Kiaro

Overall, the younger informants agreed that education empowers them by providing the opportunity to become decision-makers in their own life. This also applies to the opportunity to choose which part of their Maasai culture they want to embrace and which they will discontinue. They were all proud of both their Maasai culture and their academic achievements. There was a consensus among them that education changes their culture, but it does not erase their cultural identity.

6. Concluding Remarks

The Maasai are historically known to be reluctant towards formal education (Pesambili & Novelli, 2021). The traditional pastoralist life of the Maasai is now under pressure and experiencing rapid changes due to the ongoing economic and political realities described in Chapter.1. Because of the changes the Maasai are experiencing, I found it interesting to research if the historically known reluctance towards formal education has changed. This study aimed to investigate how a group of Maasai now perceive secondary and higher education in relation to their culture.

To get a better understanding of the overall objective of the thesis, the two following research questions were formed:

- I. *What are the factors that make the Maasai embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?*
- II. *What do rural Maasai think about the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education, and whether this has changed over the last years?*

To elaborate on these questions, I conducted one-and-a-half months of field studies in Northern Tanzania. The field studies were divided between three weeks of teaching practice in a Secondary boarding school, predominantly with Maasai girls, and in a rural Maasai village. A qualitative mixed methods approach consisting of interviews, field conversations, and participatory observations was used to collect data for the project. The informants that participated in this study varied in age, gender, and level of education.

In advance of conducting the research, I expected that there would be great differences between the informants when discussing the perception of education in relation to the Maasai culture. My findings are that there is a consensus among the informants that have contributed to this study regardless of age, gender, and level of education, that secondary and higher education is now of great importance for the Maasai community, and that this consensus has recently emerged.

Still, my finding also showed that despite there being a consensus amongst all the informants that formal education is now important for the Maasai community, it does not equal that there was no reluctance towards secondary and higher education. This relates to the first research question.

1. What are the factors that make the Maasai embrace or be reluctant towards secondary and higher education?

There have been discussed several factors in this thesis that make the Maasai embrace secondary and higher education. One of them is the current drought in Tanzania, affecting the Maasai grazing areas. Through educational degrees, the educated Maasai are gaining cultural capital in the form of institutionalized cultural capital, which can again be converted into economic capital if the person succeeds to find employment. Due to the cultural norm of distributing resources within the family, one educated and employed family member can contribute to the whole family's economic capital by creating additional income for livestock-keeping households.

Livestock keeping has become significantly harder for the Maasai due to the drought. To be able to take care of the cattle are an important part of the Maasai symbolic capital. When gaining economic capital through education and employment, it is possible to afford to take care of the cattle regardless of the drought by buying water and food for the animals. In this way, economic capital gained through education is converted to symbolic capital.

Many of the informants considered livestock keeping as an essential part of Maasai culture. Livestock keeping involves a particular lifestyle and activities that as well are essential to Maasai culture; the songs they sing, what they wear, how they build their house, where they live, the division of labor and power, and so on. In this way, the economic capital that modern employment can provide can support the traditional Maasai lifestyle for some families which makes them embrace secondary and higher education.

On the other hand, the drought is also a factor in making certain Maasai reluctant towards secondary and higher education. Secondary and higher education is expensive, and to financially support their children through education most families must sell their cattle, which functions as their economic capital, to afford it. During drought, cattle prices are low, and the

risk of sacrificing both economic and symbolic capital by investing in their children's education makes some Maasai reluctant towards education.

The risk of not getting a return on educational investments worries the Maasai parents in this study. The lack of social capital outside the Maasai community is one of the factors for reluctance towards secondary and higher education. The Maasai lack social capital in the city, which can be essential to get employed and gaining economic capital from education.

An important factor in why many of the Maasais in this study have embraced secondary and higher education is the ongoing land conflicts with the Tanzanian government. Educated Maasai are currently fighting for the Maasai's rights through law and activism. By preventing the government from forcefully removing them from their land, these educated Maasai are perceived as important for the Maasais' culture, community, and existence.

The last factor I will highlight is empowerment. The younger informants highlighted the opportunity to choose their own path in life in a patriarchal culture by using education as a tool, making them embrace secondary and higher education. The same factor was mentioned as a reason for reluctance towards education amongst a few older male informants. With especially the girls being empowered through education, cultural traditions such as arranged marriages could disappear. This not only could affect the culture but could decline the Maasai parents' social and economic capital that is gained through bride prices and arranged marriages. This relates to the second research question:

2. What do rural Maasai think about the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education, and whether this has changed over the last years?

Despite the factors making certain informants reluctant towards secondary and higher education, there was a consensus amongst all the informants that education is important for the Maasai.

There was also a consensus amongst the informants that the views on the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education have changed over the last years. The older Maasai informants expressed that especially the older Maasai used to be very reluctant towards education and did not find it relevant to the Maasai culture or lifestyle. This has now changed because of current issues such as drought and political conflicts pressuring the

Maasai. There was a consensus that the importance and relevance of secondary and higher education for the Maasai are connected to saving their existence by gaining economic capital and protecting their land.

Amongst the younger informants, there was a consensus that education was important and relevant to the Maasai because they believed that the traditional pastoral lifestyle was no longer sustainable. They meant that Maasai culture should embrace education and the opportunities it can provide, such as most outside society.

Still, both all the younger and the older Maasai informants consider education as something that is somewhat at the expense of the Maasai culture. When young Maasai leave the rural villages to pursue secondary and higher education, cultural traditions that the Maasai value and the social organization may end. Just as with any other culture, the Maasai culture is changing.

To conclude this thesis, I believe the qualitative data produced in this study can form an overall argument that; the Maasai studied in this project perceive secondary and higher education as a necessity in relation to their culture. This is regardless of if the Maasai studied embrace or are reluctant towards education and how they view the importance and relevance of it.

It would be interesting to further research the future of the Maasai. The pastoralist lifestyle is currently challenging to maintain. The ongoing land conflicts are interesting for their further prospects. If the Maasai are getting evicted from their land, it could be critical for their existence. There is a hope that the “*illmurrans*”, the warriors, get a new meaning in protecting the Maasai through education and law, that can allow them to keep their land and to a certain degree continue their traditional indigenous culture.

Lastly, I am aware of the limitations of my thesis. I have attempted to account for issues of trustworthiness throughout the text. I must again assert that I am aware that my findings cannot be used to generalize.

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8. Appendixes

8.1 Appendix 1: Table of Informants

Level of education	Gender/ Approximately age	Participation in the project	Fictive name
University level	Female, 30+ y/o.	Facilitator, semi-structured interview, field conversations.	Esupath.
University level	Female, 20+ y/o.	Facilitator, interpreter, field conversations.	Jessica.
None	Female, 60+ y/o.	Facilitator, field conversations, observation.	Mama Nashiape.
University level	Female, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Neema.
University level	Male, 70+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	Daudi.
Secondary level	Male, 40 + y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Lekuta.
Primary level	Female, 80+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Naeku.
None	Male, 80+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Lemuani.
University level.	Female, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Napanoi.
University level.	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Kiaro.
Primary level.	Female, 16+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	Mary.
University level.	Male, 18+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Kelembu.
University level.	Male, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	Daniel.
Secondary level.	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
None	Male, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
Secondary level.	Female, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-

Primary level.	Male 40+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
None.	Female, 60+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
University level.	Male, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
None	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
Primary level.	Female, 40+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
Secondary level.	Male, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
None.	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
Primary.	Male, 16+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
Primary.	Male, 16+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
Secondary.	Female, 30 + y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
None.	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
University level.	Male, 20+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
Secondary level.	Female, 50+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
Secondary level.	Female, 40+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview.	-
University level.	Male, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-
University level.	Female, 30+ y/o.	Semi-structured interview, field conversations.	-

Guide for the semi-structured interview

Introduction:

Project presentation (handout). How we will do the interview. Encouraged to keep information that can identify other people privately.

General Qs and follow-ups.

1. Can you tell me about the Maasai way of living and growing up?

Follow-up questions: How do the daily activities look like, what are cultural traditions and rituals, and how does the Maasai support themselves?

2. Have you attended school, and what does education mean for you?

Follow-up questions:

- Did your friends attend school, if not, do you know why?
- Did your parents encourage you to go to school? If yes, was it the same for most of your friends? If not, do you know why?

3. What do you think are the pros and cons of education?

Follow-up questions:

- Ask to explain further the different pros and cons mentioned if needed.

4. Could education benefit the Maasais as a community and not only the individual?

Follow-up questions:

- If yes, can you give me examples of how? If not, why not?

5. Could education sometimes conflict with the Maasai culture and lifestyle?

Follow-up questions:

- If so, how?
- If so, is that why some Maasais might be negative towards education?
- If so, is there a way to make education less conflict with the culture?

6. Do you feel as if education is relevant to the Maasai lifestyle?

Follow-up questions:

- If not, what could have made it more relevant?

- If yes, what is it that makes it relevant?

7. Is there a difference between the older and the younger generations regarding their opinions about education?

Follow-up questions:

- If so, what are the reasons behind these differences?
- Is there anyone in the older generations that has changed their view on education, and if so, why do you think they/you have?

8. Do you feel like there is pressure to go to school?

Follow-up questions:

- If so, from whom? Parents, friends, the government, the world in general?
- How does this pressure present itself?

9. What advantages does education present?

Follow-up questions:

- Job opportunities?
- Financial stability?
- Relevant knowledge?
- Connections?
- Political?
- Empowerment?

10. What disadvantages does education present?

Follow-up questions:

- Lack of job opportunities?
- Access to education?
- Expenses of education?
- Loss of culture?

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

“Views on education in the Maasai community”?

Purpose of the project:

You are invited to participate in a research project whose main purpose is to research what views and thoughts the Maasais have on education.

The project aims to get a better understanding of what the Maasais must consider when given the question if they want to send their children to secondary education or not.

This project is a master`s thesis, and the collected data will not be used for other purposes.

Which institution is responsible for the research project?

Western University of Applied Sciences is responsible for the project (data controller).

Why are you being asked to participate?

You are being asked to participate because I met you during my teaching practice or in your village. You are a part of the Maasai community, and I would like your insight on the subject.

What does participation involve for you?

If you choose to take part in the project, this will involve you participating in an individual interview that will take approximately 30 minutes. In the interview, I will be asking you a set of questions and the two of us will have a conversation regarding these questions.

Our conversation will be recorded on a sound recording device, and I will take notes during the interview.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your consent without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how I will store and use your personal data

I will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified here, and I will process your personal data in accordance with data protection legislation (the GDPR).

Your personal data will be anonymized consecutively during the project, and there will be used pseudonyms for your names and location in my notes. I, the student responsible for the project will be the only one that will have access to the personal data.

You will not be recognizable in the publication. The project will include general information about you such as gender, if you have gone to school, and that you are a part of the Maasai community.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The planned end date of the project is in May 2023. The personal data and sound recordings will be deleted when the master thesis is due.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data be deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with Western University of Applied Sciences, Data Protection Services has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project meets the requirements in data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Western University of Applied Sciences via Vibeke Vågenes
- Our Data Protection Officer: Trine Anikken Larsen

If you have questions about how data protection has been assessed in this project, contact:

- Data Protection Services, by email: () or by telephone: +47 53 21 15 00.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader
(Researcher/supervisor)

Student

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project “secondary education for Maasai-students” and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in a group interview

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end of the project.
