



Høgskulen på Vestlandet

MSAM613: Masteroppgave - riktig innlevering

MSAM613

Predefinert informasjon

Startdato:	07-05-2018 09:55	Termin:	-
Sluttdato:	15-05-2018 14:00	Vurderingsform:	Norsk 6-trinns skala (A-F)
Eksamensform:	Masteroppgave	Studiepoeng:	60
SIS-kode:	KN00845954		
Intern sensor:	Marit Tjomsland		

Deltaker

Kandidatnr.: 603

Informasjon fra deltaker

Tro- og lovetklæring *: Ja

Jeg godkjenner avtalen om publisering av masteroppgaven min *

Ja



Western Norway
University of
Applied Sciences

“Everything Around us is Changing”

*A Qualitative Study of the Perceptions of Secondary School Education,
Among a Group Rural Maasai.*

Julie Skotte Ferstad

Master of Social Science in Education

May 15. 2018

MASTER'S THESIS

“Everything Around us is Changing”

A Qualitative Study of the Perceptions of Secondary School Education
Among a Group Rural Maasai.

«Alt rundt oss er i endring»

En Kvalitativ studie om holdninger til ungdomsskole og videregående
opplæring blant en gruppe rurale Maasai.

Julie Skotte Ferstad

Department of Pedagogy, Religion and Social Studies

Faculty of Education, Sports and Arts

Master of Social Science in Education

Supervisor: Vibeke Vågenes

May 15. 2018

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), § 10.



Høgskulen
på Vestlandet

Abstract

The theme for this master's thesis is education and gender. This is achieved analyzing the perceptions and opinions among a group of rural Maasai in Northern Tanzania. The Maasai are well known in tourism, but they are not well studied. They have traditionally been reluctant to accept formal education, but this is seeming to change. This thesis explores how education is experienced as a solution or a threat for rural Maasai. It discusses how the perspectives are gendered, and how power and empowerment changing with education.

The opinions expressed on these subjects may be based on the different rationality of the logic of pre-capitalist societies. To try to understand this, Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Capitals* has been used along with different views of economy, such as Chayanov's *Peasant Theory* and *Risk Aversion*. Neila Kabeer's framework for *empowerment* is used to analyze the described situation of feeling powerless, and gender is discussed through *Marxist feminism* and Judith Butler's understanding of *performative gender*.

This thesis is a qualitative project based on interviews, focus groups discussions, and observations and field conversations. The informants have been from rural villages and are equally distributed in age and gender. In total, I spoke to thirty-eight participants through focus group discussions and individual interviews, without counting the field conversations.

The empirical evidence on which this analysis is based shows a growing acceptance to secondary education, but with a set of obstacles and misunderstandings that hinder many in continuing their education. There is a gendered bias, which favors boys when investing in education, although it seems generally accepted that girls also benefit from a secondary education. The adult and older participants describe a society where men and women are segregated. The women feel suppressed and in need of empowerment to act in their own society. Both the men and the women feel disempowered when dealing with the outside community. Education is a commonly accepted factor to change these issues in time: To increase equality and empower the individuals within their community and when meeting the surrounding community.

Sammendrag

Temaet for denne masteroppgaven er utdanning og kjønn. Det blir sett på gjennom analyse av meninger blant en gruppe rural Maasai i Nord-Tanzania. Maasaifolket er kjente figurer i turismen, men er ikke mye studert. Tradisjonelt sett har de vist motvilje mot formell utdanning i området, men dette ser ut til å være i endring. Denne oppgaven ser på hvilke måter utdanning forstås som en fordel eller ulempe for Maasaifolket. Oppgaven diskuterer hvordan perspektivene er kjønnete, og hvordan makt og *empowerment* endrer seg når utdanning blir mer vanlig og tilgjengelig.

Meningene som uttrykkes på dette emnet, kan være rasjonalitet basert på en logikk fra pre-kapitalistiske samfunn. For å prøve å forstå dette er Pierre Bourdieus Theory of Capitals blitt brukt, med blant annet ulike syn på økonomi, som Chayanovs *Peasant Theory* og *Risk aversion*. Neila Kabeers rammeverk for *empowerment* er brukt til å analysere den beskrevne situasjonen om maktløshet, og kjønn diskuteres gjennom *marxistisk feminisme* og Judith Butlers forståelse av *performative kjønn*.

Denne oppgaven er et kvalitativt prosjekt basert på intervjuer, diskusjoner i fokus grupper, observasjoner og feltsamtaler. Informantene har vært fra rurale landsbyer og de er likt fordelt i alder og kjønn. Til sammen snakket jeg med trettiåtte deltagere gjennom fokusgruppediskusjoner og individuelle intervjuer, uten å telle feltsamtalene.

De empiriske bevisene som denne analysen bygger på viser en økende aksept til ungdomsskole og videregående opplæring, men et sett av utfordringer og misforståelser hindrer mange til å fullføre sin utdanning. Det er også et kjønnsbias som favoriserer gutter når man investerer i utdanning, men det virker generelt akseptert at jenter også drar nytte av en ungdomsskole og videregående opplæring. De voksne og eldre deltakere beskriver et samfunn hvor menn og kvinner lever svært adskilt. Kvinnen føler seg undertrykt og har behov for *empowerment* for å kunne agere i sitt eget samfunn. Både menn og kvinner føler seg *disempowered* når de deltar i samfunnet utenom landsbyen sin. Utdanning er en overordnet akseptert faktor for å forandre disse aspektene over tid. Som vil øke likestilling og styrke individene i deres samfunn og når de møter omgivelsene utenom Maasaisamfunnet og sin egen landsby.

Acknowledgement

For me, working with this thesis has been a great personal experience. I'm utmost grateful for the opportunity this became. This thesis led me to meet a group of people that make me humble of how loving and encouraging they have been towards me. They welcomed me as a friend and introduced me to their world and their obstacles, telling me that "What is not discussed is not built".

A heartfelt thanks to all my participants - ashe naleng, especially to the two Mamas looking out for me in the Village. Their opinions and wisdom have shaped this paper.

A special thanks to Marina, Geert and Jenipher for the shared experiences, help and support in Tanzania. Also, thanks to Paula Keplinger, for proofreading my work and for the support you always give me.

Last, but not least: my supervisor, Vibeke Vågenes. Thank you for making this possible. Thank you for believing in me, and for helping me every step on the way. Thank you for all the conversations and guidance. It has inspired me.

List of Content

- Abstract..... I
- Sammendrag..... II
- Acknowledgement III

- List of Content*..... V
- List of Figures*..... IX
- List of Tables* X
- List of Pictures*..... X
- List of Appendices*..... X

- 1.0 Introduction**..... 1
 - 1.1 Research Question 2
 - 1.2 Structure 3

- 2.0 Tanzania and Education**..... 5
 - 2.1 Tanzania..... 5
 - 2.2 Education in Tanzania 7
 - 2.2.1 *Before Colonization*..... 7
 - 2.2.2 *During Colonization* 8
 - 2.2.3 *After Colonization* 9
 - 2.2.4 *Education in Tanzania Today* 10

- 3.0 Previous Research**..... 13
 - 3.1 The Pastoralist Context..... 13
 - 3.2 Gender 15
 - 3.3 Culture 18
 - 3.4 Education..... 18

- 4.0 Theoretical Frameworks and Clarification of Terms**..... 23
 - 4.1 Theory of Capitals..... 23
 - 4.1.1 *Economic Capital* 24
 - 4.1.2 *Social Capital*..... 24

4.1.3	<i>Cultural Capital</i>	24
4.1.4	<i>Symbolic Capital</i>	25
4.1.5	<i>Capital Conversion</i>	26
4.1.6	<i>Habitus and Doxa</i>	27
4.2	Views on the Economy and Risk Aversion	27
4.2.1	The Peasant Theory	28
4.2.2	Economy of Affection	28
4.2.3	Risk Aversion	29
4.3	Gender and Education	29
4.3.1	<i>Patriarchy</i>	30
4.3.2	<i>Marxist Feminism</i>	30
4.3.3	<i>Performative Gender</i>	31
4.3.4	<i>Women and Education</i>	31
4.4	Choice and Empowerment	33
4.4.1	<i>Definition</i>	33
4.4.2	<i>Measurements of Empowerment</i>	33
4.4.3	<i>Collective Empowerment</i>	35
4.5	Summary	36
5.0	Research Methodology	37
5.1	The Qualitative Method.....	37
5.1.1	<i>Focus Group</i>	37
5.1.2	<i>Interviews</i>	39
5.1.3	<i>Participant Observation and Field Conversations</i>	40
5.2	Access to the Field.....	45
5.3	My Position	46
5.4	Language.....	49
5.5	Transcription and Analysis	51
5.6	Quality of the Data	52
5.6.1	<i>Reliability</i>	52
5.6.2	<i>Validity</i>	54
5.7	Ethical Considerations.....	56

6.0	Biography	59
6.1	The Village	59
6.2	Focus Groups.....	60
6.2.1	<i>Baba</i>	60
6.2.2	<i>Babu</i>	60
6.2.3	<i>Mama</i>	60
6.2.4	<i>Bibi</i>	61
6.2.5	<i>Morans & Layoni</i>	61
6.2.6	<i>Ndito</i>	62
6.3	Individual Interviews	63
6.3.1	<i>Cindy</i>	63
6.3.2	<i>Leshan</i>	63
7.0	Education as a Solution or a Threat?	65
7.1	Education as an Advantage.....	66
7.1.1	<i>Basic Skills</i>	66
7.1.2	<i>Adapting, but not Changing</i>	68
7.1.3	<i>The Future</i>	69
7.2	Education as a Disadvantage	73
7.2.1	<i>Secondary School gives a dead-end outcome</i>	75
7.2.2	<i>Education as an Unsure Investment</i>	76
7.2.3	<i>Drop-out</i>	80
7.2.4	<i>Lack of Information</i>	82
7.2.5	<i>Distrust in the non-Maasai</i>	83
7.2.6	<i>The Dilemmas of a Changing Culture</i>	86
7.2.7	<i>Capital Conversion</i>	88
7.3	Summary	90
8.0	Gender and Education	91
8.1	Why Boys Need Education the Most	92
8.1.1	<i>A Safer Investment</i>	92
8.2	Why Girls Need Education the Most.....	93
8.2.1	<i>Early Marriage</i>	94
8.2.2	<i>Few Options</i>	94

8.3	Sense and Sensibility	98
8.4	A Patriarchal Bargain	103
8.5	Summary	105
9.0	Empowerment	107
9.1	Mamas and Bibis	107
9.2	Cindy	112
9.3	Babas and Babus	114
9.4	Leshan	117
9.5	Simple Windows to Complex Realities	119
9.6	Empowerment and Capital	123
9.7	Summary	123
10.0	Summary and Concluding Remarks	125
11.0	References	129
12.0	Appendices	135
12.1	Appendix 1 : Biography – Focus Group Interviews	135
12.2	Appendix 2: Interview Guide	139

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Map of Tanzania (CIA, 2017)	5
Figure 2:	Population Pyramid Tanzania (UN, 2017).	6
Figure 3:	Educational System, Tanzania (EP-Nuffic, 2015).	12
Figure 4:	Predicted years of education, Northen Tanzania (Hedges, 2016)	17
Figure 5:	Mean years of education (Hedges, 2015)	21
Figure 6:	The ability to exercise choice (Kabeer, 1999)	33
Figure 7:	Social network Maasai	84
Figure 8:	Capital Conversion	88
Figure 9:	Example: Capital Conversion with Jewelry	89
Figure 10:	Summary of arguments for boys	93
Figure 11:	Summary of arguments for girls	97
Figure 12:	Word tree of wordcount <i>Girls</i> and <i>Boys</i>	98
Figure 13:	Reasons for drop-out (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014)	101
Figure 14:	Example: Cindy's ability to make choice	113
Figure 15:	Women seeking internal <i>empowerment</i> , while men seek it external	120

List of Tables

Table 1:	Educational level among participants in the Village	74
Table 2:	School Attendance Tanzania, Primary and Secondary School. (National Bureau of Statistic, p. 19-20, 2011)	100

List of Pictures

Picture 1:	Front page : Cattle (private)	
Picture 2-3:	Men taking the cattle home for the night (private)	41
Picture 4:	Maasai men (private)	49
Picture 5:	A boma, with traditional huts and new square huts with metal roof (private)	62
Picture 6-7:	Area left dry by the drought (private)	65
Picture 8-9:	Fenced area for the cattle in one of the bomas (private)	71
Picture 10:	Women fetching water and firewood (private)	79
Picture 11:	Woman with jewelry (private)	86
Picture 12:	Woman waiting for the cattle to come home for milking (private)	105
Picture 13:	Maasai women (private)	109

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 :	Biography – Focus Group Interviews	135
Appendix 2:	Interview Guide	139

1.0 Introduction

Worldwide there is a consensus that education leads to development. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals have marked *quality education* as one of the target areas for the next 15 years. Sub-Saharan Africa has the largest number of out-of-school children in the world; more than half of children that have not enrolled in school live here. To reach the goal set by the UN, enrollment must increase 2.6 times over what it is today (UN, 2015). The conviction that education is good for the individual and the community is a widely successful and accepted global project, but is not necessarily adopted by all groups, with different reasonings for their reluctance.

For the Maasai living in Northern Tanzania, seven years of primary school is mandatory, but is in a process of change, with free secondary education and a new curriculum. It has not, though, ensured that all children get the chance to get education. Geography, economy, lifestyle and attitudes towards education limit the children's access to primary school. The Tanzanian population is experiencing a growing enrollment in secondary and have a greater focus on higher education, but this may not seem to reach all groups of people evenly (Wedgewood, 2007). A stereotypical understanding of the Maasai's way of life as natural and without interest in formal education could be a misinterpreting of their position. Girls have been targeted as victims of this culture and statistics show that fewer girls are enrolled in school compared to boys (BEST, 2016). The area has therefore in a long time had focus on girls and education sponsored from foreign NGO's, which has also reached the Village. These rural groups of Maasai are often marginalized and live in poverty and they describe their situation as disempowered. Their lifestyle is being limited in several ways; such as access to grazing land, water, education, infrastructure and health services.

This project is based on my fieldtrip in Tanzania 31.08.17-01.11.18. I hope to develop a nuanced picture of the relationship between the Maasai and education, and how men and women may be affected differently. I will explore different perspectives to better understand why the Maasai seem to be reluctant to embrace formal education. Is education a threat to the way they live, or could it be in the future?

The reason I have chosen Tanzania and the Maasai is linked to my bachelor thesis and a previous field trip where I got to meet people that identify themselves as Maasai. At that time, I was, for the first time, introduced to the issues that they are facing and the consequences, both upon individuals and communities. Before my visit I had little knowledge of the Maasai. What I learned intrigued me and made me interested in how their culture may reconcile with education and whether they saw education as empowering or threatening. After my first visit in Tanzania and the Village, I developed the impression that there are different understandings and views of the matter of *Education and Gender* between the Maasai men and women. Whereas the women I talked to welcomed change and education, the men were less enthusiastic. That is why I decided to separate the genders and explore the differences in perceptions between men and women.

1.1 Research Question

The focus of this thesis is the perception of a group of rural Maasai in a village in Northern Tanzania towards secondary education.

The overall research problem of this thesis: *To what degree do rural Maasai embrace secondary education?*

To answer this, I have the following research questions:

- I. What do rural Maasai see as advantages and disadvantages of secondary education?
- II. Why do rural Maasai prioritize boys and girls differently when it comes to investment in secondary education?
- III. To what degree can secondary education entail empowerment among rural Maasai?

1.2 Structure

In addition to my research question, my thesis shed light for broader coherence:

- **Chapter 1** gives the background and objective for this thesis.
- **Chapter 2** presents the history of education in Tanzania, and shows how the development of the educational system has not been designed to fit the Tanzanian population, and not worked favorably towards pastoralists.
- **Chapter 3** gives a review of previous research about the pastoralist context and education and the Maasai culture, and gender roles. I try to show what the situation is for the Maasai in Tanzania today.
- **Chapter 4** gives an overview of the research methodology, the execution in the field, and the implementation chosen, with the strength, limitations, and considerations that follow.
- **Chapter 5** gives a description of the theoretical frameworks and makes a clarification of the concepts needed for the analysis. These are theories of capitals, views on economy and risk aversion, gender and education and lastly empowerment and choice.
- **Chapter 6** is a bibliography to describe my informants. It describes the individuals in my focus groups and gives an outline of their educational background, status and children.
- **Chapter 7** is an analysis on what is seen as advantages and disadvantages of secondary education.
- **Chapter 8** discusses how does gender affect investment in secondary education
- **Chapter 9** discusses how education can change the feeling of disempowerment among rural Maasai
- **Chapter 10** contains the concluding remarks of this thesis.

2.0 Tanzania and Education

"*Uhuru nu Umoja*" is the national motto which means *Freedom and Unity* in KiSwahili. This is central in Tanzanian government ideology. Julius Nyerere governed Tanganyika from 1961-63 and proceeded as the first President of Tanzania in 1963. Nyerere, was a teacher by profession, and made the foundation of Tanzania's great educational focus, compared to other previously colonial countries. He made a great priority of not letting the country be divided among different ethnic groups. To achieve this, he wanted to establish a Tanzanian identity for all Tanzanians, and this identity would be above the ethnic identity for each individual, as for example the Maasai (Christophersen, n.d). John P. Magafuli is, since the 2015 election, president of the country. He represents the democratic-socialist political party The Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which translate to "the party of the revolution" (Benjaminsen, 2016).

2.1 Tanzania

Tanzania is a nation in East Africa with an estimated population of forty-five million. Tanzania has about a hundred and twenty different ethnic groups, and one hundred and thirty different languages are spoken in the country. Today most people in Tanzania are either Muslims or Christians. Tanzania has been spared from ethnic conflicts. Tanzania is a union of what used to be Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanzania was not a political unit before being colonized by Germany and later Great Britain (see 2.2.1). Along Lake Victoria there were several small kingdoms where series of groups lived in political unity (Benjaminsen, 2016).



Figure 1: *Map of Tanzania (CIA, 2017)*

Tanzania has the largest population in East Africa and the lowest population density; almost a third of the population is urban and live in cities. Tanzania has a youthful population. The chart from the UN shows that about two-thirds of the population is under twenty-five. Divided by gender, the male population is illustrated as pink to the left and the female is green on the right (UN, 2017).

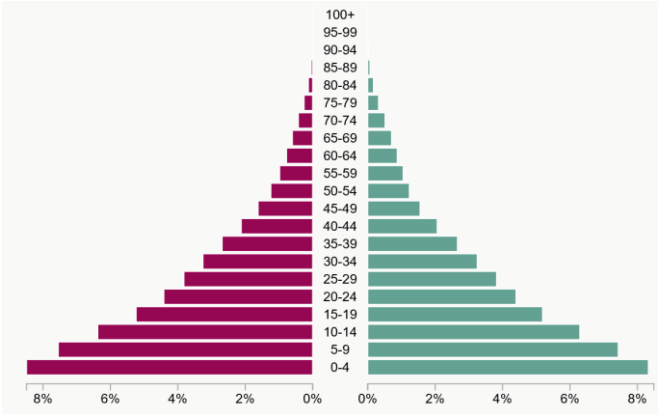


Figure 2: Population Pyramid Tanzania (UN, 2017).

The wealth in Tanzania is based around tourism and natural resources where the main economic activity lays in agriculture (CIA, 2017). The World Bank, The International Monetary Funds, and bilateral donors have provided loans for Tanzania, in 2013 they were granted \$698 million. In 2015 it was decided not to renew the loans because of irregularities as the Zanzibari election and concerns of the governments cybercrime bill, making the main challenge budgeting, which is daunting for the government. The government of 2015 is developing plans for better business environment, development and work for educational progress, but is often found short of funding. (CIA, 2017).

2.2 Education in Tanzania

The educational system in Tanzania is shaped from the history of the country and therefore it is relevant to give an outline of how the system came to be. This chapter will point to important events in the development in education in Tanzania and an outline of how it is structured today.

Tanzania has been under different rule and with that education has changed. There is a clear difference in the system and structure of the education divided in three eras: Before, during and after colonization.

2.2.1 Before Colonization

Like many other African societies, Tanzania had indigenous education revolving around the clan or tribe as their basic unit. The focus was to transfer knowledge, values, and skills essential for surviving to the groups' children. The behavior expected of its members was taught and shown to the children in their homes and their everyday lives. Traditionally it was informal and oral from the elders to the children, often through storytelling (Mosha & Omari, 1987). The elders were the storehouse of knowledge and wisdom and what they did not pass on would die with them. Brock-Utne claims that in some ways ethnic groups like the Maasai had some sort of structured education through different rites of passage to mark advancement from one stage of life to another (2006). In modern terms, this type of indigenous education has been vocational in many ways. The children were taught how to manage in their future adult life: boys prepared to be warriors and hunters, while the girl practiced domestic tasks for their role as wife and mother. The education was dependent on the individual's memory and the circumstances. The aim of the education was to place everyone in their prescribed place in society, which probably discouraged individualistic attitudes and varieties (Mosha & Omari, 1987).

2.2.2 During Colonization

When the Missionaries arrived, the Africans had the land and the Missionaries had the Bible. They taught us to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened them, they had the land and we had the Bible. - Jomo Kenyatta (Walker, J. 2002, p. 144)

Tanzania was first colonized by Germany, and during the 20 years before World War 1 they built 60 Primary schools. The schools provided three years of instruction with courses in reading, writing and arithmetic. Missionaries were encouraged to help with building and keeping schools for the population, especially the indigenous populations. By 1914, 95% of the students in Tanganyika that went to school were enrolled in mission schools (Mbelle, Wilson & Sichene, n.d). During this time no girls were allowed in formal education, either in government-run or mission schools.

There were three types of schools worked parallel to each other. Qur'an schools, Christian missionary schools and government schools. Qur'an schools came first along the coast and to Zanzibar and introduced classroom education first (Moshia & Omari, 1987, p. 12). Christian Missionary schools spread across the countries led by the country colonizing them. The Germans used the same model as in Muslim-colonized countries where girls were encouraged to submissiveness and not enlightenment. Missionary schools were the main force for westernization and could be the reason why many were hostile to traditional chiefs after independence (Mbelle, et al.). The religious supported schools taught the script, reading and writing, but did not educate their students to professions. Government schools filled that gap "Government schools aimed to produce clerks, tax collectors, interpreters, artisans, and craftsmen, while missionaries aimed to produce westernized Christian converts, alienated from their own traditional culture." (Mbelle, et al. n.d.).

All education stopped in Tanganyika during World War 1. After Germany's defeat, Britain would administer Tanganyika as a trust territory under a League of Nations mandate. Germany had had an emphasis on practical education and health improvement. Britain continued in many cases where Germany left off and continued to cooperate with mission schools to fight illiteracy. Anglican schools had the largest influence during this time. Despite this, over 80% of the mission schools were foreign and it gave them a great control of the curriculum.

Missionaries wanted to create devoted Christians who could earn enough to give money to the church, while the government sought to educate enough to hire for the jobs already existing. The different goals resulted in many ill-equipped bush-schools (Mbelle, n.d). The British stated that their educational purpose was to develop the people on their own terms, depending on Tanzanian values and customs. The British education was based on race, gender, and economic status. Tanganyika had schools meant only for Europeans, Indians, Asians, and Africans, respectively. KiSwahili was used less and less over time because Britain rewarded teachers who taught in English (Moshia & Omari, 1987, p. 14).

The British employed an indirect rule approach. They used sons of chiefs and kings as allies in colonial administration, which created an elitist group of students. These allies were trained in English to serve as middle-men between the Africans and the colonial administrators (Brock-Utne, 2006). Nyerere, the first president of the independent Tanzania, claimed that colonial education made Africans underdeveloped in life, by being deprived of critical thinking and independence. "... colonial education was used as an ideological tool to create feelings of inferiority in Africans, to create dependence on white people and spread the thinking, ideas and the concept of the 'master...'" (Brock-Utne, 2006, p. 19).

2.2.3 After Colonization

Tanganyika gained independence in 1961 and in 1964 they forged a union with Zanzibar and took the name Tanzania. Tanzania's first president was Julius Nyerere, known as "Mwalimu", meaning teacher. With his background in education his focus was education and health for the development of the country (Christophersen, n.d) In 1967, Nyerere introduced the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance. It outlined the principles of Ujamaa (togetherness) to develop the country's economy. The aims of these changes that socialism could bring, according to Nyerere, was to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities (Moshia & Omari, 1987, p. 15).

All schools became nationalized under Nyerere. Most colonial schools were run by missionaries and were private. The aim was now for public schools to dominate the training of the next generation of workers, professionals, and leaders. School did not suit the lifestyle of all groups

in Tanzania, but to create more unity Nyerere started an ethnic quota to ensure that most ethnic groups were represented in school (Mbelle, et al. n.d). Nyerere fought for a self-reliance strategy to make Tanzania as independent as possible (Bishop 2007).

In the mid-1980s, the World Bank (WB), together with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). The relationship between Tanzania and the Bretton Woods institutions WB and IMF was tense due to disagreement of the root causes of the economic crisis and how to handle it, but Tanzania eventually signed the agreements, so they could repay their loans. The intention from Bretton Woods was to help developing countries pay their debts by forcing their focus to what was believed would make them able to pay their debt back in a shorter time. Education and health were sectors they had to cut short, which led to reducing quality and quantity at all levels of education (World Bank, 2010).

Tanzanian statistics show low enrollment, high drop-out rates, and low performance at national examination (BEST, 2016). It is argued that the cuts made in education have made a decline in quality in education and creates an uncomfortable learning environment. Those wealthy enough took their children to schools abroad. Eventually, the government was pressured to withdraw as the sole provider of education. Privatization was allowed once again, and even encouraged. Private school costs must be borne by individual families; the expenses involved school fees, boarding expenses, transportation, food and maintenance. Most families could not afford it. School no longer separated students by race, but by class inequalities (Bishop, 2007).

After independence, the government directed its limited resources towards those peoples and areas that were more politically powerful or perceived as "progressive", and the gap between pastoralist and other areas remained (Hodgson, 2001).

2.2.4 Education in Tanzania Today

The education system is based around a 2-7-4-2-3+ structure as seen on the figure below. It means that the educational system consists of 2 years of pre-primary school, 7 years of primary school, 4 years of ordinary secondary school (ordinary level), 2 years of advanced secondary school (advanced level) and at least 3 years of higher education (EP-Nuffic, 2015). It is called

a basic five-tier educational structure, where those who pass Form IV may proceed to two more years of advanced Secondary Education (The East African, 2013.)

Primary education is compulsory in Tanzania and normally starts at the student's age of 7 and ends at age 14. The language of instruction for primary education is KiSwahili. However, the language of instruction for both secondary and higher education is English (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Public primary education has no school fees. At the end of class 7, which is the last year of primary, there is an examination that decides whether the student gets to continue to secondary school or vocational training programs. Higher scores on this test make it easier to access schools that are considered better, such as private schools.

Secondary education can be divided in two: ordinary (O) level and an advanced (A) level. The examination decides whether the students get to continue to advance level or not. Form 1 through 4 is considered ordinary levels and those who succeeded can continue to form 5 and 6. Examinations for the Certificate of Secondary Education and Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education are administered nationally. Students must take examinations in at least 7 subjects to obtain the certificates. With the certificate they can apply to enroll in higher education as the figure illustrates (EP-Nuffic, 2015).

The changes proposed in school involve making secondary school mandatory and free of school fees. It involves a new curriculum and makes primary six years and secondary 4 years opposed to what it is today (see figure 3).

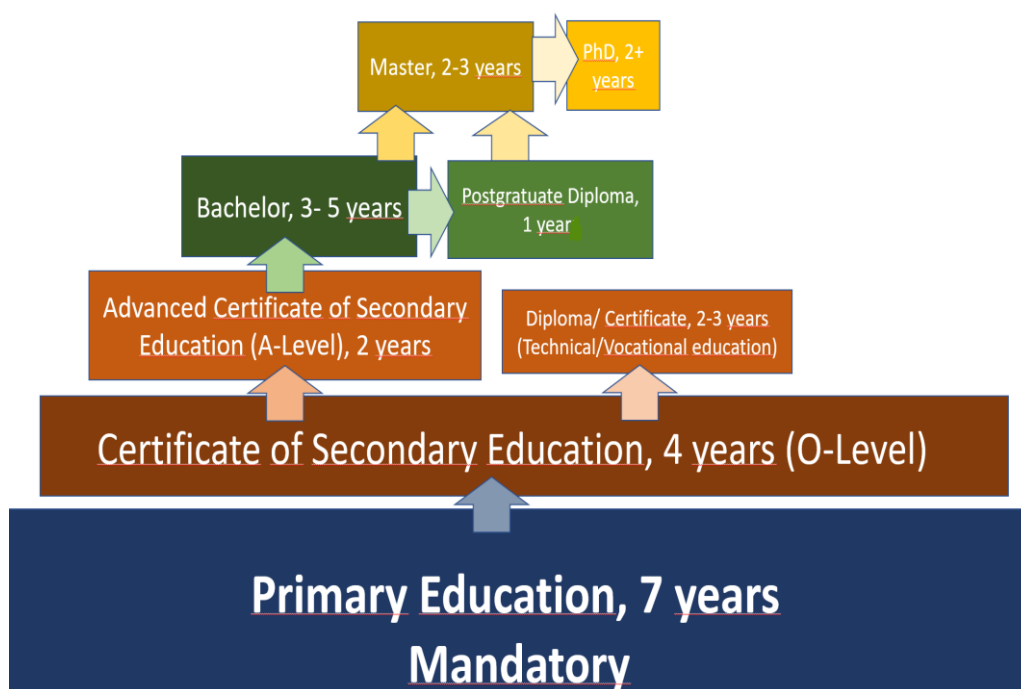


Figure 3: Educational System, Tanzania (EP-Nuffic, 2015).

Tanzania is experiencing a high percentage of drop-outs and students who fail. Six out of ten students in Tanzania got the lowest grade possible in the ordinary secondary level examination in 2013. Private schools had a higher rate of success. There is not a difference between boys and girls who completely failed, as it was split by some 120 000 boys and 120 000 girls. There is, though, a significant difference in gender among those with highest score, as 16.342 were boys compared to 7.178 girls (The East African, 2013).

Numbers from The Demography and Health Survey in Tanzania 2010 show that all over Tanzania there is a slight difference in attendance between gender and a higher difference between geographical location as urban or rural. It also shows that the northern region scores below average for both genders in educational attainment with an average of 4.8 years for women and 5.4 years for men, not considering the difference in urban or rural settlers or their ethnicity. According to Mbelle, Wilson & Sichene, 68 % of the adult population in Tanzania is illiterate, which is high for an African country (n.d.).

3.0 Previous Research

In this chapter I will present previous research regarding the Maasai, their culture, education and gender. This is not a field well explored. Some that have done in-depth research are Dorothy Hodgson, Sheila Aikman and Sophie Hedges, in addition to several smaller research projects.

3.1 The Pastoralist Context

The Maasai is an indigenous group living in northern Tanzania and southern Kenya. There is not one culture of Maasai, but many (Stock, 2013, p. 67). The Maasai Association estimates that there are between five hundred thousand and one million people that belong to a Maasai tribe. This is hard to confirm, as Tanzania does not categorize their population by ethnicities or tribes. Therefore, we cannot tell from the census whether this is correct or not (Maipai, 2016).

According to Sheila Aikman, all Africans are indigenous to Africa. That is, they were all in Africa before the European colonialists arrived and therefore have been the subject to subordination during the era of colonialism. This illustrates how there is no single or static definition of the term “indigenous”. For many the term can still have negative connotations from the past, when racial politics were used to oppress (Aikman, 2011, p. 17). The Maasai does not claim to be “the first” to the country, but Tanzania is central to their identity, history and mythology. Hodgson believes they have the same challenges as all those that are strictly speaking “native”; for example, the challenges they face in protecting their distinct cultural identity, and their political and economic rights. The Maasai have been promoted as primitive savages for the tourist market and labeled as second-class citizens. This has been part of making the stereotypes of “The Maasai” (Hodgson, 2002).

The Maasai of northern Tanzania have organized their way of life in a way that is known as pastoralism. Pastoralists utilize savannas and deserts to herd and raise livestock. The land they use is often not suitable for farming. The animals satisfy the need of food, shelter and clothes, through direct use of the animal or by trading for income (Knox & Marston, 2014, p. 287). The size and quantity of their herd, especially of cattle, are traditionally viewed as a measure of status and wealth. They rarely eat meat, but use the milk and often the blood of their cattle as their most important foods (Stock, 2013, p. 339).

Spatial mobility is fundamental to the pastoralist's way of life. This is to be able to get an orderly utilization of the available water and pastures that often become scarce in the course of a year. They migrate in patterns that provide pastures and water for their herds. Pastoralism takes several different forms. The "true" nomads have no permanent base camps, and people who live like this are few in numbers. Often women and children keep a base, where agriculture is practiced, often at a small scale as a supplement to the livestock (Stock, 2013, p. 339). These kinds of nomadic pastoralists have been viewed as a threat to wildlife and national unity. They have been accused of leading a way of life that is unsustainable for the environment, and that they therefore are in need of being integrated as soon as possible. Pastoralists have been cast as "environmentally destructive agents of desertification and uneducated warring peoples largely uninterested in development" (Aikman, 2011, p. 18).

These pastoralist societies are patriarchal. Patriarchy will be discussed further in 5.3.1. Robert Stock defines patriarchal societies as societies that are "dominated by men; men are the main decision makers, and they exercise considerable control over the activities of women" (Stock, 2013, p. 572). In a male dominated society where the workload for the woman is large, but her decision-making power is limited. In a Maasai family, a girl-child represents a future bridewealth, often consisting of animals and money when she is married off. Many households depend economically upon this exchange of a bride for a bridewealth. This is one of the reasons why girls often are not prioritized when it comes to education. This is discussed in the analysis 8.2. Education does not raise the potential value of the expected bridewealth for the girl. This structure of society makes women dependent on men economically and politically, making them the property of men, and in that detail, it becomes a hard to find mutual respect between the sexes (Hodges, 1999, p. 50).

Many pastoralists, including those in northern Tanzania, find themselves pushed into a smaller and more marginalized area. According to The Maasai Association, this among other reasons has forced many to abandon their pastoralist way of life. They contend that private ownership of land makes the average Maasai even poorer (Maipai, 2016). By mainstream assets, such as cash and property, pastoralists are categorized as poor. However, pastoralists might not perceive their lack of cash to purchase consumer goods as poverty. Their lifestyle does not encourage this. To indicate poverty Aikman used these criteria: remoteness from markets, health centers and schools, but these might not be a relevant measurement of poverty for the pastoralists themselves. The remoteness benefits their kind of lifestyle by taking advantage of pastures in

the face of uneven rainfall, and creates networks of social relationships that are crucial when exchanging animals. Thus, the traditional measures of poverty become invalid when considering pastoralists. Aikman points out that “Those who currently practice mobile pastoralism are less likely to be poor and less prone to drought-induced shocks than stockless, ex-pastoralists in peri-urban settings ekeing out a living from diverse activities” (Aikman, 2011, p. 17). Pastoralism has been the dominant economy in the area and will probably be in the foreseeable future. The relationship between pastoralism and education is problematic and there have been many campaigns to make pastoralist give up their way of life to pursue farming or business.

3.2 Gender

The Maasai have a gendered distribution of labor that is traditionally very rigid. This has created a sharp distinction between what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman. For the Maasai, the informal education has been essential for both boys and girls. Informal education is knowledge transfer within the society, often with long history. This knowledge transfer is essential for the child to grow up and be able to survive as a Maasai. Formal education has become an alternative in recent times, which has brought new opportunities (Feldberg, 2013, p.162).

Boys are generally in the majority of those who receive a formal education beyond the mandatory first seven years of primary school. After circumcision the boy becomes a warrior. The group the boy is circumcised with becomes their *age group* and will be of great importance for the rest of his life and be one of his biggest assets in his social network. As warriors, they must protect the village, care for the cattle and be messengers for the elder. After 7 years a new group of boys is being circumcised, there will always be two age groups acting as warriors at the same time. Warriors advance to "junior elders". Now they can marry and start families. With age, men rise in rank and gain more status and responsibility, from "junior elder" to "elder" and "senior elder". In recent times, the boy has been given priority in terms of education and choice of lifestyle, since it is the boy who will be the leader and will support his parents (Galaty, 1982). Men govern their wives and are their guardians. Polygamy is common, and many men have three or four wives while rich men can have even more (Hodges, 1999, p. 41-50). "The women

are their property, which they have purchased with a dowry, and they reflect the riches of the man together with his herds of cows" (Hodges, 1999, p. 41).

Maasai women are divided into two groups: married or unmarried. Those who are married belong to their husband's age group. Even as a widow, the women will belong to this particular age group. The girls are often circumcised at 10-13 years of age and married to someone whom her father has chosen for her in exchange for cows or other value, called a dowry. Women have a greater workload than men. They do the domestic work, milking of cows, and gathering firewood and water (Hennes, Marroll & Smith, 2013). Hodges points out that there is a common perception among both female and male Maasai that people can be "possessions". This is especially true of women. This is expressed through marriage rituals, where the woman is given by her father to a husband to whom she has not had the opportunity to consent or even participate in the choice. If the woman becomes a widow, she cannot be married again, but will then belong to her deceased husband's age group (Hodges, 1999, p. 50-60). While this, from an individualist point of view, may seem to be very oppressing, from a traditional, strong patriarchal and group-oriented Maasai perspective, it can be understood as a way of securing the group members' lifelong membership and security.

Temba, Warioba and Msabila concludes in their research from 2013 that awareness for girls and education has gradually risen in the Monduli district in Northern Tanzania, which is part of Maasailand. A greater number of girls are in secondary school compared to numbers from 2006. They saw how girls with education came back to promote education for girls. There has been a great focus on girls and education in the area, and groups such as the Maasai Education Discovery in Tanzania, among many other programs, can finance girls' education through school. However, Temba believes that the gender gap still exists whereby boys tend to be given priority in access to education compared to girls: some aspects of the Maasai culture are not progressive, as how women are not allowed to own resources, and are often denied access to education.

Gender relations among the maasai have been negatively affected by male dominance over decision-making. Women and girls are not accorded great importance in maasai society and hence they are denied access to education and other economic opportunities. This tendency, made maasai women and girls stay out of the school system making them

become illiterate and hence ignorant of their basic human rights in their respective societies (Temba et al, 2013, p. 23).

In the same study they show that all their seventy respondents claim that there has been an improvement regarding Maasai perceptions towards girls' education compared to the previous twenty years. They have say that it has been mostly government campaigns (80%), NGO's (90%), and returning female graduates (21.4%) that have changed their opinions. (Temba et al., 2013, p. 24)

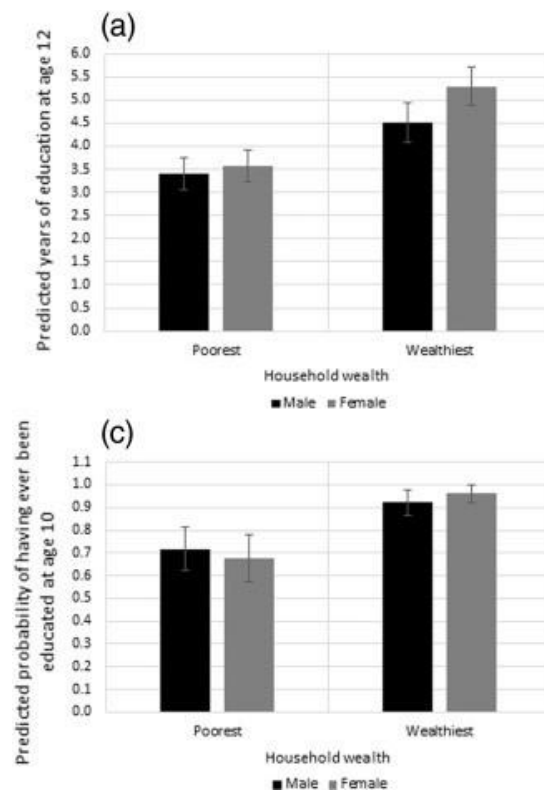


Figure 4: Predicted years of education, Northern Tanzania (Hedges, 2016)

Hedges' data from 2016 show that there is a slight female advantage in schools in northern Tanzania. Twelve-year-old girls have slightly more education than boys of the same age. Whereas among the poor group there is a slightly higher chance for boys to have ever been educated at the age of ten, girls have the advantage among the wealthiest group (Hedges, 2016). Hedges believes that this is due to campaigns in the area advocating for girls to get education.

3.3 Culture

The Maasai attitude toward education could be viewed as a “problem of culture”. There are conflicting operational definitions of culture, especially concerning its role in development. Some see it as static sets of practices that oppress women and stop progress. Other Maasai activists have made a clear distinction between positive and negative cultural practices, for example separating traditions of jewelry and dance from female genital mutilation and child marriage (Hodgson, 2011, p. 155). Indigenous women are often associated with culture and traditions. In the example of the Maasai, women have largely borne the brunt of negative cultural practices which have kept them disempowered and stuck in their way of life. This way of life could from a western point of view seem incapacitating. However, from a traditional, strong patriarchal, group-oriented perspective, it could be a way to ensure each member lifelong belonging and safety.

One definition of culture is “to refer to the assumptions, meanings, ideas, and practices that shape and are shaped by people’s everyday interactions” (Hodgson, 2011, p. 6). Still, there is a controversy of how to construe this definition when discussing culture. Regarding the Maasai, and the aspects of culture that will be considered in this paper, there are two understandings that prevail, visible through questions as; should we look at culture as traditional practices and beliefs that may be a threat to education, enlightenment and progress? Or, should we understand culture as performance, meaning that culture is to be understood as appearances such as clothing, songs, dances and other expressive practices we keep alive as a reminder of the past and our history, as a source of nostalgia. (Hodgson, 2011). By considering culture through these definitions, cultural ideas and practices could be a source of oppression of women, and at the same time a source of strength, depending on the context and condition of each situation. This will be discussed in 7.2.6.

3.4 Education

In the Tanzanian educational system, policy direction is the responsibility of the central government. They decide the curriculum, resource allocation and teacher’s salary. In Tanzania, elementary school is mandatory, while secondary is not. They have decided that the language used in school is Kiswahili in primary school while English is used in secondary school. Central

government control makes it difficult for the Maasai to influence how the schooling could be more relevant for the challenges they face, and as of today the institutionalized state education offered to the Maasai is of poor quality. The Maasai do not traditionally use Kiswahili or English in their everyday life (Aikman, 2011, p. 18).

Aikman claims that the curriculum and languages used in school undermine the cultural heritage of pastoralists and do not offer skills or knowledge for a life as a pastoralist. Today, the government views pastoralists' traditional education and state education as parallel and even incompatible with each other. As an alternative, some indigenous communities with nomadic children have used mobile schools that move with the children; for example, Maasai boys in Ngorongoro can continue to herd livestock even as they participate in school. Maasai girls are often less mobile than their brothers, because most of their chores are in the home, whereas the boys are out with the livestock. Consequently, the girls can more easily fit their routine as Maasai with a static school (Aikman, 2011).

Of all the children not attending school, 50% are in Africa south of the Sahara. Aikman states that the majority of those not attending are girls. Aikman refers to recent studies that indicate that policy makers, educators and other officials have a stereotypical understanding of the Maasai people. They believe the Maasai have little interest in formal education and are against modernity. However, Aikman's interviews with Maasai parents show otherwise. In these cases, school is wanted, as they value knowledge and skills that could improve their way of life and help them in issues such as claiming land. The women, particularly, view their lack of any formal education as an obstacle that keeps them from participating in their society and even making simple decisions regarding themselves, as the men make all the decisions (Aikman, 2011, p. 18). In this way, we can understand that it may not be negative attitudes towards education itself, but questioning its relevance for a future living as an indigenous, that impedes acceptance of formal education. For many pastoralists, formal education means going to a boarding school, and the reality of this for many pastoralists has been that those who left for boarding school rarely came back. Hedges and her research team point out how schooling is costly for parents in two respects. The expense of school fees and supplies is formidable, and being gone for school reduces the help and economic contribution from the child in the household (Hedges, Mulder, James & Lawson, 2015).

A study from 2015 shows that children from pastoralist households in northern Tanzania were the ones least likely to attend school. These households are predominantly Maasai. Neighboring

farmers and business owners are more likely to send their children to school and invest in their education. Northern Tanzania has faced a rapid uptake of education. Still, the communities show varying degrees of reliance on farming and pastoralism, that gives different levels of access to education. This research found, surprisingly, that among those Maasai who attended school, there was an advantage to girls. This might be due to the regions emphasizing all the cultural disadvantages a Maasai girl could be facing (Hedges et al, 2016).

There is a notion that indigenous people, and especially pastoralists, have a negative attitude towards education. Even so, Aikman refers to studies from 2001 claiming that Maasai parents want their children to hold “a pen and a stick” (Aikman, 2011, p 19), meaning that they want their children to be educated, but keeping core features of the Maasai way of life. This has proven to be a difficult wish to fulfill. EFA – Education for All - is a national and international target to provide education for all by 2015. Nomadic groups have posed a challenge for this. Most attempts to design flexible and relevant schools for pastoralists have been by non-pastoralists. These attempts show lack of knowledge of the unique challenges pastoralists face as the physical, cultural and social realities. In many cases, education has been an instrument for transforming nomads into waged laborers, settled farmers or modern livestock producers. Even so, increases in primary enrolment have shown a general agreement of the value of education. In the face of growing impoverishment of pastoral households, schooling and learning new trades could be a viable alternative to herding. “Those who go to school stop herding and those who stop herding go to school” (Aikman, 2011, p 18). This thought deters many from seeking an education. Skills such as writing are considered useful, but it is known that an educated child is often unskilled in the pastoralist’s world of herding, as their pursuit of formal education interfered with their acquisition of the traditional skills of the Maasai herder. In many cases, education is seen as an opportunity to generate possibilities for an alternative income. Therefore, some families choose to send one child to school and let the others remain home to work with the family’s livestock (Aikman, 2011, p. 18).

Hedges’ study claims that wealthier households, where the parents have paying jobs or keep their own businesses, may value education more highly than parents that are pastoralists or farmers. They might perceive the skills taught as useful, and their children are better able to take advantage of these skills and get jobs made accessible by formal education. Wealthier families are better able to pay the costs of schooling, and have a greater interest in investing in education due to lower mortality rates among their children. However, among certain Maasai

pastoralists, the opposite might be true regarding school attitudes and enrollment. The wealthier are those with the largest herd. Larger herds demand more labor. Therefore, even though they can pay the fees more easily than other families, they are in even greater need for child herding labor (Hedges et al, 2016).

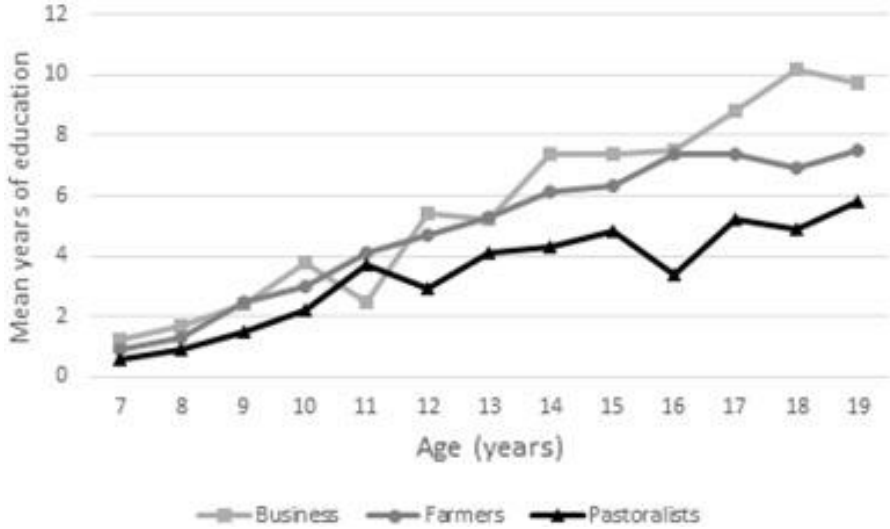


Figure 5: Mean years of education (Hedges, 2015)

The graph from the article "Sending Children to School" by Hedges (2015) is based on numbers taken from self-reported data in rural areas in Northern Tanzania. It shows that children in pastoralist households have fewer years of education compared to the children in households sustained by farming or owning businesses. By the age of 19 pastoralist youth have an average of less than 6 years of education, which is less than the years required to finish elementary school. Children of farmers have a little less than 8 years when they are 19, which indicates that the average is finishing seven years of elementary school. Children of business owners will at average have almost 10 years of school by the time they are 19 years of age. This means that a significantly larger group of children of business owners finishes secondary education and qualifies for higher education. Looking at the ethnicity of the pastoralists will show that 92.1% of the pastoralists are Maasai, while only 1.8% are Meru which have 33.3% of their population living as business owners. Pastoralists that are predominantly Maasai have the lowest

percentage of people in higher education, with only 2.4 % in secondary or higher education and the lowest score on the wealth index.

All this is part of making a broad perception of Maasai as incompatible with formal education, given the Maasai lifestyle with their strict patriarchal gender roles and social structure. There are some frameworks and perspectives that may make it easier to look beyond the stereotypical understanding of the first glance of “the Maasai”.

4.0 Theoretical Frameworks and Clarification of Terms

This chapter will present the theoretical frameworks and terms used in the forthcoming analysis. First is the *Theory of Capitals* by Pierre Bourdieu, then views of economy by Alexander Chayanov and Göran Hydén. Addressed next is about gender and education, with Marxist theory and Judith Butler's views on performative gender, and lastly comes Neila Kabeer's framework of empowerment.

4.1 Theory of Capitals

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist and philosopher. Central to his work is the notion of different capitals. Bourdieu saw peoples' assets as something more than just money, and in a social system we use different types of assets to achieve what we want (Bourdieu, 1986). I believe the concept of capital as used by Bourdieu is relevant to my project, as it may help us understand the rationality of a different culture. It may be valuable when discussing differences in spheres of functional reality as the money-driven economy and the cattle-driven economy may represent. One example is of the value of the cattle being very different in the two spheres, and representing different capitals. Cattle strengthen symbolic, social, and cultural capital for a Maasai in the village, but in the city, they mostly represent their value to produce goods, as meat, calves, and milk. To understand the distinction, it may help to use the capitals coined by Bourdieu to see how different aspects of their life symbolize different capital that may be converted, and by that affect their views on secondary and tertiary education.

Capital is generally known as the wealth in the form of money or other assets owned by a person or organization. Capital can, according to Bourdieu, present itself in three fundamental guises: Economic capital, Social capital and cultural capital. In combination capital can be wealth in the form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

4.1.1 Economic Capital

Economic capital refers to material resources like wealth, land, money, and other assets that one controls or possesses (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654). Economic capital can easily convert to other necessities or other forms of capital. It can be saved in a bank or invested in an extra cow for the herd. In the context of the Maasai, they live in between spheres that use two economic systems: money-driven or cattle-driven. They keep cattle as their main economy, but must take part in the money-driven economy as well when interacting with surrounding communities. Also, the way the land is being used as capital is changing; land they did traditionally practice ownership of is now being claimed by miners and Safari companies for economic gain.

4.1.2 Social Capital

Social capital is the actual and potential resources linked to the network of the individual. Social capital typically comes from being a member of a group. Often this could be family, a tribe, school or party that may share a common name (Appelrouth, 2012, p 656). This provides each member with a collectively owned capital. There can be material, practical, or symbolic exchanges. This is very important in the Maasai community, as their social network is important to maintain their status or when trying to better themselves. A Mama explained that the social network and how they work it comes to light when, for example, they plan weddings across families to create lasting bonds and a network between the families that all can benefit from. Marriages may even be arranged before the girl-child is born. Age groups is an important part of a Maasai's social network and forges a bond that lasts throughout their lives, as described in 3.2, for the men that were Morans together and the women they marry.

4.1.3 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is non-material goods, such as educational credentials, types of knowledge and expertise, verbal skills, and aesthetic preferences that can be converted into economic capital (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 656).

Cultural Capital is divided into three forms. The first is the *embodied state*. This is a long-lasting disposition of the mind and body, which starts to take form when you are young and is evident through your knowledge and how you appreciate cultural expressions, as well as how you talk and dress (Bourdieu, 1986). This often begins in childhood and gives the individual a feeling of what is natural and not, as mentioned in 7.2.6.

The second state is the *objectified state*. This is a form of cultural good: it could be a picture or a headdress that the individual owns. Its value is dependent on the embodied state of cultural capital, as to derive value from the item it must be of use (Bourdieu, 1986). If an individual owns assets they cannot use, they do not have the same value: as with a collection of prized beads, but you do not know how to make jewelry; or if you are illiterate, then a collection of books will not be helpful.

Institutionalized state is the third form of cultural capital. In contrast to the embodied state, this type of cultural capital is concrete and easy to identify. It could be in a form of objectification as education, but is separated because it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 1986). It could be in the form of title, profession, academic degrees, and positions. The institutionalized capital is often formal and has official status. Those with a diploma for higher education have proof of their abilities and qualifications, which makes them a safer investment and more attractive when applying for a job. Institutionalized cultural capital eases the transformation of cultural capital into economic capital, and vice versa. In the Village there are different views of whether degrees, diplomas, and certificates are of value. This will be discussed in 7.2.

4.1.4 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic Capital is not a different form of capital, but rather should be the legitimated, recognized form of the other capitals. It may be understood as honor, charisma, reputation or prestige, but is the outcome of conversions of other capitals (Bourdieu, 1986).

Symbolic capital is described as “economic and cultural capital when it is known and recognised” by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 21). To achieve symbolic capital, other people

must perceive and appreciate the value. Bourdieu (1989) calls this the symbolic struggle. However, there are ways to validate your symbolic capital, either through a prestigious group or network, or by obtaining a diploma from academia (Bourdieu, 1989). For the Maasai this was expressed by being in a powerful network, for example by the chief or chairman or by getting an academic education.

4.1.5 Capital Conversion

Even priceless things have their price, and most are familiar with the varying difficulty of converting certain practices and objects into money. The different types of capital can be linked to economic capital. Economic capital is directly convertible to money and property rights. Under certain conditions other capitals, such as cultural capital, are convertible to economic capital, as when educational qualifications lead to an income. Social capital is made up from social connections and relationships and can be convertible, for example through rank, jobs, and nobility. The same goes for symbolic capital as reputation, honors, and rankings may under some circumstances convert to economic capital. Economic, cultural and social capital can be converted into recognition and prestige, which is symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

There are costs from the transformation; some can easily be converted with immediate access to their value, while others are obtained by social connections which cannot act instantaneously. For example, cultural capital may have a continuous transmission within the family that escapes observation and control: in the educational system, it seems that honors come from natural qualities, when in fact family attitudes may influence performance. This follows the individual into the labor market where the educational system is further validated, and the capital can convert into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

In time the educational qualifications are invested and yield access to growing numbers of dominant positions. The educational system tends to dispossess the domestic group and seize monopoly of the transmission of privileges and power. It can choose among different children, among their sex and rank, to legitimate their heirs (Bourdieu, 1986).

4.1.6 Habitus and Doxa

Habitus and Doxa are concepts described by Bourdieu that may be interesting when discussing my findings. In my analysis I will use a simple understanding of the terms even though both can be used as elaborate frameworks.

Habitus “Is the mental filter for the individual that structures and dispositions the individual’s perceptions, experiences and practices that occurs and make the world taken-for granted in its appearance.” (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654).

Doxa is “the aspects of tradition and culture which are so taken-for-granted that they become naturalized. Doxa refers to traditions and beliefs which exist beyond discourse or argumentation.” (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654). If people live by the organized possibilities available to them, the world of doxa remains intact. When challenging the different ways of “being and doing” it opens cultural possibilities, the doxa may lose its naturalized character and is no longer common sense. The doxa in this case may be the nature-given understanding of gender roles and the submissiveness acquired by women.

4.2 Views on the Economy and Risk Aversion

There are several ways of understanding economy and how it affects human behavior. In my paper I try to see how the rationality used by many of my informants can be understood. Many pre-capitalistic societies have been accused of being backwards and delaying development. Capitalist economic systems are based on private ownership of the means of production and their operation of profit (Korsnes, 2008, p. 133). Communal groups are not, which may affect the priority and rationality behind their economic choices, as the Maasai and their often large herds of cattle that demand herding, grass, and water. The cattle are needed for their blood and milk, and occasionally meat as the most important foods for the Maasai. Different parts of the animal are used as tools and the skin is used as a mat for sleeping. From an outside point of view, they sometimes have more cattle than strictly necessary to survive, but still they are reluctant to sell or exchange their cattle. Cattle gives cultural and symbolic capital for the owner,

so it is not always logical to sell cattle in exchange for money for a child's education. The conversion of capital is not guaranteed to have a beneficial outcome, as the child's education may not lead to a different life or an income. The cow will keep its value and be used for blood, milk, meat, and for new calves (see 7.2.2). To highlight these points, I have used *The Peasant Theory* by Alexander V. Chayanovs, *The Economy of Affection* by Göran Hydén and risk aversion described by T.W. Schultz.

4.2.1 The Peasant Theory

The Peasant Theory originally formulated by Chayanov shows how peasants have a different motivation and rationality than that of capitalist entrepreneurs. The level of activity on the farm will be decided by the total need of the household, and not by an outside demand for profit. Their aim is rather to achieve their maximum of use to reach their existing needs, not to exceed in consumption, profit, or goods. One of the main respects where this differs from the capitalist notion is to balance the load of work with the level of consumption. The family has a budget of their work and time, compared to what the household needs to profit. They work toward the balance between work and time to be self-sufficient. This contrasts with the rationality in a capitalistic market-oriented model, where the worker will work to get a surplus for extra income. In this way it is the size of the family that decides the level of work needed (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115). In some families this creates an inflexible situation for the worker and may limit their range of action.

4.2.2 Economy of Affection

Göran Hydén is a Swedish-American working as a professor at the University at Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. He claims the pastoralism and agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa is pre-capitalistic in their mean of production, which he calls "the peasant mode of production". Indicators of this include the rudimentary division of labor, resource-based agriculture, and that the state is not an integrated part of the system of production or the social system. These points give the peasant "the exit option" to live outside the market and political system as an "uncaptured peasant" (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 117). The Economy of Affection is based on the bonds between people living in a common geographical area or origin. The social network established in groups or

family is the source of organized action instead of the conflicts that are typical in capitalist and socialist modes of production. Instead, nepotism is common and preferential treatment of ethnic groups and family is expected. Conflicts occurs more often between ethnic groups and not between classes (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 116).

4.2.3 Risk Aversion

The behavior of small peasants has been criticized and seen as an obstacle for growth and development due to their “conservative” and “irrational” attitudes (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 117). One voice against this is T.W. Schultz. He believes the rationality of the peasant is to avert risk; Chayanov agrees, as people living at or close to the minimum of what needed to survive do not want to take great risks. This is not the same as unwillingness to adapt to the market. Experience would tell them that taking a risk could cost the family much, as depending on one crop, or not taking the cattle to a reserve further away for water. Risk aversion is therefore natural for people living marginalized, in poverty, or at the brink of starvation (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 119). One of the risks spoken of by my informant’s concerns educating a girl, as she is at risk of getting pregnant and dropping out.

4.3 Gender and Education

The informants and previous research describe a society dividing the genders from an early age. It seems that choices, possible achievements, and expectations are closely linked to the gender of the individual. In this part I will present some terms and perspectives used to describe these facets of the society, as patriarchy, Marxist feminism, performative gender, and perspectives on women and education.

4.3.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is male dominance, with material and ideological control of women's sexuality and labor, both at home and in the workplace (Foord & Gregson, 1986, p. 195). Men exercise considerable control over the activities of women and are the main decision makers (Stock, 2013, p. 572). Pastoralist communities like the Maasai often have the tradition of being a patrilineal group, meaning that one's ancestry is traced through the male line of the family (Stock, 2013, p. 102). Hodges describes the Maasai society as being organized as a patriarchy. Men dominate and have the responsibility for everything outside the home, and they are in charge and decide the ruling policy (Hodges, 1999, p. 41). The woman's workload is often excessive, but her agency is small. For the family a girl-child represents a future bridewealth in forms of livestock or money. As education rarely effects the bridewealth for the girl, the motivation to prioritize education for girls is low (see 8.4) (Hodges, 1999, p. 50). Hodges believes that the male-dominated economy makes the women economically and politically dependent on men. This makes the women property of the men in a system that does not encourage equality, and the women have little leverage to confront or challenge the men (Hodges, 1999).

4.3.2 Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminist theory focus on inequality between the genders. Friedrich Engels claimed that the male privilege towards the woman in the patriarchy is a product of the capitalist system. He believes that in pre-capitalist societies moving towards a capitalist system, men will be more engaged in labor that gives an income outside of the home. This will cause a separation of production and reproduction. When this happen, men oversee production and women the reproduction, leaving the women out of the development and the accumulation of capital that may occur. The women, much due to their reproductive function and duties of care, will stay at home and get less work and therefore less income. This is an expense saved for the employer, which is the reason why gender equality is impossible within this system from a Marxist perspective. Another aspect is that accumulation of capital the men get the surplus, while the women typically do the hard work to maintain the household (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 159).

4.3.3 Performative Gender

Judith Butler is an American philosopher and gender theorist. One of her arguments is that both the sex and the gender of an individual are social constructs that create the idea of the male and the female (Butler, 1988, p. 524). She believes that we identify as male or female because we act in a certain manner, not the other way around. Butler argues that it is more valid to perceive gender as a performance in which individual acts. These performances are passed down generation to generation. With a social audience we pass on socially established meanings. The actions witnessed are reproduced and internalized and these repetitions are associated as male or female. This creates acceptance of the atmosphere that maintains and legitimize a seemingly natural gender binary and the actions that come with it. She believes the gender "becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time" (Butler, 1988, p. 523). This is interesting in the terms of the Maasai, as much of their everyday life is divided between masculine and feminine that is characterized as natural. There are expectations on how children and youth should act and behave, and thereby expectation of how they will thrive or struggle in education based on gender and not personality, as described in 7.2.6.

4.3.4 Women and Education

Feldberg emphasizes that there is already a pattern where the opportunities are fewer for women than for men, although the right to education is strongly endorsed (Feldberg, 2013, p. 181). In 1990-2000, the United Nations highlighted a global focus on education, Education for All (EFA). It states that education is a human right and that it is important for democracy, health, productivity, cultural understanding, identity and national awareness. In the UN's Millennium Development Goals, points two and three agree to emphasize the importance of equal education for boys and girls to increase gender equality (Feldberg, 2013, p. 179). Millennium Development Goals have been replaced since 2015 by the UN Sustainability Goal, which the world community will try to reach by 2030. Points four and five read as follows: "Ensure inclusive and fair quality education for all and promote lifelong learning," and "Achieve full gender equality and empower Women and Girls "(United Nations, United Nations, 2015).

In general, there is a certain amount of knowledge required to understand complex relationships and to be able to learn more. Education must last over time, and it must be possible to be practiced in everyday life, through work and participation in society. Even so, education is valuable by itself. It provides access to information that makes people more familiar with their society, and it creates the opportunity to orient themselves, take a stand on different subjects, and think for themselves (Feldberg, 2013, p. 178). This may help explain how education lack relevance in the Maasai sphere.

"There is today a broad consensus about using education as a means of strengthening women's position in society, and it is documented that women change behavior when they are educated" (Feldberg, 2013, p. 176). This is supported by the view of women as caregivers for children, the elderly, and the sick. By empowering the woman, they will empower those around them (see 5.4). With education comes knowledge of what is needed and what the children need. This encourages development and strengthens the woman's self-esteem. Women are overrepresented in the population among people who have not received education, and they top the statistics for the world's poor. Basic education can be an important tool in helping many of the world's women out of poverty (Feldberg, 2013, p. 176).

Unterhalter (2013) believes gender differences are underestimated. Women have several challenges that have not received enough attention. She claims Tanzania has the framework to be able to distribute resources equally to the sexes but has major challenges such as socio-cultural practices linked to achievement, marriage, sexual harassment, and violence associated with lack of empowerment (Unterhalter, 2013). Gender discrimination and poverty affect girls the most and their lives are limited by many forces that hold them down. Unterhalter refers to several things that can empower the girls, such as schooling, to help reduce the pressure they meet in society (Unterhalter, 2013).

4.4 Choice and Empowerment

Empowerment is an important term through my paper. Early on it was evident that this group is not only marginalized, but also feel disempowered, both within and outside their own community. Many believe that education could be an important part in gaining empowerment. I will here present the definition by the World Bank, Neila Kabeers framework for measuring empowerment through resources, agency and achievements, and the term *collective empowerment* by Gutierrez.

4.4.1 Definition

The World Bank emphasizes that empowered people have a freedom of choice and action. This way they can better control what affects their lives by expanding the tools and skills of the individual. This way they can participate, negotiate, control, and take responsibility for what affects their lives. "Empowerment is the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes" (World Bank Group, 2011).

4.4.2 Measurements of Empowerment

The World Bank's definition of empowerment corresponds with the definition of Neila Kabeer. She has written the article "*Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment*" (1999). Kabeer discusses how the process of empowerment can be divided into three components: Resources, Agency, and Achievements (Kabeer, 1999, p. 20). Changes in the ability to exercise choices and acquire power are seen in the three components mentioned above. Together they represent what it takes for women to make their own choices:

1. Resources that create the conditions,
2. Agency, that refers to the process of the election,
3. Achievement, getting the desired outcome.

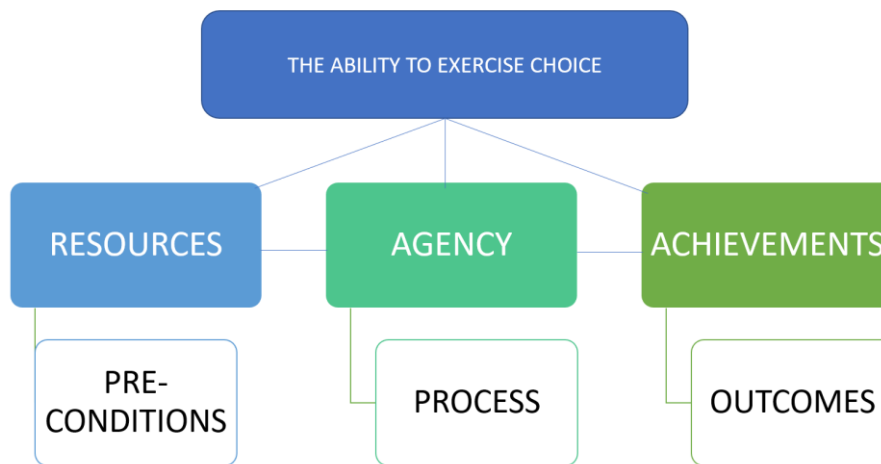


Figure 6: *The ability to exercise choice (Kabeer, 1999)*

All three are interdependent; a change in one will create changes in the others. Resources can be material, social, or human. In this context, resources include everything that can enhance the ability to make choices. Resources are, in different environments and cultures, differently distributed. Rules, norms, and practice lie in the control of an authority that decides. This can be, for example, a leader in the household, a chief, elite, or elder. Access to resources is often as important as resources themselves, as access represents status (Kabeer, 1999, p. 20). A resource can be intelligence and good psyche, it can be cattle or access to good lands.

The other component of power lies in the agency of the actor. Herein lies the ability to define goals and act accordingly. It involves more than what is observable, but also the meaning and motivation that the individual has when acting. This creates a sense of self as an actor. By having that, it creates power in the form of ability to negotiate, manipulate, resist, and protest (Kabeer, 1999, p. 21). For example, the women's agency can be the choice of being married or choosing to go to school so that she can further develop and use her resources.

Kabeer (1999, p. 21) explains how Amartya Sen refers to resources and achievements together as ability. This represents the potential people must live the life they want through "being and doing." Kabeer understands that opportunity as *achievement*, which is the third component of power in the process of empowerment. (Kabeer, 1999, p. 21). Goal achievement can be access to labor markets. Resources can be traded in for other resources such as status, salary, and self-determination. This is often the visible part of empowerment.

Kabeer points out that a way of looking at power is through the opportunity to make choices. Those who do not have the opportunity to take a choice, she denotes as "disempowered". Thus, the opposite of empowered; powerless and dependent. This can be seen through the component Achievement in Kabeer's process of empowerment. With power over one's own achievements, one gets the power to act (Kabeer, 1999, p. 22).

Empowerment is the process that leads the individual from having no choice to making choices. If they have always had options, they were never disempowered. Kabeer (1999, p. 20) defines empowerment as an expansion of people's ability to choose strategic life options in a context where it was not possible before. Examples of how women undermine their own welfare may be her acceptance of second-rate status at home and violence by her husband, as well as birthing children at the expense of her own health. In some cases, this is regarded as unfair by neither women, nor men. It may not even be regarded as a choice (Kabeer, 1999, p. 20).

4.4.3 Collective Empowerment

Empowerment can also be a collective phenomenon. Gutierrez, Maye, and DeLois (1995, p. 249) stated: "Empowerment is the process of increasing personal, interpersonal or political power so that individuals, families, and communities can take action to improve their situations". When people experience empowerment, they feel effective, competent, and like they have more control over the direction their lives take (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 249).

To understand collective empowerment, it is important to understand power and powerlessness. Applerouth shows how Blau defined power as "A type of inequality in which one individual/group is able to supply rewards to others who are unable to offer benefits in return". It is close to Weber's definition: "The chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action, even against the resistance of others" (2012, p. 817). In that sense power can be productive or repressive, creating powerlessness in other individuals or groups. If dominant groups use power in a repressive way, it creates a state of powerlessness that may come with feelings of being helpless, stuck, and even victimized. My informants rarely talked about themselves as individuals and how everyone could improve their lives. Instead they spoke

of themselves as a group, as women, mothers, or Maasai. There was a communal wish of collective empowerment and solution that helped to lift the whole group and not individuals.

4.5 Summary

The theoretical frameworks and terms presented here vary widely, but together may explain the rural Maasai's perception of secondary education in an appropriate manner. The theory of capitals is a theory of action and may explain the choices made. The different views of economy are to understand the sphere in which they are operating and the logic behind it that makes their actions rational. Gender and education is helping to understand that the gender of the individual determine much of the obstacles and opportunities when discussing education and expectations for life. Choice and empowerment builds on this and shows how power and the ability to make choices is limited in a marginalized group, where the genders feel disempowered in different ways, and how education could be the solution.

5.0 Research Methodology

In this chapter I will describe what methods I have chosen, and how I used them. I have added some examples and the challenges faced when collecting the data.

5.1 The Qualitative Method

I found the best way to get an overview of my intended project is by using qualitative methods. Even though it is referred to as a method, it is the qualifications and characteristics of the data collected (Grønmo, 2015, p. 22). My aim was to gain access to subjective perceptions and opinions through an in-depth knowledge of a small group of individuals instead of a broad knowledge of many. During my fieldwork I explored individual interviews, participant observation, and focus group discussions and I kept a field diary that includes several field conversations.

5.1.1 Focus Group

My main method was focus group interviews. It is implemented by interviewing several informants at the same time. I lead the conversation with a group of informants with the aim being to get a variety of points of view, evaluations, and different perceptions of the topic discussed. This gives a unique opportunity for the researcher to explore the dynamic between the informants. The group consists ideally of five to ten participants. The composition of the group must be such that the participants are comfortable with each other, that they are all actively participating, and that no one is dominating the conversation (Grønmo, 2015, p.167).

Given the circumstances of gender roles among the Maasai, I chose to have the genders separated for these interviews, fearing that the women would not speak freely in mixed groups. I chose to build groups based on their age and roles. This is because of the hierarchical age system that structures the society among the Maasai. I have called each group after the kiMaa name of their age, as kiMaa is their tribal language. Ndito designates young girls, Layoni for uncircumcised boys, Moran for young adult boys/warriors, Mama for mother, Bibi for grandmother, Baba for father and Babu for grandfather. At first, I tried to divide them by age.

This was proven to be difficult as many were unsure of their exact age. One of the Bibi said she had to count how many eclipses or bad droughts it has been since her first child and by that estimate her own age. “I’m approximately 50, but I could also be 40, and 55. She is 45, but looks older than me. So, we cannot tell anymore when we get as old as us.” Questions about the age of participants and their children often ended in heated discussions, so therefore, I decided to split the groups into whether they considered themselves as parents or grandparents. In some cases, I believe that there are Bibis younger than some Mamas, and I also believe the average age of the women is lower than of the average age of the men. So, the groups Bibi-Mama and Babu-Baba are based on where they wanted to be themselves and what status they had.

In total 34 people participated through six focus group interviews. Three groups were with women and three with men. In this way I see how they view and prioritize education for their children and if age and gender affect their answers. The interviews lasted in between 2-3 hours each. The informants are described in 6.0 and Appendix 1.

Focus groups: Women

Bibi: five grandmothers with children of school age

Mama: eight mothers with children of school age

Ndito: five girls, four of them in standard 7 in primary school, 1 in secondary school

Focus groups: Men

Babu: five grandfathers with children of school age

Baba: six fathers with children of school age

Morans/Layoni: four warriors out of school, one younger boy still in primary

All focus group interviews, except one, were conducted with the help of an interpreter. It helped me to keep the conversation on topic, and create a balance between input and my own guiding of the conversation.

Recruiting informants turned out to not be as difficult as I first anticipated, as they were very willing to tell me about the challenges of the village, their lifestyle, and education. In an interview, the chairman said it was of great relevance for them to discuss education. During my last visit I got the chance to talk to some of the women in this village about girls and education. This I used as an opportunity and found several of the same women that I knew from before in my first focus group interview. As I lived at the local orphanage, I found help in the two women who worked shifts with the children. They joined the first group and brought women from their peer group. During this interview I explained who I wanted to speak with and asked them to spread the word. That evening the women sent five of their sons that were in their teens to speak to me, and the next day a group of girls in their early teens came. The group of men came with the help of the village chief and my interpreter.

This show that my groups of informants were selective in the aspect of age and gender, but were further recruited with the "snowball method", where the first informants recruit the next ones (Grønmo, p 117, 2015). One example mentioned is how the Mamas sent their sons after their interview to speak with me. The downside of this procedure could be the representation of participants. Could my informants have been cherry picked for a purpose? The village had an estimated population of 6000 people in the extended area, and not all of these could be reached by foot. In that sense I might have been able to recruit a more diverse group than by wanting groups based on age and gender. During my interviews there was no indication that the participants have a certain view or understandings of my topic, as multiple perspectives were represented.

5.1.2 Interviews

I conducted four interviews. One is of a maasai teenager starting university, another is of a 30-year-old Maasai just retired as a warrior (*Moran*). The third is of a human activist from Kenya working in this village, and the last one is my interpreter. She is my only informant from another Maasai village, but a rural village she characterized as similar. She was interviewed at the very end of my stay when her job as an interpreter was over. The interviews each lasted between 1 and 1 ½ hours. A typical way of getting qualitative data is by informal interviews. It contains conversations between the researcher and each informant (Grønmo, 2015, p. 141). A semi-structured interview is characterized by questions constructed in advance to guide the

conversation. This type of interview gives flexibility and room for input and follow-up questions. An unstructured interview would have no question or alternatives for answers prepared in advance. The questions prepared will be in an interview guide which will give a rough outline of the planned interview and the main questions to be asked. It is intended as a guideline for the researcher to provide sufficient relevant information for the project, but at the same time so rough that each interview could be executed in a flexible manner (Grønmo, 2015, p. 168).

The human activist and my interpreter were recruited to help me with my field work. The other two were by chance. The student was home at his village working with his father's cattle and was taking them to the grazing reserves they used during droughts like the one they were experiencing during my stay. I was standing on a hill which was known to have some internet reception. This was also where the cattle passed on their way from grazing to the water source, and for the cattle that were kept in the bomas for milking. Often Morans would stop here for internet service or to hang out. It was here I tried to get in contact with male informants as I did not see them much in the boma. I offered to share internet from my phone plan to his smartphone, and then realized that he spoke English. He agreed to do an interview. The second one I met in a neighboring city. I was walking among the streets and he stopped me, claiming that he recognized the bracelets that I wore as coming from his village. He had just retired as a warrior from the said village a few weeks ago. Many of his father's cattle had starved to death that season, and as a supplemental income during the drought he tried his luck in mining and gemstone trading. He agreed to help me with my thesis and participated in interviews and helped me with other questions that occurred.

5.1.3 Participant Observation and Field Conversations

Participant observation is about observation of the informants with the intention of gaining qualitative data. The researcher gathers data by watching and listening while the participants act and interact, express meaning, or are being involved in events. To do so the researcher must be where the participants are when the acting and interacting takes place. In this way the researcher becomes both a participant and an observer (Grønmo, 2015 p. 155,). While in the village, I got to spend an extended time in the boma of the village chief. My gateway was the two newborn babies in the boma. After the focus group interviews with the grandmothers, two

of them invited me to their huts where they had their newborn grandchildren. The babies were only one and three weeks old. Most days I would stay at one of these huts. They sometimes served sweet tea, and by interacting with the babies, I got access to all the other women with connections to each child. None of the women I met spoke English, so for any field conversation my interpreter would translate for me.

Most men at the boma were out grazing cows, as the village was badly affected by a drought. The grandfathers stayed behind, but were often out and about. Even so, after both group interviews I was invited to drink beer with them and they showed a great interest in how my community had solved similar issues as they were facing, such as education, teenage pregnancies and drought. The younger men and Morans I met by hanging out at the hill with some internet reception. In this group a few spoke English which allowed me to manage on my own.



Picture 2-3: *Men taking the cattle home for the night (private)*

Two problems Grønmo mentioned that I could be facing in participant observation is when trying to interpret the findings. I will strive not to be ethnocentric in my interpretation, where I describe my finding based on my own culture and how it differs from the village. On the other scale there is a chance of "going native" and by that get an understanding that is completely adapted by the participants (Grønmo, 2015, p. 164). Aase underlines the intention of participant observation as about having a certain amount of time in the field or having in-depth interviews. It is rather about getting behind the facade, "backstage", and observe life as it evolves for the

informants. This is only possible when there is established trust and some predictability to base the interaction on (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2015, p. 99). This may also work to prevent some of the Hawthorne-effect where the participants change their behavior when they know they are being studied (Aase et al, 2015, p 115). Thagaard claims that it is important to establish the role as a researcher as an “accepted outsider”. This is the role I felt was expedient for my project as the time with my informants was limited, and could be sufficient for this project.

‘Field conversations’ refers to informal and non-scheduled interviews, discussions, or conversations that take place during the fieldwork. This could contribute to the questions and nuance the topic and in that way, give relevant data (Aase, 2015, p. 30). Many of my interviews started out after conversations like these with persons that were interested in my project, like the example I previously described of the junior elder I met on the street and later set up an interview with. Another example is from the village, one day when my interpreter and I were walking, a man joined us. He said he was an age mate of the chief and had heard that I was there interviewing people about education. He started telling a story of how the village teacher was fired after having a relationship with one of the girls in primary school. She was accepted to secondary school even though she was practically illiterate, because he gave her the answers for the exam. She had to be his girlfriend in return. The teacher himself said it was all a lie and claimed the Maasai hated him for being a non-Maasai. The chief’s age mate told me this because he wanted to stress the importance of having the genders separate in school, so you could tell if the teacher or the boys were the ones making the girls pregnant in the village.

Another conversation happened in one of the huts. One of the Bibis had invited me in on several occasions to drink tea or hold her newborn grandchild. Two young girls sat down on the floor next to the little wooden chair I sat on. They told me they were fourteen years old and had no education. They were both married. One of the girls had already been married for two years as the fourth wife to an older man. She told me she did not have any children yet, she lived with a co-wife and was not a "real" wife yet. She was "in training". The second girl had married a few weeks ago to a Moran (warrior). I asked her if she liked being married. The interpreter translated for her and the girl started crying. She hid her face in her hands, leaning into my lap. I felt bad for the girl and felt responsible for the situation for asking the question. I did not know how to comfort the girl. My interpreter tried to comfort her; she told her at least she was lucky to have a husband who was young enough to have her as an *asanja*, KiMaa for girlfriend. The Bibi of the hut did not seem bothered by the crying girl, but looked at her while telling us that this is

what married life looked like. She told us that the bride will cry the day she leaves her parents, she will cry all night in her hut, the first year of her marriage she will cry. Then hopefully she will have a child, and the day that child is born is when she will stop the crying. At first, I looked at this as a description of the girl's entrapment in the new relationship, but it could also illustrate how her status changes when having a baby, as her role and status changes from being a girl to a *Mama*, giving her a more prized position in the community.

Most of my interviews I got in the Village during my first stay of 10-days. I stayed in a room at the orphanage and not in one of the huts in the boma. They were right next to each other, but still made a barrier so that I was not part of their everyday activities. I was invited for certain activities and visits. I often walked in the boma to interact some with the women there. Most men were out with the cattle. I was told I was there during a hard time, as the drought was at its worst. The cattle were starving, and the grass was long gone, dying from lack of water. The women were worried about not having enough grass for their roof and the men suffered with their cattle. A Baba told me this during one of the interviews:

We as Maasai, we know how to use the environment in according, like just now if he has animals at home and in the area, we are now, but we have areas like [name of reserved area] that we have reserved for droughts, not used, when there is rain the cows are close to home. But when there is a draught there are those reserves that the Morans, the men will move the cows to those reserves. And, how we may differ from other people can be how if you come to like a boma and it doesn't sound like there are people there. That is because the men go with the cows to the grass. When all the men leave during draughts to follow the grass, so they went to those reserves. And they leave children with no food and just empty bomas because you know that what makes those bomas alive are when it is all relaxed, there is cows and food like that. It is not like that now. You will hardly see young Morans or cows in the boma.

– Baba

I believe this made it both easier and harder for me. On one side it kept many of the people living there away from the boma, and my observations might not be of a typical day as most of the men were out with the cattle. On the other side it made life not as busy for those who stayed behind. The women had few animals to milk as the cows did not come to the enclosure during

the night as I had seen they did on a previous visit. In this way they had time to spare and seemed happy to talk with me, and some of the discussions could last for many hours. Even when I finished they stayed for a little longer to drink tea, and before they left they often invited me to come later to their hut. I can imagine that this could have been hard on other occasions when they would have had more work to do.

The human activist stayed in the Village a few days while I was there. He was very eager to help find my informants. It was particularly the younger boys and girls he wanted to recruit for me. He believed it would be hard for me to get interviews with Morans and that it would be inappropriate without him chaperoning the interview. This made me unsure of how to best get the interviews I wanted. This was sorted by using the selected snowball method. In the Village scheduling was difficult, and the interviews took place whenever people had time. One afternoon five Morans came and sat down next to us telling us their mothers had told them to come to be interviewed. I found some chairs for them and as soon as we started two of the Mamas came rushing in. We were sitting in a small circle, but the Mamas put their chairs in the middle, creating an obvious barrier between the Morans, and me and my interpreter. During the interview I noticed the Mamas at a few occasions slapped the Morans on their shoulders or legs. The discussion was in KiMaa, but I interpreted it as to discipline the boys and making them talk one by one. Later my interpreter said that the Mamas had slapped the Morans when they did not like their answers. For example, the Mamas did not want them to tell me about the issue of not having a bathroom at the school. When the interview was finished the Morans started openly to flirt with my interpreter. For an outsider it was in almost a theatrical manner. The Mamas proceeded by hitting them with a stick and chased and pushed them out of the compound. The Mamas and the Morans were laughing as the Morans tried to escape the Mamas for a little bit before they gave up and blew kisses after my interpreter and left. I was a little annoyed that the Mamas modified how the Morans gave their answers, but realized that this might be the way it had to be done. The Mamas did not interfere with or answer for the Morans, but smacked them when they did not like their answer.

The notable conversations and observations like these were written down in a field diary. I wrote down how the day had been, what I had accomplished, the names and status of the people I met to make it easier to remember later. Many of the names were foreign to me and I was afraid to forget or mix up anything. Many of the Maasai go by several names during their lifetime, and in school they are often assigned a Christian name. I felt it was important to be

aware of the people I was around, so the diary helped me keep things sorted. These observations are important as they show sides of the community and my informants that a strict interview alone could not provide.

5.2 Access to the Field

A strength in this project is that I was returning to a village I had visited before. Last time was a shorter stay, but gave me insight and some acquaintances that were of use. The first visit gave me an impression that a project and fieldwork were feasible, and a perception of the topic as important and necessary. I had already established the desired role as a young, female student who is there to learn from them, which served to create a non-threatening and trustworthy status for me as a researcher. I had some persons in mind as gate openers to access informants: some of the women I knew from my previous project, the chief, and the Mamas at the orphanage. By doing this I could enter my project with more credibility and trustworthiness among the other participants, a strategy recommended by Grønmo (2015, p. 157). To make myself as "non-threatening" as possible I made a point out of introducing myself as a student or apprentice, not primarily as a teacher or researcher. Combining this with my qualities as a young female I hoped to gain trust and be an "accepted outsider".

At the beginning of my stay, I was unsure whether they all would have remembered me from last time, but they remembered the visit and told me of it, but not including me in the story. And they remembered that visit to be from Denmark and not Norway. The Village is not accustomed to have many visitors, but have had cooperation with a small group regarding the orphanage. The main benefactor of the orphanage is from Europe, but has lived all his adult life in Tanzania. He drove me and picked me up on my trips to the Village. The Village is inaccessible from the road, so you need a four-wheel drive or a motorcycle to access it. At my arrival he introduced me at a meeting with the chief, the chairman, and other members of the village elders. I believe this was a great advantage for me, as he is a known and respected part of that community and one of their valued links to the city. Through his introduction, I got to explain my intentions and introduce my interpreter. They expressed great interest and willingness to help and expressed that they were interested in ways school and their own culture collides. He believed all the villagers were in favor in having these issues in focus.

He will say they are all okay and they love to share about their life and any questions you have about secondary education or issues regarding this village and Maasai life. Also, he thanks me for coming with you, as they are more comfortable and confident in me as their fellow Maasai. And they know that what they say will be translated correct because I know Maa and Swahili and their culture. If it was somebody else who is a non-Maasai they would probably not be as comfortable and feel that what they are saying is or is not translated so. They are also grateful about that.

(- Interpreter for Chairman, Baba)

5.3 My Position

My position as a researcher in a foreign culture is in many aspects different from being in my own culture and environment. I was a "Mzungu" in Tanzania. It is a word for a white person, but not in a degrading manner. I soon sensed that there was an understanding that I had money, knowledge, and possibilities, and if not that, I would certainly have connections. Sometimes it was suggested that I was part of different project that they had heard of or gained from, and I had to emphasize that I was not. Often this would make me feel bad, as I had received so much help from them in my work and that I did not have any help or solutions to offer them for the major problems they are facing. They also came to me for smaller issues that I could help with and some that I could not. I had women knocking at my door, asking if I had Band-Aids for cuts, medicine for bad stomachs or for sore throats that they could have. With the two childbirths taking place there had been slaughtered a cow and the women claimed that they got sore throats of having the meat hanging in their huts. These were the things I was able to help with, but other questions they asked were difficult, as I am not a health worker, and I tried to make it clear that I had no knowledge of this, as when they brought a baby with swollen eyelids.

My status was somewhat of a puzzle for my participants. They often expressed that I looked older than my actual age. On several occasions I had to repeat my age and then my birth year to confirm that we used the same calendar. Often, they expressed pity for my state as unmarried and childless and with no plans of marriage when I got back home. They claimed my mother would be happy, but wondered if my father was upset because of this, as they assumed he might never get a bridewealth if I did not marry soon. During my stay a Moran passed me on the dusty road. He asked how much he would have to give in bridewealth if he could marry my first-born

daughter. He was surprised to find that he was older than me, and that 30 cows would not be sufficient.

My position as a researcher may determine the relationship I establish with the informants. External characteristics may be important to how the researcher will be perceived (Thagaard, 2010, p. 82). This might be of some importance for my project. Given my gender, the color of my skin, and by being a student asking about the educational system, I might send a signal about my view of the topic, and shape the answers I received. Thagaard (2010, p. 106) claims that being of the same gender as the informant might be an advantage, by giving a common basis. This, I imagine, was to my advantage when talking to my female participants, as the Maasai women often are discriminated against and are not used to getting their opinion valued or heard. By being of the same gender I might be perceived as less threatening and therefore get opinions and answers that might have been altered if I was a man. On the other hand, this could have been a challenge when talking to the male participants, but Grønmo claims that in many patriarchal societies a female researcher is typically accepted much easier than their male colleagues (Grønmo, 2015, p. 159). Their view of me, and my role, might determine if they choose to be honest and share their views with me. Both genders know enough of western attitudes and values that they might modify their answer to what they assume I want to hear. To avoid this, Thagaard (2010, p. 105) points out that it is important not to let your own values affect the interviews. The aim is that the informant will not be tempted to answer the questions based on an opinion the informants may have of the researcher's values and views. As a researcher, it is important to remember that the informants might portray themselves as they want to be perceived more than how they believe they are perceived, but also how the researcher understands the situation (Thagaard, 2010, p. 105). It will be inevitable that what I ask and how I interpret is characterized by who I am, and where I am from. And this may taint my results.

One of the girls in the Village asked me, in broken English, if I were staying with them because I wanted to change Maasai culture. I was taken aback by the question and told her that I was not, but instead I was there because I wanted to learn from them and what they thought about education. She said that she hoped I would come back and then help them fight early marriages and female circumcision, and maybe I would have a husband who could come and help them get better access to water and electricity. I was later told that this lively girl was thirteen years old and without a sponsor. She would not be starting secondary school in a few months. Her father had already received a bridewealth for her, but she did not know this yet.

My interviews and findings could come into question given that most of them came after a short while and that the recruiting of informants happened fast. However, I believe that this section shows that I was what Thaagard calls an "accepted outsider" (2010). The Maasai villagers were well informed about me coming, and my research is not particularly sensitive. Given that I achieved access through the beneficiary and with the blessings of the chiefs and chairman, I began my work in a trusted position. Another factor that I believe could be of value is that the Village does not have many "mzungu" visitors, but they have had a few as volunteers. The ones that came before me were able to help the community develop, by raising money. This made it possible for them to build the orphanage and produce sponsorships for some of the girls to go to secondary school. I am not part of any of those projects, but I believe they might look at me as a future partner or to help the beneficiary in return for the help he has given me, by introducing the volunteers to the Village. In this way a few other "mzungus" have gained trust in the Village in the past, and that paved the way for me. During my whole stay I felt welcomed and trusted. I believe that to be because of the previous cooperation with Scandinavians, as those who built the orphanage I stayed in. Reading other works similar to mine done in Kenya and Tanzania there are complications that I do not recognize from my stay. After looking at other studies, access to informants and villages seemed harder and they described difficulties in getting information about the village and the leadership. I believe this difference comes largely from the lack of tourism in the village where I stayed. As many other Maasai villages handle a lot of tourism and often have volunteers staying, this may give them a different view of the "Mzungus" and change the ways they interact with each other. As some Maasai villages also work as a business aiming to show the "exotic" lifestyle to tourists, this might make them protect themselves and not give outsiders true information, to maintain their facade.

I had many expectations about their lifestyle when I visited them. Previously I taught at a Maasai school for girls for three weeks in a different region of Tanzania as part of my bachelor's degree. At the school I was told stories of their life in a brutal patriarchal society that the girls were saved from. It gave me the impression that it was the Maasai male against the Maasai female, where the women had no say and were forcibly kept in their way of life, with harmful outcomes such as female circumcision, child-brides, and polygamy. I realized that I sometimes applied that to what they told me in the Village, especially when the widows spoke of their late husbands and the boyfriends they later had children with. At once I saw this as another sign of female oppression, as I assumed that the woman had no say in her life as a widow around her late husband's age mates. My impression now is not as black and white. Tradition, culture,

poverty, environment, and beliefs play a great role for both genders and I believe that "backstage" there is a lot more that could be revealed in the power relations between men and women in the Maasai culture than the story frequently told by NGO's and popular beliefs. Still, I will not diminish the feeling the women have of lacking input, control, and empowerment. This Bibi is clear about feeling neglected by the males in the community and claimed: "There is not an aspect of my life that I control. I do not even own a single spoon in my house."



Picture 4: *Maasai men (private)*

5.4 Language

One of the critical considerations is the use of language. The lingua franca between me and the interpreters was English, and that is the reason why this paper is written in English and not Norwegian. In this way I minimize the risk of having some meaning lost in translation. Five of the focus group interviews were done with an interpreter, and all single person interviews were done in English with informants who do not use it as their first or even second language. I tried to learn some KiMaa. I was able to pick up a few relevant words and phrases, not enough to converse freely, but it served to make a bond with the informants and make me and my research more trustworthy.

The interpreter I used was female close to my age. She was born in a rural Maasai village. She claimed her village was in many ways like the one in my research. Through sponsors she has been able to get a bachelor's degree and was now working to get more education accessible to the Maasai. She was familiar with research methodology and had experience with interpreting interviews through her job. We met twice before traveling to the Village. In that way she got a

good understanding of my research and helped me with some adjustments and tips that she got. I made a document for her, where I specified what I wanted her to communicate before each interview. It was an introduction about her, me, and the research. I wanted her to emphasize that participation was entirely voluntary, that it was anonymous, and that I sought permission to use a recorder for the interviews, which all agreed on. She was of great help during my stay and helped me with cooking, and explained customs for visits and conversations. Even after returning to Norway, she has still been of help to me by proof reading my transcription and for translations of other texts or audio when needed.

Both with and without an interpreter there were occasional challenges with the language. It could be misunderstandings due to accent or words, like in the group interview when the Babas were telling me about what makes the Maasai differ from others:

Baba: " Others have changed more we feel like, like we are still in the clothing and then the culture of keeping livestock. We are the ones that keeps livestock and depend on it for many things."

Me: "Do they feel like other people are stealing their clothes or other way around?"

Baba: "No, not "they are stealing", but "they are still in". Like they did not change, they are still in their same clothes."

Most of the times challenges like these were easily discovered, by the informants, me or the interpreter. Other times parts of the interview done in English could be incomprehensible and had to be repeated with an interpreter. This example is from a retired Moran who spoke English.

Me: "What do Warriors do?"

Leshan: "They do like sing song like a sing."

Me: "How do they do that?"

Leshan : "You can see them, like something you can see, but they sleep in groups"

This interaction is not easy to make a sure translation of. The English of this junior elder is rough. I believe that he tries to convey that *Morans* live separate from the rest of the Village,

but you can still see them in the area and they take part in the everyday life, but they sleep in their own *bomas*. The *Maasai* often use songs as part of storytelling and celebration, they also sing a lot to the cows. I do not know if the *Morans* sing to the cattle, but the women often sing to the animals during milking, and he gives me the impression that the *Morans* often use song in their everyday life.

5.5 Transcription and Analysis

I transcribed all the interviews myself with the help of the recordings and field notes. I have transcribed it as my informants and interpreter says it, even when there is wrong use of language. I have not corrected it in the quotes used in this paper, therefore there will be some grammatical errors and wrong use of words, to mimic their dialect of English in the most accurate way, as it, in my opinion, has not changed the meaning of their statements. When the interview was in KiMaa or KiSwahili I have noted reactions such as where there were discussions, pauses, hesitation or laughter connected to their answers. Some parts were difficult to transcribe, so my interpreter helped me read through my transcription and listen through segments of the recordings to get the most accurate transcription possible. The analysis is my interpretation of their answers given during the interviews, which have left me feeling privileged to be allowed to handle their opinions about their own situation, and I have made a great effort to try to be just to their perceptions and context of their answers.

I have used the program Nvivo to help analyze parts of my transcription. This was helpful to not let what made the biggest impression on me get the biggest part in my analysis. It made it easier to map the scope of each topic and compare the answers and opinions in a just manner. When analyzing, I let the interviews be the main determiner of how it would turn out. When starting this project, I expected my findings to be somewhat different. I was prepared to be able to compare the genders and use a dichotomy. This turned out not to be appropriate or necessary in my final findings. Instead I organized their answers into main topics. After doing that I created categories within each topic. In that way their focus became visible and it was easier for me to let the data decide the format and not my predetermined and maybe biased conjecture.

In the case of the Maasai I have decided to use the term *modern and traditional sphere*. This is a choice made to look at the aspects of the Maasai as being in between “two worlds”, when it comes to economy, lifestyle and culture. Their position in and between these two spheres with

conflicting expectations, rationalities and necessities may be shaping the Maasai and their opinions and perceptions of their situation. This choice is made knowing that the “spheres” is question are not static or constant, but more complex than this paper will be able to map out.

5.6 Quality of the Data

The data I strive to find are with the intention to clarify the topic and the research questions. It will be based on the pledge of truthfulness that is the aim of all research, and built on scientific principles for logic and use of language. Other criteria to gain quality and trust are through the selection of informants and types of information that is sought after. Lastly is the review of the collected data (Grønmo, 2015, p. 238). The execution of these, as discussed above, is intended to make my project trustworthy and create transparency and accountability. These criteria can be divided between the terms reliability and validity.

5.6.1 Reliability

The project’s reliability is decided when evaluated critically. It gives the impression that it is executed in a reliable and trustworthy manner (Thagaard, 2010, p. 198), meaning that another research would get the same results by using the same methods. Grønmo points out that the quality of the data is crucial and that this will determine how reliable and trustworthy the project is (Grønmo, 2015, p. 240). When it comes to the quality of the data this can be seen through the selection of informants and information as mentioned above. The principle of reliability is not as easily verifiable in qualitative research as in quantitative research. Qualitative research might not have as structured collecting of data as in a quantitative study. It is difficult to separate the collecting of data as a separate process of the research. In many cases, Grønmo asserts, the design may develop mainly during the collection of data due to the researcher’s analysis and interpretations of the data as new data is collected (2015, p. 242). In this case it is accurate, as the first few interviews were longer than the rest. After the first few interviews I was able to modify my questions to better fit what I was aiming for.

Thagaard believed that the gender of the researcher may decide the outcome of the research (2010, p. 198). This might be important for my project given the asymmetry experienced by the Maasai in the relationship between men and women. Some research suggests that there can be

a gender dichotomization, where men take control of the interview by highlighting their masculinity (Thaagard, 2010, p. 200). I did not experience that, but felt that there was good dialogue between both men and women. Another thing that I did experience was in some in some interviews with the Baba and Babus, my age was taken into their answers at places where I did not find it relevant.

I wonder that if you said you were born in 1992, because I think you look bigger than your age."

- Babu

I went [to school] until class 7. I finished class 7 in 1983. Before you were even born."

- Baba

This could just be curiosity and way of speech, but could also be a way of positioning themselves above me when highlighting the age difference.

To strengthen the reliability of this project I try to make a thorough description of my methods and the challenges that could affect my study. The trustworthiness may be higher by showing how I described the methods and my selections for this task, but also defined me as the researcher with my background and how I chose to analyze my findings. I have tried to ask my question neutrally and then to listen from a non-ethnocentric view as much as possible. I believe in some way I will have affected the answers just by being a female student, by possibly making it hard for people to be honest if they should have beliefs that girls cannot make it in the educational system. In some questions they might answer what they think I want to hear. This could be an example of why their answers of age of female circumcision was ranging from toddler to twenty-four years of age. Another issue could be how they could answer a question of how they strive for it to be, and not how it is. As when asked how much education that is common in this village the Baba's answered:

The former generation is class 7 in primary. Most is ending there. The younger generation most of them are ending after [lower] secondary school.

Followed by:

He doubts that there is even ten in this village that went to form 5-6 in [upper] secondary School. Even less went to university.

In a rural village of this size it is hard to imagine that most of the younger generation gets to go to secondary school. The *Babas* are also contradicting themselves when so few starts form 5 after saying most go. It does not fit what I observed of youth not attending school and the answers on the same questions given to *Morans* and *Ndito*. Still it does not mean that the men were lying, but they might have answered the questions normatively instead of descriptively.

5.6.2 Validity

It is impossible to achieve perfect validity in research in social science. Nor do simple and precise ways exist to determine validity (Grønmo, 2016, p. 257). That's why the researcher must evaluate the work systematically and consecutively.

The validity of a research project is connected to the interpretation of the data and the validity of those interpretations the researcher concludes with (Thaagard, 2010, p. 201). The focus is whether the study surveys what was intended to survey. The validity in qualitative research is about the extent the researcher's conclusions reflect the aim of the study and represent the reality (Christoffersen & Johannesen, p. 195, 2012). I have been aiming to portray a *thick description* of my study. A thick description is when contexts are explained with the human behavior. By doing that I hope to make my findings meaningful to outsiders. I find this to be crucial as the context of my interviews and observations is in many aspects different from the one I come from. This could help the reader to understand my interpretations and conclusions and could increase the paper's trustworthiness.

Transparency is essential and involves clarifying the basis for the interpretation and the construct of the data by the researcher. It needs to show how and why the researcher thought

the analysis has concluded in the paper. Thagaard (2010, p. 203) emphasizes that it is desirable that the researcher is positioned in the environment that is under study and not an outsider. At the same time, as an outsider it will be easier to distinguish the research from their own experiences and therefore be more open to the nuances of the phenomenon studied. Thagaard (2010, p. 77) underlines that when you study a culture that is not your own, it is easier to spot aspects of the culture that the informants take for granted, and in that way, I may find a more distanced perspective than if I had made the same research in my own culture. My position as a visitor and hopefully an accepted outsider is crucial for the results that I got. By that I got access to situations and discussion happening backstage. My interpreter was accepted as an insider to a larger extent than I was and made it possible for me to interact with the people in a more meaningful way than if I was there by myself, as she was Maasai herself from another rural village.

Another step to increase trustworthiness is by triangulations. In my paper I have triangulated methods and informants, by looking at the same phenomenon from different angles (Kvale, 1999). I triangulated informants by having a broad spectrum of informants. This is through the focus groups where there are informants aged 11 to 70, and both genders. In my individual interviews I have informants both with and without secondary education. To supplement this, I used the different methods described earlier, and used focus groups, interviews, observations and field notes. Other methods used that are not emphasized in this paper includes drawings and a field diary. In this way the results have several sources to rely on, and gives a broader picture of the situation.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

The essential core of research is the search for truth. It does not mean that it could be achieved at the expense of other values, and the truth is not to be sought after at all costs. In research we face ethical issues in the same way as we face them in other human activities (Hammersley, 1996, p. 293). The nature of my project is not notifiable according to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services, which have guidelines to protect the privacy of individuals participating in studies. However, I have been interviewing people and by that committed an intrusion in their lives.

Thagaard makes it clear that the base of any research project is by principle that the researcher needs the participants' informed consent (2010, p. 26). The researcher needs to respect the sovereignty the participants have. Due to my supposition of my informants being mostly illiterate, this will be done orally with the help of an interpreter. She had experience in research and in doing interviews. Before going to the Village, we practiced how I wanted the interviews to be executed and I gave her a sheet with all the information I wanted the participants to have before the interviews started. This information included use of a recorder, use of the audio, anonymization and informed consent with the choice to end the interview whenever they wanted. She made a point of me being a student and in need to learn from them as a beginner in their world. It concluded with a long introduction of the interpreter as the participants were very curious of the interpreter and her background. They might not have much knowledge about research, and fear that the research could be used against them in some way later. This illustrates the importance of explanation to gain acceptance and trust among the participants (Grønmo, 2015, p. 159).

All the informants are anonymous and there should be no way through my project to identify anyone. All information given by the informants are handled confidentially (Thaagard, 2010, p. 27). I used a recorder on all interviews and all the informants gave their consent for the conversations and interviews to be recorded. I have kept the Village anonymous by not giving away its whereabouts. The focus groups are protected behind their title from their gender, status and age. The individual interviews have been assigned fictional names, Maasai often keep many names throughout their lives, but the one I have given is not connected to any of them. I have chosen the names as Cindy, Leshan, Tara and Mama Enkiti. In the analysis the village visited will be referred to as the Village, with capitalized V.

An issue with research is when information given in the "private sphere" is meant to be published. Even though these types of research rarely involve damages for the participants, participation could cause an anxious or stressful situation for the informant regarding the information given. The potential damage of the publications could be harmful for the individual's reputation (Hammersley, 1996, p. 299). I reckon this could be an issue for the women participating as I know there is an asymmetry in their gender system; they might be afraid for the men to know what information they give, along with their opinions on the matter. To avoid this the genders were separated for the interviews. In one situation a man wanted to join the interviews of the girls. Ndito, the girls, told him that they were not comfortable with that. He then wanted to listen to the recording of the interview afterwards, which I assured them that I would not allow. This was an issue I feared as I was in their village and did not know how to assure the focus groups to be divided by age and gender if they insisted on chaperones in the interviews. Except for the interview with the Morans described earlier in 5.1.3 with the Mamas joining the interview, I did not have any issues of this kind.

Hammersley claim that research in most cases is exploiting the participants. Those who are studied give the information needed to the researcher, but are given little or nothing in return (Hammersley, 1996, p. 304). For me this is an issue that has lingered with me. The ones who participate are doing me a great favor that helps me achieving my degree, and are repaid in what I hope is a satisfaction in having their voices heard. That is what I hope for, but it is not certain that they value my project or see how they can profit from it.

6.0 Biography

This is an overview of my participants that are being used in this paper with information that might make it easier to understand the base upon which each individual makes their statements. There is a description of the Village where they are living, a summary as a collective biography of each focus group, and my two informants, Cindy and Leshan, each gets a short description. Further information of the participants in the focus groups is in attachment 1.

6.1 The Village

The village used in this project is in a rural area in northern Tanzania. It is located approximately forty km from the closest road and sixteen km from the closest water pump that works on and off. This often means that fetching water can take up much of the day for the women. The Village is positioned at the foot of some hills by a dry plain, exposed to frequent droughts. During these times the men must travel far with their cattle for them to get sufficient water and grass. The extended area holds about six thousand individuals, but is divided into several villages, and each village has several bomas. A boma is the home of one elder and his family. Each wife will build her own hut, and the huts are often placed in a circle. Each of the women lives in a hut with her children. The man can stay with the wife he wants. The area is fenced in by coiled acacia branches and shrubberies. The sharp thorns protect from hostile groups and animals such as lions and hyenas. In the middle of the boma it is often a fenced-in area for the animals to stay at night and for milking. This is often a space used for meeting and celebrations like male circumcisions. The Village has a high occurrence of HIV/AIDS, much explained by more visitors passing by for the mining industry, and their lifestyle encourages sexual relationships, also outside the marriage for both genders from an early age. I stayed mostly in the surroundings of the chief's boma. He has eight wives, each with her own hut, and a few other women he keeps under his protection, as his sister, some widows, and a woman believed to be cursed.

6.2 Focus Groups

6.2.1 Baba

There were six Babas participating in my interviews. They are fathers of children of school-appropriate age. About half of them had been to primary school when young, the other half had no formal schooling. They each have between one and four wives and they report to have more than eight children each. Most of their children went to primary school and some went to secondary. Among those who went to secondary school, several dropped out, as they did not perform well, got pregnant, or were planning on getting married.

6.2.2 Babu

There were five Babus participating. They are older fathers, and many have grandchildren of school-appropriate age. None of them got to go to primary school as youngsters, but one Babu got into an adult teaching program and has qualifications equal to standard seven in primary school. They each have between one and six wives and many children. They had different approaches to having their children in primary school. Most had some of their children in primary, others none. Few of their children made it through primary, but instead the boys chose to be Morans and live in the Village, and their daughters married instead of finishing primary school.

6.2.3 Mama

Eight Mamas participated in the focus group interviews. The Mamas are mothers with children in school appropriate age. Four are married, while three are widows. Only one Mama has some primary education, while the others stayed home until they got married when they were about thirteen years old. They have between five and ten children each. The child mortality rate is high, and some lost almost half of their children before the child could finish primary school. Most of their children started primary school, some never went and there are many who dropped out.

6.2.4 Bibi

Five Bibis participated in the focus group interviews. The Bibis are those who characterize themselves as grandmothers, and are in most cases older than the group of Mamas. They have children and grandchildren of school-appropriate age. They are all uneducated and married. Some have up to eight cowives. Many of the women experienced losing their children early. One Bibi had nine children but five had already passed away. They each have between four and nine living children. Some have adopted children that are not theirs biologically that they did not count. They estimate half of their children went to primary school. Many dropped out of school to marry or graze cattle; there are a few that are still in secondary school, but none that have succeeded.

6.2.5 Morans & Layoni

I spoke to four Morans and one Layoni. The Morans have a position as warriors in the Village. They are in their teens and early twenties, but not in school. The Layoni is younger, not yet circumcised and still in primary school. The Morans are unmarried and have several years left as warriors, but they say that some of their age mates might start getting married next year. Three of the Morans started secondary school, two dropped out and one finished, but did not get his certificate in time to start at A-level. They are all living in the Village. The Layoni is at the local primary school.

6.2.6 Ndito

Ndito are girls in their preteens and teens, living in the Village, unmarried and in school. Four are in primary school and one in secondary school. Some are in the local primary while two are in boarding school in a neighboring town. All but one wish to get higher education, marry as an only wife, and have two children. The girl with opposite wishes is named Tara in chapter 7.1. She wants to quit school to get married to her father's friend and have many children. She is eleven years old.



Picture 5: *A boma, with traditional huts and new square huts with metal roof*

6.3 Individual Interviews

6.3.1 Cindy

Cindy is twenty-seven years old, unmarried and with no children. Her father has four wives and twenty-eight children. She is not from the same village as the field work took place, but described her village as similar to this one, except that it was closer to the road and therefore closer to busses going to different markets and cities. Her father had education on the primary school level and wanted Cindy to go to school. After primary she got to continue her education, thanks to sponsors. She earned a bachelor's degree and works in the city. She provides for several of her family members, such as her younger sister who had a baby while in University, and now stays with her.

6.3.2 Leshan

Leshan is thirty years old, recently retired as a Moran, and now functions as a junior elder. He had a few years of primary school before he was needed at home. His father has a small herd of only seventy cows, so Leshan has been searching for extra income in the city to supplement the family's means. He was trying to make it as a gemstone trader for a small mining company. He is looking forward to building his own boma and to providing a home for himself and his birth mother, as his father has a favorite wife with whom he stays most of the time. When Leshan gets married and has children, he wants them to be educated.

7.0 Education as a Solution or a Threat?

There are different views of ways education may benefit a pastoralist lifestyle. Primary school is mandatory, and widely accepted, but when it comes to secondary education, the opinions are mixed. In this chapter I will present the different views and reasoning for education as an advantage or a disadvantage for the people living in the Village.

There are many reasons why perceptions of education differ in the Village. Some object to formal education and how it changes the child. Others worry about the obstacles of the school itself: it is far away, it is expensive, and the children and teachers speak different languages, and are from different culture. For many, the “exit option” have been sufficient so far, but strong powers of change are reaching the rural areas (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115). The hopes for education often lie in the promise of a possible extra income. An extra income may provide the individual with a safety net for hard times, as during a drought. In some areas, the priority of the traditional way of life in the Village and the urban business-driven community surrounding them are two spheres hard to combine. Formal schooling is one of those arenas, and the costs of sending your children away for an expensive education may seem as a good investment for some, and not for others as risk aversion may be dominating (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115).



Picture 6-7: *Area left dry by the drought (private)*

7.1 Education as an Advantage

The habitus of a Maasai in the Village and one in the city may be very different. For the Maasai, habitus in a simple sense is changing and adjusting towards the dominating views where the wish of living off the cattle slowly becomes secondary to an academic education. A Babu explains how his priorities have changed from sending his favorite child out with the cattle to graze, and his least favorite to school, to ensure cattle to the favorite son. Often the child of one of his wives he believes not to be his own (see 6.1). Now he does it the other way around. The cattle can be spared for the least favorite, but the child he aims to invest in he will have educated, which indicates that the views of education as a risk, is shifting towards a view of education as a capital to invest in.

The Nditos believe that education is important because it is “helping”. Among the girls, they agree that education is important, and they want to go as far as possible. They say it is a good way to improve your life and be empowered, and that secondary education is where the foundation for the change is made. The exception is one girl, *Tara*, who sees it differently. She hopes for an early marriage and many children, hopefully ten, as she has not done well in school. She does not find a traditional life to be disempowering, but finds it to be empowering to protect the culture and traditions. The other girls want two children, and a tertiary education. Tara’s got one year left at the local primary school, and hopes she gets to stay in the Village after that. She says it makes it safer to stay, because there is no secondary school in the Village. She sees how an education from secondary school can give her opportunity for a better position, but it is not promised. One of the other girls points out that most people in the Village have no education, and therefore she will be considered educated just by having finished primary school.

7.1.1 Basic Skills

Primary school is generally the place where basic academic skills, as reading and writing, are taught. Secondary school works as a bridge towards higher education. A Mama claimed that: “The Maasai are not rising in the educational system because we think secondary is the end of, but then they will help us get better in the future.” She was referring to the students that finish their education at secondary, and how they will make it easier for those following to go even further.

The graduates from secondary school are different in some ways compared to those who stayed behind, according to one Babu. They can read and charge the cellphones, which he cannot do himself. They are of help in the community, and the elders seek them out, for example, when they are going to the hospital, as they will know how to get to those places and can work as translators. The Morans think secondary school is important, even though none of them finished. “By dropping out in secondary, you have nothing, and you have to go back to the cattle. With a secondary education your options are broad and can lead to higher studies, which leads to jobs.” They urge that most children should be enrolled in school, and then educate further the ones that are serious to minimize risk. They can in their everyday life tell a difference between those of their friends who got an education and those who did not.

If you are walking anywhere you will find a sign where it says you can't pass here, its trespassing, but if you can't read? Those who went to school they can read and know it. So even for those working with the cows. No education is a disadvantage.

- Moran

A Bibi agrees that education is important, even secondary, even though she feels like primary and tertiary education have more to offer. “I'm not sure what kind of jobs you could get from secondary schools, but it is fine also for those who comes back”. Before she did not believe education was important, but now she do, and she prays that her children are doing well and achieve in education. She knows education is important by observing her children, as they know things, they can read and recognize what is going on when she cannot, as she feel limited to her traditional sphere and have little access to the modern sphere.

Education as an investment is viewed in a materialistic way, as one is supposed to get concrete profit for having attained an education – as a paying job and a promise of economic capital, as are in accordance with Chayanov's Peasant Theory and risk aversion (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115). If education is going to compete with grazing cattle, the returns must be larger. The returns on the basic skills taught in primary school are deemed as needed, but those of secondary school are not known or guaranteed. The Babas see increasing levels of education as positive development, as most men in their generation were able to begin primary school, but few finished. The generation today typically starts secondary school with some succeeding, though Leshan admits that only about ten that he knew of from this village got secondary education

and came back. He claims that “Education is the key to life”, showing a great optimism of the returns of education for the future generations that get through the school system to get basic skills they need and job opportunities to take part in the modern sphere, with appropriate capitals.

7.1.2 Adapting, but not Changing

There are different perceptions of how much the Maasai are willing to change their own culture and tradition when adapting to formal education. There seems to be a generational gap, where the Morans and the Nditos are open for changes in their own culture, more than the Babus and Bibis. The Nditos list many things that are good about education. Among other considerations, it helps change some of the cultural practices that they consider to be undesirable customs, such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and early marriages. “Girls as early as thirteen are getting pregnant here, and they have children and the family do not give them money. So, no school for them.” They have a clear understanding of what will happen if they do not go to school. It is still common in the Village for the parents to choose their daughters’ husbands, and circumcision is common for men and women, even for girls with secondary education. They feel that education helps on this issue, because it will postpone the process, making the girl older when it happens. The concept of “bad cultural practices” was something the Babus did not believe existed among the Maasai, claiming that none of the things done to their children to be bad. This shows how the doxa is changing in the Village. A Baba who grew up in a different village told that girls there were no longer circumcised, but kept the rest of the ceremony. Instead of the actual circumcision, they had a cut made on her inner thigh, but the Baba did not believe that should replace circumcision as that is what separates the girls from the women.

The Babus are older and protect their culture more assertively than the younger Morans and Nditos. This may be caused by their age making them in possession of higher social, symbolic and cultural capital valued in the Village. Their habitus differ from the younger generation. They all seem to agree that education brings a positive change, but the Babus stress that they do not want to have their cultural practices changed. They do not want education to change the customs, such as circumcision, but it is welcomed to bring new things that lead to development. One desired way of making that happen is by getting more Maasais in professions they need to access: doctors, veterinarians, and for improving agriculture. “Education will help by bringing

many means of work, but not by changing what we have”. Again, they show a materialistic view of what they want to gain through education. They aim to be a more advanced version of their own society, but not necessarily be a part of the bigger society that is surrounding them, and by that keeping the sphere separate.

The children that are now in boarding school will most likely return and live in the Village. To survive in this environment the child will need more than their formal education given at school. Like the studies made by Aikman, these Mamas and Babas wants their children to “hold a pen and a stick” (Aikman, 2011) to be able to navigate both spheres, in the bush and in the cities. One Mama points out that it is important to remember that the child also gets an education at home, which is equally important as the one from school, as it is knowledge that has enabled survival in these places for generations. They believe it would be perfect if the child got education from home and from school. This is especially important during the drought. The cows are no longer worth the same and many families need a second income. By giving the children education they get different ways of helping themselves. Basic skills as to read and write may get some jobs, but with a higher education they can get better, safer jobs and higher salaries. “Those with education can start businesses, they can read, they can write, they can go places. Look for jobs. They can see many things.” – Mama.

School is good as it changes the lives of especially the girls. The fear is for the girl to get pregnant during her time in school, but more girls get pregnant in the Village. The Mamas believe that keeping girls in school keep her from becoming a young mother and preventing diseases like HIV/AIDS from spreading. Another point is from the Mama, who is a widow, who believes school could be helpful when raising children. In Maasai culture the father teaches the sons and the mother teaches her daughter. With her husband passed away, the school steps in for the father and teach the boys what is difficult for her to teach them. “If not, you can tell from the child when one parent is missing, but with school the gap is not as visible”. The Mamas feel like there are many ways of adapting to school, without changing their culture drastically.

7.1.3 The Future

The Ndito believe that with secondary education, the Village will change drastically. They believe increased education will bring water and electricity to the Village, making it a town.

They hope that for a boarding school for secondary education in the Village, that will make it more accessible for more children and make it easier for the fathers to permit their daughters to go.

One thing both those reluctant of education and those that are advocating it have in common, is the view of a future with more education, and more educated Maasai. One Mama claims that the development they have experienced the past year are because of educated people are coming back. She does not think the Village would have developed like this if it was not for them. Another Mama has the same point as one of the Bibis. Soon more Maasai will be teachers, giving the Maasai students a teacher that can speak their language and then helping more of them to pass. Not only will the same language help on the issue, but they will know what these children are going through, decreasing the risks of sending them away.

The Babas see how education is important, as the qualifications are rising. Government jobs where they used to work with a primary education now demand a secondary certificate. The Babus imagine great change in the Village over the next generation. They point out how you can already see the changes in the Village, and that it will just continue developing with educated Maasai coming back as doctors and teachers, bringing water and electricity to the people. The chairman of the Village tells about changing times. He has primary education from his childhood, and he used to be the executive in the Village. Today he is no longer qualified. Now you need a form 4 certificate, which he claims no one in the Village has. This results in the Village being without anyone in the executive position, which puts them without representation in the government and in risk of not getting their cases through and to be further disempowered. Hopefully one of the children in secondary will come back with a certificate and apply for the position. The Bibis are also imagining that the future will bring more doctors and leaders in government with a Maasai background that may speak their cause and make life easier. She believes they do not already have that because the Maasai were late to embrace education. During the drought they were experiencing at the time of the fieldwork, the grass was dying and it was not enough for their roofs. In the future she aspires to have a good metal roof and then the drought will no longer affect her so bad. “Everything around us is changing, so we need also to change.”

I feel like education is important. If you have cows and you have a big dry season like the one we have now. Maybe you have ten cows and they all die. You can lose all the

value you have. But education you do not lose, education doesn't die. And if you use that education you can use it to get work, you can use it to get married, you can use it to get labor.

- Mama



Picture 8-9: *Fenced area for the cattle in one of the bomas (private)*

Cattle can be an unsure source of income, as a long drought may kill the livestock. Capital gained in education can be more secure than cows as it is life long and part of your identity. This Village is very vulnerable to droughts and occasionally they experience loss of many cows in a season. How she claims it can be used to marry, or to get a better marriage is possible, but also a paradox, as many of my informants are worried that it may be hard for educated women to be married, creating an extra risks when wanting to educate their daughters.

Leshan says that many Maasai-men are reluctant to marry an educated woman. He says it would be like giving a rural man a motorbike, "he would not know how to handle it." The Morans explain that they will probably start getting married next year. They hope that their future wife will be educated. Most do not want their wife to have more education than themselves, except one Moran. He claims he would like her to be as educated as she wants, and that he hopes that he himself could get some more education through an adult education program. The Bibis believe the Maasai will make it in the educational system in time. Indicating that the goal is to get a few to higher education, not an equal level of education in the population, validating the points made by Hydén and Chayanov of the economy of affection and the peasant theory (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115).

We do not give births like the white people, we do not give birth to one or two, but many. So, we have enough kids to educate. Even if you put ten in school, one or two will make it in the system and they will ensure development in the Village. They are sure of that, it will be a positive change. We are sure.

– Bibi

The overall tone is positive of how the life in the Village will change drastically in the future. In this question, both sides seem to be overwhelmingly positive about to the development that may come with education in the future. The challenge seems to be more of how to keep the important and distinctive part of Maasai life intact, but still benefit from the educational system and get their representatives in different sectors and branches. Cindy is the only one that is more withdrawn about whether the development will bring a positive change to the rural Maasai villages in the areas. She is the only one of my informants with a higher degree, with experience from both village life and city life.

I'm not sure if they turn all the things to businesses, not all of the businesses will succeed. But now, the cow is like this, if you don't sell it, you'd eat it, you drink milk, you survive.

- Cindy

Cindy is preparing for future changes that come with education that will not be as good. The peaceful life with the nature will be difficult to preserve. The towns have so much the Village are longing for, as running water, toilets and a variety of foods. Cindy can see how the Village may change in few years, with a higher educational level comes better living. Electricity may come, and some villagers start having metal roofs instead of grass roof. Cindy is worried that the future will make those living traditionally in Maasai villages even poorer than what they are today. With the land-grabbing and mining industry developing in the area there will be smaller areas to graze the herds and less food for the animals. She does not see a good future for them if they are forced to give up pastoralism for businesses. A business is a risk, and not all succeed. Cattle represent economic capital, but is also a food capital. A business is not, which again illustrates the difficulties of converting capital between the two spheres, especially when following the rationality of avoiding risks (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115).

7.2 Education as a Disadvantage

During my stay in the Village there was a reoccurring story that illustrates how much school and education had been feared in this Maasai village. In the 1960's they had been told to send at least one son from each family to school. This meant boarding school in the city. Government officials travelled around to make sure children were sent to school. It was a strong belief that those going to school would not return to live off the cattle again. To avoid losing one of their sons the chief and his agetates gathered their sons and blinded each boy on one eye. The maiming of their children saved them from being taken away as the school did not take boys with a handicap. Many of the men from the focus groups "Baba and Babu" were among the boys that were blinded.

Some of the Mamas experienced how their parents tried to protect them from formal education in their childhood. They did not know the value of education, so by the time they should have sent their daughters to school, all the women were married. One Mama explain that she was her parents "preferred" child and claimed her father loved her the most. To make sure she was not taken away from them, they hid her. She would wait at home, and not go out until nightfall, then she would go out and *sing* to the warriors at parties of typically young Nditos and Morans. "That was the worst thing the parents could ever done, they didn't take me to school because of love. But it was stupid. It is primitive. So, now I can't read anything, I can't see anything." These parties are arenas where social networking is taking place from a young age, and the youth are creating bonds and strengthening their social capital. In the Village one can have several boyfriend/girlfriends, called *Ansanjas*, and the relationship may last a lifetime, even after both parts are married and have families on their own. This seem to be a big part of the social capital and an important part of the women's bargaining tools. Another part is the high risks of pregnancies in young girls making the Mamas reluctant to let their girls that are enrolled in school join these parties today. The Mamas protect their daughters from unwanted pregnancies that leads to drop-outs, but leaves them out from the cultural and social networking. In times before these gatherings were valued above education.

This Village is not unique in Tanzania in the sense of little access to higher education in Tanzania. Statistics show that among the rural population 0.1 % finish secondary school education and 27% have finished primary school education. Median years completed is 2,8

years. Among the urban population the same numbers are 1.1% and 34.9% and a median year of 6.2 years of schooling (NBS, 2010, p. 16-17,).

Table 1: *Educational level among participants in the Village*

	No formal education	1-4 years, primary school	4-7 years, primary school	1-4 years, Secondary (O-Level)	4-6 years, Secondary (A-Level)	Higher education, bachelor's degree
Babu	4	1*				
Bibi	5					
Baba	4		2			
Mama	7	1				
Moran			2	3		
Ndito		3	1	1		
Cindy						1**
Leshan		1				

*One Babu had adult education, does not give a certificate, but equals primary school

**Cindy is the only informant not from the Village, but from a village closer to the city.

Among my 36 informants 20 individuals did not get any education, 5 started primary, but only 4 started O-Level. No one has yet started A-level. It is only Cindy that has gotten through A-level and gotten a bachelor's degree with the help of sponsors. None of the Babu or Bibis got any education as children, and very few of the Baba, and one of the Mamas which I named Mama Enkiti. She is the only adult woman with some education. The same pattern of boys being favored is visible among the younger ones, where the boys are still ahead.

Primary is ok, but when it comes to secondary we feel like: "Oh, No! Strangers are coming to take our children away!"

- Mama

Luckily the fear of all education no longer seems to be dominating most of my informants' views. Their perceptions seem to gradually be changing towards a positive attitude. Still, many feel that there are important disadvantages connected to formal education, especially secondary education.

7.2.1 Secondary School gives a dead-end outcome

In reality, when they come back after secondary, they will add no value into life and no change, they came home at a point where it does not give them a profession. Compared to those who did not go to school there is a difference, they have been busy leading their life and herding their cattle and farming, you know. So, when you come you will be the same, or even be less, than the ones that did not go to school. There might be somethings gained as development, but not in income. You came and then you will just join others and you then start, but later than others. Secondary is a bridge leading nowhere”

- Baba

My informants give the impression that education is not a process, but at the end there is an expectation of a set of skills and qualifications that should have been gained to justify the investment (Dewey, 1944, p. 4). Many express a materialistic view of education, where it should be very visible what is gained compared to what the parents invested. This does not necessarily reflect the reality of schooling. This lack of concrete proof from the years in secondary school makes some doubt the importance of schooling after primary, as for this Babu: “No, secondary does not help. I insist. We do not have many children in [The Village] who finished and are working where we can see what the education has given.” Some Mamas believe the same:

Secondary school is very different for they have to go away, and they will know things. They say that these days most are okay with primary. They will know how to read and write and how to go places. But for secondary they are still reluctant because it does not necessary bring any new.

- Mama

One of the main concerns of both the men and the women in my focus groups was that secondary education does not give their children anything of importance, unless they move on to higher education. It is easier to be positive for primary as they are close by, and you do not have to send the child away. The Mamas say that even if they must send their child to boarding school, they do have ways to make them not succeed in school (See 8.4). By giving the children so much work and responsibility at home, so “there is no way the kid will pass”.

7.2.2 Education as an Unsure Investment

Secondary is costful, primary is free, so putting so much cattle every time a child need secondary and then they just fail on the way. That is also a reason some do not finish. It costs too much!

- Babu

For many it is the aspect of gaining an extra income, especially during hard times as drought where they are prone to lack of food and water, which makes secondary education important. Still, there are aspects of sending children to school where what they feel the child is losing more than he gains. It could be recognized using Bourdieu's theory of capitals. To gain economic capital, they may convert some cultural capital. The communal knowledge they have in the Village is what is helping them survive. The cultural capital gained in a boarding school is different from what is needed in the bush. The children will have to move away. Cindy explains how she has been in boarding school since she was five years old. With scholarships she finished secondary school and continued and earned a bachelor's degree. A negative result of that time invested in education is that most of her life was spent away from her mother. She explains how traditionally the mothers raise their daughters and the fathers raise their sons. This has created a distance between Cindy and her mother, who never wanted Cindy to go to school in the first place. Cindy says she has one foot in each sphere, but is lacking some in each. Even though she was the one who taught her father's wives to clean the equipment and boil the milk before drinking it, she is still not knowledgeable enough to keep cows herself. Cindy's cultural capital is different from her mother's. Her closet is divided into clothes that may be used in the Village and clothes to be used in the city, making Cindy very aware of her situation when moving in between the spheres. The capital conversion is difficult and may not be valued in the two spheres. For the Village to be integrated in the modern sphere there might be needed structural changes. One of the Bibis in the Village is familiar with situations like Cindy's, and acknowledges both sets of knowledge the child is possessing.

Those who come out of secondary, they find themselves in kind of a dilemma. First, where should they go, they didn't know the cattle anymore, they went away for school. But when it comes to academic stuff - they know.

- Bibi

The women emphasized education and the opportunities that follow as empowering, for the individual and for their family. Conversely, the men often discussed the economy as the main issue of the reluctance to embrace formal education. To them, education is an unsure investment, while women argue for the outcomes of the education, as typically the Maasai woman does not have any access to the family economy. Therein lies a gender-based dichotomy of perspectives.

It is costfull, it cost a lot of money. So, you find that the economy they have here do not give much as we depend on cattle. We invested much and they did not make it to higher levels, which could help to get a job or something to get an income. When you come home after secondary it is just like they did not go to school and they hate, or dislike the time at secondary, because if you do not continue it means that secondary will be useless for you. Because it should be a bridge for you to go higher, then when you do not go higher you will not get any jobs after that, you might not. So, it is like you did not even go to school.

–Baba

Economic capital refers to the material resources like wealth, land, money and other resources that one controls or possesses (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654). This capital shows itself to be different in the Village than in the outside community and cities. The Maasai value their cattle-driven economy, where the outside communities use a money-driven economy. These two contrasting spheres may be hard to reconcile, and the problem is visible when discussing the investment of having children in secondary education and the risks of selling cattle to educate your children. Few rural Maasai have wealth represented in a bank account or in a wallet, but have it embodied in their herd of cattle (Bourdieu, 1989). Though some few have wealth through gemstones, as Tanzanite.

One Babu showed me what education of his children had cost him and why he then had to choose among them. He said he had a medium sized herd of cattle. He explained how the price of each cow if sold had gone down from 800 000 Tanzanian shillings to 300 000 Tanzanian shillings. Prizes for cattle are seasonal, and are vulnerable during times of drought. This is approximately a drop from 356 USD to a 134 USD. The school fee at the secondary school is about \$600 for each school year. The child could stay four years at O-level or six in total with

A-level. That means the father must sell about four cows each year, which amounts to sixteen or twenty-four cows for each child to go to school. This Baba had four wives and twenty-eight children. He says that many would want their children to continue, but cannot because of the level of poverty they live in does not allow it. This makes the case of how a sphere of cattle-driven economy may be unstable compared to the sphere of money-driven economy. Last year during the drought the cattle became skinny, and so many pastoralists tried to sell their cows at the same time, making the price drop in a time when prices for food went up due to high demand, affecting the marginalized the most. For many Maasai the drought leads to a loss of economic capital and power, which illustrates how marginalized their living situation is. Chayanov claims that this is a key factor for where the rationality of the Peasant theory gets relevant (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115).

The value of the cow goes beyond the value it may be sold for. The rationality of value and investment seem different than just being a means of economic capital. In this way it may reflect the symbolic capital of the family and the patriarch. The cow's value is very different in the sphere of the Maasai village compared to the modern sphere, making its symbolic value more important than the actual economic value it represents. In Maasai fairytales and stories the cow has a special place with the Maasai, often described as God-given, and the Maasai has a set of responsibilities for taking care of the cattle, making the relationship important beyond just a pastoralist livelihood, but a part of the identity as Maasai and their symbolic capital (Read, 1979).

Most are failing because of income and economy. If a man has five cows, and when their child performs well to go to secondary school. Then it is expensive. And if you have five cows and you are already selling one or two cows. It is expensive to pay for everything you need to start school, plus the fee. So, these parents have to decide because they have many kids, and they can't sell all the cows they have to invest in secondary education. So, most wish they could take them to school, for those who perform, but it is all these expenses that make us reluctant.

–Baba

Even with their lifestyle being hard to intertwine with the modern sphere, it is not only the symbolic value of the cow that makes it a challenge to send your children to school. Many people in this village live in poverty, and they live in an environment where they rely on rain

and healthy cattle. When there are outbreaks of diseases or droughts are longer and tougher than usual, they suffer. They rely on the work of each member of the family and on the cows to provide food. To send a child away to school and lose cows to facilitate it may not be rational when the drought is expected. This rationality matches the one of Hydén economy of affection where the safety of the household has the highest priority. Another issue is that the periods with expected drought, is at the same time as the school year starts in Tanzanian. This makes it even harder to send the children away for school, as it is during the time they are needed the most in the household.

If they have more kids than cows there is a problem. Primary is fine, and it is free. But secondary costs, and they are reluctant. For the kids to go to secondary they have to start selling cows and invest in that kid. And that makes them reluctant, it is expensive and unsafe.

–Bibi

A Bibi points out how they are not diverse, with few ways of making an income. With few cattle or hard times, few children may be able to go to secondary. She suggests that parents try one year at the time, as each year makes a positive change while they can reevaluate the risks and the costs year by year (Smukkestad, 2008, p 115). Secondary is expensive, with many hidden costs. School fees are fine, but there are the other things they need, as books and clothes. Many parents will then start to feel like this is too much of a burden and decide that they no longer can keep selling cows for their education. “And that is what most Maasai face in secondary.”



Picture 10: Women fetching water and firewood (private)

7.2.3 Drop-out

The child comes home where it is not hungry, and they are happy. When the kid can not cover its basic needs in school they rather come home. So, they prefer to not go back [to boarding school]. We do not have water here. The challenge of this village is water. So, if you have some little food you want to cook, you can't do it in time because you have to go further. You have to get water, but those who are student can't wait. So many who are dropping out because they can't concentrate or listen properly because they are hungry, or they did not wash their clothes or things like that. Since those things are not available at home, it would be easier if it was available at school. In that way they will not drop out because they have the facilities.

– Bibi

The drop-out rates are high (BEST, 2016). In Tanzania, and among the Maasai. A Mama said, “We see them go to school, but then we now see them start dropping out.” The Morans from my focus group had all dropped out of secondary. Only one of the Nditos went to secondary school with the help of a foreign sponsor. The boys had different reasons for dropping out, but their stories coincide with the Bibi's description of a bush-school without any facilities that made it hard to perform. In secondary school better facilities became available, but some boys were uninterested in classes and one failed the exams. One of the Morans said that he performed and enjoyed school, but while he was home during the break he was sent out with the cattle when the drought was at its worst. When he came back he realized that he had missed the window between getting his exam results and signing up for A-level classes. Because of the circumstances, he did not feel like a drop-out, but in Tanzania that classifies as drop-out (Best, 2016). Often, the Morans and Ndito claimed, boys would be sent out to graze animals, especially during droughts and do not get to go to finish school. The family often needs all to participate in harder times making it hard to keep their children for extended periods in school, which correlates with the theories peasant rationality of Chayanov and Hydén (Smukkestad, 2008).

Most of the children who went to secondary school from this Village did not finish, and came back to make a living from the cattle. The Morans believes it is easier for those who did not go to school. “Before we went to school and that was our work, we got used to that. Then we come

back to work with the cows, but we got used to it again.” It is too hard to go back to school again, and they apologize: « Sorry, we have now been with cows for so long, it takes a while for us to think. We must give it some thoughts. That is what happens when you have been in the cows for long».

The Mamas worry that education makes the youth disrespect their family. One important example of disrespect is by not marrying other Maasai. A Baba experienced that his daughter married a non-Maasai and then dropped out of secondary school to be with him. He does not acknowledge the marriage and has disowned his daughter, showing the doxa of being true to your ethnic group. A Mama highlights the reasons why daughters should be kept home, pointing out the contradicting outcomes of cultural capital by education for the young, versus the symbolic aspect of the cultural capital for the old:

So, for more we are reluctant [for girls in education] because we do not feel good when their daughter is getting married away with others than Maasais. To prevent that you should make sure they are at home and they marry someone they chose and a fellow Maasai. For many; when the children go to school they stop listening and they stop respecting more and more.

– Mama

All my informants, both in focus groups and individual conversations, claimed that it is a higher risk to educate girls. The main problem they see is the risk of the girl getting pregnant and that will force her to leave school with little or no opportunity to go back. In that sense the money will have been wasted as she will rarely be qualified for any paid work if not finished. The Morans claim that pregnancy is the reason why girls are an unsure investment, apart from that there are no real reasons to not educate them, they claim. This view could be understood as a type of risk aversion; by minimizing the risks when using limited resources to protect the group may not be a manifestation of conservative attitudes. They minimize the risks when using limited resources to protect the group. (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 119).

There was an agreement among all my informants that more girls drop out of secondary school than boys, often because of early marriages and pregnancies. Therefore, it is believed to be safer to educate boys. However, according to the *National Bureau of Statistics of Tanzania* there is little evidence that more girls than boys drop out. It does show that among the rural population,

there are slightly more girls than boys in primary school, but slightly less girls in secondary school than boys. It also shows that far more children go to primary than secondary, but the difference between the sexes on each level is small (NBS, 2011). So, the ongoing belief that girls drop out more often than boys may be a misconception or a collective cognitive dissonance and embedded in their doxa. Cognitive dissonance is the mental discomfort experienced by an individual who holds contradictory beliefs, ideas, or values at the same time, or is confronted by new information that conflicts with existing beliefs, ideas, or values (Watson, 2014). The same phenomenon may be seen in several traditions and customs. Watson makes the example out of circumcised men, which is an argument that could also apply for circumcision for men and women in Maasai tradition. “As soon as these illusory reasons are passed on by a generation to the next, they will justify the permanent repetition of the not justifiable act of circumcision to a part of the cultural property of this group and within the group” (Watson, 2014). Cognitive dissonance may let the doxa be unchallenged and keep girls away from school in fear that they will drop out, even with evidence that shows that it might not be as frequent compared to boys as generally believed.

7.2.4 Lack of Information

A challenge for the parents is being able to follow up on their children in school. Some Bibis underlined that they had never seen a secondary school before and did not know what to expect or make of it. A Babu points out that when the adults are uneducated it makes it hard to help and follow up on what is necessary for the children. Another Baba claimed that the teacher did not hand out certificates to the Maasai children, even those who passed. Cindy points out that it is not the teacher’s job to travel around to different villages handing out certificates to nomadic people, which is one of several misunderstandings about the school system that may lead to distrust for the systems used in the modern sphere.

A Mama says that she feels like her children are fooling her sometimes. When they come back home with a mark, she has no way to know if this is a bad or a good mark. She laughs and tells how she for a long time believed the use of a red pen was good. “The kid can just lie and I will think he did a good job. They can say they are number one in their class, but probably they are the last, but we can’t tell.” Another Mama adds that she sometimes blames her own parents for

not giving her any education at all. She imagined that even if she just had a little bit she would have been able to tell the basic and then she could do a better job following her children's education. A Bibi told how her children dropped out because she did not know that they needed pocket money to live. This created a feeling of being ignorant and poor for her lack of knowledge.

This feeling of not knowing how to monitor the child's work and the misconceptions of the school system may leave the Mamas feeling disempowered. In many cases they lack power to know how much should be invested in the child, as the fathers make all the economic decisions. They lack the power to help their children while they grow up, as they must leave them at the hands of someone else. They see how their own lack of knowledge is hurting their child in school. At the same time, they have no way of accessing the information they need and want, so that misconceptions live on, and may create a further distrust in the system and a feeling of disempowerment in the situation.

7.2.5 Distrust in the non-Maasai

Traditionally the Maasai as the Nilotic ethnic group organized themselves in groups, family, clans, divisions and tribes. They were not supposed to marry outside of this system and marriages were arranged. In this way the group remained in a stable social structure, and the social network is complex. In formal education students are not divided by ethnic groups, and Tanzania does not even keep a record of the populations belonging to different ethnic groups. This means that when the children are sent to boarding school they will be in a diverse classroom with students and teachers with different backgrounds and different mother tongue from what they are used to.

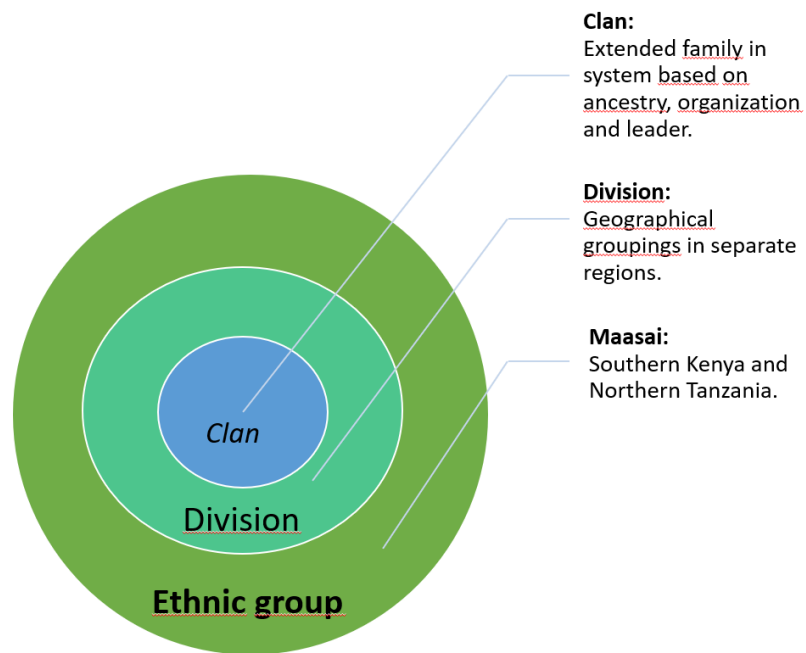


Figure 7: *Social network Maasai*

The social network they operate in is structured in different levels. They are belonging to the ethnic group Maasai, who speak the language Maa of the Maasai. Within this group there are several divisions that are made out of the geographical location of the groups. They often prefer to wear *shugas* and clothing of the same colors and combinations. Within the divisions there are separate clans. These are based on ancestry and family. Often, they have similar jewelry with beads in certain color combinations and markings on their face, as circular burnt marks on their cheek, or small cuts and removal of teeth to signify belonging. The belonging is important for the Maasai and they rely on the network when they act outside their traditional sphere.

A few times, distrust for the teachers was expressed. There was a story of how the local teacher, who was a non-Maasai had passed a girl on her exam and she was able to go to secondary school. Later the school administration contacted them and claimed it would be impossible for this girl to ever have passed her exam as they believed her to be close to illiterate, and she was sent home. The teacher was accused of giving away the results for the exam to the girl in exchange for getting to have a relationship with her. The teacher was chased away.

An issue is teachers, that there are not enough of them in school. All the student that are going to secondary are imagining going higher. We do not put them in school so that they should stop or drop out from secondary, but then, if the teacher can't make them

perform and like poor education and few teachers. And that is why the kids are coming home.

- Babu

The mamas had concerns about the teachers being non-Maasai. In Tanzanian classrooms the students are ranked based on their performance. In this way they rank classes and schools. The Mamas worried that teachers sold their children's names, so other students get the benefit from their good rankings, and go to higher levels at the expense of Maasai children. Cindy said that these types of identity thefts did happen frequently 20 years back. Today identity theft in school is difficult because they now use photos accompanying the students ID. Still, the misconception endures. "Who would get all the way out here to tell these rural women about that?"

We know our children are smart in school, but they never get number one. The teachers are setting their children first, their own, the ones that speak the same language or are from their own tribe. Then after that they put our children. If we have fellow Maasai that are teachers we will, uh, also get our children in higher numbers in school.

- Mama

Social capital is ensured through informal education and by bonding with typically other Maasai that creates a network. The expressed distrust in non-Maasai shows how much the social capital is of importance, and how your belonging to a tribe, family and clan gives the individual a social network outside their own village. The Village is based on a communal way of life where networking and exchange of services can be crucial for survival. There are many stories where their solution is a Maasai at the right place. One example is safety when travelling and a broader network when advocating your stands and cases. The misconceptions about school, drop-outs and what that is necessary to follow-up your children in school may be because of cognitive dissonance, but also due to lack of knowledge, and access to it. In this matter the entire group is disempowered and in need of collective empowerment, so that they are prioritized and helped to follow the school system and know what is expected from them (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 249). In that way they can act and improve their living condition, so that they do not feel like they are easy to mislead and taken advantage of. The situation today is a difficulty to create social capital

outside the community, and they struggle to make relation to people with power in the modern sphere.

7.2.6 The Dilemmas of a Changing Culture

The objectified state of cultural capital is very visible among the Maasai (Bourdieu, 1989). The cultural goods and marks on the Maasai make them recognizable for people even outside Tanzania and Kenya. They feel united by it and it is the first thing they mention when asked to describe themselves.



Picture 11: *Woman with jewelry (private)*

It seems a fear of what will happen to the embodied state of their cultural capital drives those reluctant for formal education (Bourdieu, 1989). What happens to the Maasai's long lasting disposition of the mind when they get educated? Will their habitus and doxa change? Even if they keep the marks on their skin, removal of teeth, their traditional jewelry and clothing, can education still change the Maasai's cultural practices and traditional customs? Cindy is worried about traditions as the Maasai funeral, which includes a practice that outsiders may perceive as primitive; the Babus worry about circumcision practices and the Bibis of how the children play in a non-traditional Maasai way. One disadvantage, as my informants see it, is changes forced upon them that affect their cultural practices. A Bibi explained how they no longer can follow

their own calendar, but the one of the school. Before they could have had a celebration on a Wednesday, but now they must wait until the weekend or a holiday. Today the planning in the Village must follow the school and the government planning. “We follow education more than what we follow our own tradition and customs, as even traditions are being dropped due to education.”

Also, the appearance of the children is changing with education. More and more children do not have their teeth in their lower jaw removed, and fewer boys have enlarged earlobes, according to Leshan. One Mama even accused some of the children in boarding school to start sounding like a “Mzungu.” She said it is typical of the Maasai to have an accented KiSwahili, but some of the children in boarding school speak more KiSwahili than KiMaa. On the question of “*What makes a person Maasai?*”, all the participants made a list of appearances as marks on the cheeks, clothes, piercings and enlarging of earlobes, jewelry and the removal of the middle teeth in the lower jaw. The children in school today may not have these marks that identify them as Maasai. School requires these changes, and then the Maasai must comply and change. They use modern clothes in school, and not their *shuga* or *rubega*. One Mama adds that it is not that long ago since they changed from clothes of skins into the colorful material they use today, often imported from China.

School, as the boarding school one of the Ndito goes to, is a place where the traditional and the modern sphere meet. In this sense it is understandable that education may be thought to threaten the cultural capital for a Maasai when thinking of the objectified and embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1989). As the modern sphere have a dominating and larger role in the area. Education will make them gain cultural capital in its institutionalized state and may give them a broader competence, but may not be unquestionably more valuable than the others (Bourdieu, 1989). The capital that is wanted and needed in the Village and in the city is in many respects very different from each other and it is difficult to find the balance that will benefit the way of life that they want.

7.2.7 Capital Conversion

Converting capital is crucial in all communities, also for the Maasai. In conversation it is a major point that an education ending in secondary school might not give any economic return, as it rarely leads to a degree, title and a paying job as a tertiary education would. Figure 8 show how one of the Babas explained how he generated economic capital, using the help of Bourdieu's different capitals (1986), and Sen's term capability to illustrate how the capitals converts (Kabeer, 1999).

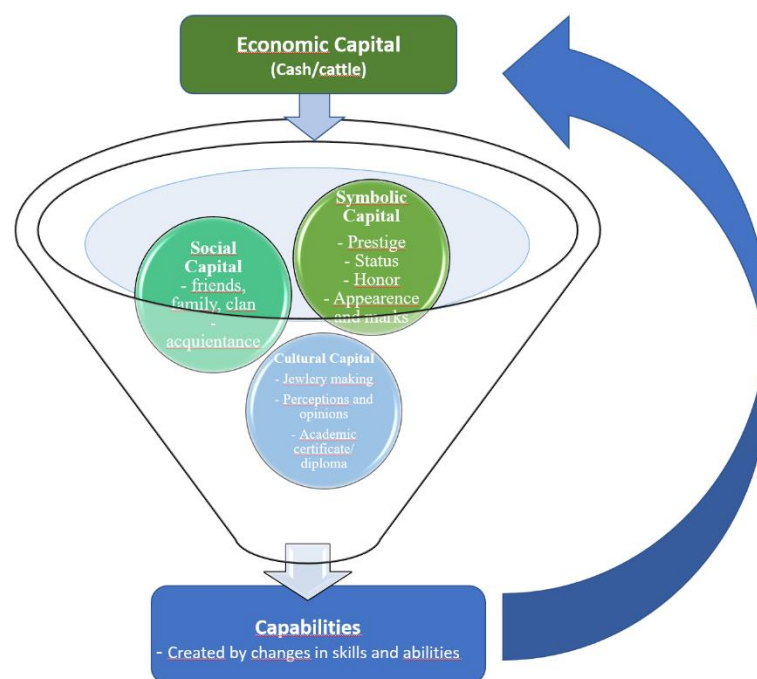


Figure 8: *Capital Conversion*

In the way their community is changing it is likely that capital conversion will be of importance in times to come, as the individuals may be dependent on both the Village and the surrounding community, excluding “the exit option” (Smukkestad, 2008). Education is one way to convert cultural capital to symbolic capital and ultimately to economic capital. By getting an education it is possible to institutionalized cultural capital. It can be conveyed as both social and symbolic capital. Social capital, as in the way that it broadens your network. It may make the educated individuals wanting members of the social network of a broader group of people. It can be a symbolic type of capital, as a degree can add to an individual prestige, honor and status. When

adding these together it has enhanced the individual abilities and skills in the community which is of good use when applying for a job and by that, making an income. In this scenario different capitals are converted to economic capital. Which, in the discussion among the Maasai that I encountered, has been one of their bigger concerns. As they see it, this conversion turns to economic gain only if the education goes beyond secondary education and becomes a degree on a higher level.



Figure 9: Example: Capital Conversion with Jewelry

As the figure 8 shows one way the Babas are converting their capital from the Village to the outside community is by changing them into economic capital. In this manner they act in between the traditional and modern sphere when dealing with these two different economic systems. They find different ways they find ways to converts capital in between the two spheres by for example converting cows to cash to get services outside the Village. Figure 9 show the Bibi who is selling beaded jewelry in return for cash to pay for her grandson’s education. That is objective cultural capital (*Jewelry making*) that converts to economic capital (*cash*) and used to get institutionalized objective cultural capital (*Certificate of Secondary Education*). This investment may be beneficial for her, as a widow she will need male support in the future, which she may tie with her grandson. It can give a symbolic capital, as giving her grandson an education that may give him a better life with a paying job, will show that she took responsibility and kindness.

7.3 Summary

Education is on the rise in rural Maasai communities, but there are still obstacles they face to get the most out of the school system and make their investment feel worthwhile. The communities are changing, and education is looked at to ensure better and safer living conditions. One of the changes are the conflicting views on capitals and how they convert between the modern and traditional sphere. The views on capital and investment for the people that could live by the “exit option”, but now have one foot in each sphere. Education become a meeting point between the modern and the traditional. One benefit gained through education is empowerment for both men and women, where they see a future that may include less segregation between the sexes, and higher equality and options for both genders, which will be further discussed in chapter 8 and 9.

Even though there is a growing view of education as necessary and important, there are still some disadvantages experienced through education and especially secondary education. The experience is that the outcomes are not always preferable and beneficial for the community. There are occasions where there is misinformation and mistrust in the system that affect the way they make priorities concerning their children’s education, making some reluctant, as fear of identity theft, discrimination from non-Maasai, and denial of an earned certificate. There is a problem of converting capital in between the modern and the traditional sphere. The secondary schools that are accessible from the Village are private and the fees are expensive, but the outcome of an academic certificate may not give increased opportunities or income for the individuals nor the community in the Village.

8.0 Gender and Education

There are many different opinions of how gender determines how much you need education. Most of my focus groups were discussing this back and forth. There is a clear picture of boys being favored and girls needing sponsors to be able to continue after primary school. One Mama explains that she recently became a widow and had to take her four daughters out of school, while she will try to support her son to continue. This chapter will present their different views on gender and education.

Both the Babas and the Bibis explain how their gender-based system is natural and mirrored in how the children play, showing a different understanding of gender than Butler's idea of performative gender (Butler, 1988, p. 524). The mother will teach her daughter, and the father will teach his sons. The parents seem unaware of what the other gender learn that is gender-specific, but agree that the important part is for all Maasai to know is how to survive in the hostile environment, respect all people and kinship for their fellow Maasai.

Early on, the girl takes the role as the caretaker. She will make dolls out of their traditional fabric, called *rubegas*, and pretend she is making food, collecting firewood and making dirt houses. The boys will mimic how their fathers behave. They will create small bomas and keep rocks as their cattle. "They are learning by playing". The same story is told by both Cindy and Leshan. This shows how the understanding of gender is based on action and that the actions are masculine or feminine. It gives an example of Judith Butler's theory of gender being actions passed down from generation to generation until they feel like a natural given (Butler, 1988, p. 523) and part of their habitus (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654). In this way, we can understand the gendered responsibilities and positions in the Maasai village as a social construct, as there is little evidence towards their norms of men being better at grazing cattle and women at building huts.

Both the Babas and the Mamas claim that education is changing how the children play games, which is one of the arenas where the embodies state of cultural capital is formed (Bourdieu, 1986). The smaller children in the boma will today rather pretend that their rocks are motorbikes, and not cattle. They believe that this is because of more children getting education and seeing places and things they did not see before. The question asked that caused the most discussions was which gender they believe to need education *the most*.

Some argue that it is important for both, and it depends on the person asked. Most agree that a boy is a safer investment, but that it makes a bigger difference for the girls. One Baba said that giving education is giving capital, as it makes an income. Both girls and boys need income, therefore it is important for both. Several want their sons working as doctors in the Village, and their daughters as teachers in neighboring areas. Leshan would want both boys and girls to be educated. “Nowadays the women are strong. I mean, not really strong, but strong as other people. I prefer both to be educated, everybody has a strong mind. I think it is incredible when you find a married couple where both are educated”. He is aware of the gender inequality between his own parents; his father was the one to decide, but he argued that it was often one of the wives who had the idea. “The Mama watches, she makes my father see”.

8.1 Why Boys Need Education the Most

Boys have been favored as most suitable for education in the Village, and the argument have had little competition as it does not necessarily stand in conflict with their traditional way of life: Also, as men are seen as more likely to be able to get a paying job and by that convert their skills from their education into economic capital.

8.1.1 A Safer Investment

One argument that seems to have the deepest root and the strongest claim is of why boys are the better investment than girls is the risk of girls getting pregnant during her years in secondary school. The Babus agree that “secondary school is most important for boys, as they will not drop out due to pregnancies.” Many women also feel like this: “I feel that the boys are more important. Because the boy will not get pregnant at least. I can invest in a boy and feel sure that he will go to school, and not come home because he is dropping out. Girls do that because they are pregnant”. Even the younger Morans and Ndito mention this point as vital for choosing who to send to school. The Morans feel like there are more circumstances that make a girl drop out compared to boys, and that the money is easily wasted.

Why Educate a Boy?

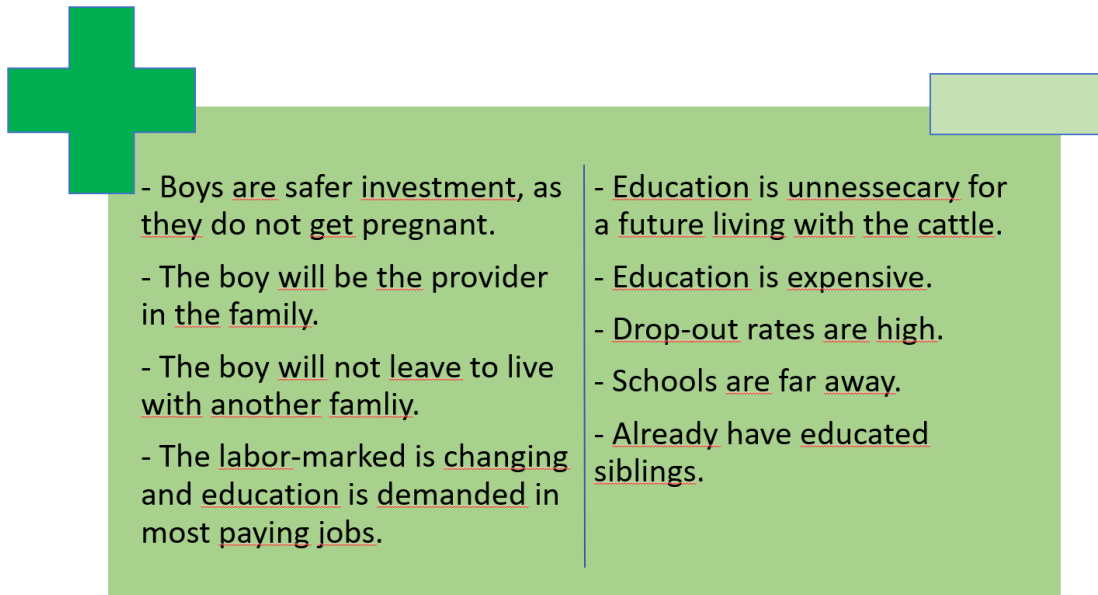


Figure 10: *Summary of Arguments for Boys*

Figure 10 shows the different arguments for and against education for a boy. The main argument stands that the family structure evolves around the patrilineal family line, making the boys stay in the family and the girls will move to another. In this way it is safer to invest in him as he will fend for his parents when they grow old, as future breadwinner he will need the education to ensure an income for his family.

8.2 Why Girls Need Education the Most

Girls and education is a topic well debated locally, and there are many opinions and emotions connected to this.

8.2.1 Early Marriage

Girls in the Village gets married early. The girls I met were typically fourteen years old and had been married up to two years with men significantly older as they often have finished their time as Morans first. In those cases, the father made the decisions, and the girls find this very difficult and feel disempowered and trapped by the patriarchy (Foord & Gregson, 1986). The girls are typically married when they finish primary school.

These men are afraid of sending girls to school, because they know, when they send the girls to school they cannot make any decision of the girl. He can't send her to a husband she doesn't like, he can't force her to circumcise, if she doesn't like, he cannot decide.

That's why they don't want them to go to school. Men are afraid of losing their power

-Bibi

The Bibis contend that it is nice to send their daughters to school, as they do not see married life to be a happy life. They want a different life for their daughters. One way of doing that is by making the girls independent. They hope for their girls to be teachers and doctors. Early marriage will often be a girl's only option if she does not get education (Temba et al., 2013, p. 24).

8.2.2 Few Options

Girls do not have as many opportunities as men. An uneducated man will still have options and choices in his life. An uneducated girl will marry and be under the control of another man, left with limited power. The jobs, possible to get, involves hard labor, and girls are not qualified. For girls, the opportunities come with education, while boys have choices even when uneducated. There is a broad agreement that women have fewer options than men, here expresses by the different groups:

I believe education to be most important for girls. Because girls do not get their voices heard in the family, and also, they do not get anything, they are mistreated most of the time

because they are not providing anything. So, I feel through education she will not be mistreated and will choose for herself. No man can then decide over her, and she can also be the provider. So, the girls need more secondary education than the boys. It is the only thing I can give her that another man cannot take away from her.

– Baba

The Nditos agree, and feel like girls need education more than boys as it can give them more power. Without it she cannot own anything and her father or husband will be able to make all her choices and leaves her with little agency (Kabeer, 1999). The Mamas agree:

For me, I feel like the education for girls is the most important. You know for the boys, even if they are not educated they inherit from their parents. Everything, cow, house land. The girls don't inherit or own anything. We do not even own a single spoon in the house. Like I think it's better for girls because this is something you can give them, and they can use the knowledge and create an income out of it. This way they can run their life since they can't own anything, there is nothing the mother can give them, other than education which can help them to get an income and help themselves. She feels like for the boys it is more ok if they go to school or not, they will have something behind them. The girls do not. In our tradition women do not inherit anything from the family.

- Mama

The Mamas argue that previously they would all have chosen education for the boy, as he would remain in the family. When they sell their cows, they know that the investment and knowledge will come back to them and benefit the household. Their daughter, on the other hand, would be a part of another household and another family will gain from their investment. Now they see that it might not be as black and white. They see how their daughter who married keeps her bonds with her family and helps them out. The sons on the other hand, who they imagined would stay in their household acts differently and it challenges their doxa (Appelrouth, 2012, p. 654). The Mamas explain that their sons changed when they got married. Their focus shifted away from their mothers and towards their own nuclear family. That's why many of the Mamas now want equal education for their children.

Another Mama claims the main argument to not educate girls is the risk of her getting pregnant and then not being able to continue. She finds this to be a faulty argument as it is the boys who

impregnate the girls, and she believe those kinds of boys will not go far in their own education either. “They have already mixed their education with something else, they are no longer focused. They will also drop out at some point, as their concentration is not in school”

A Bibi explains why she would want her daughters to get further in education. She sees how boys do better with only primary school, but girls would need secondary school for the same opportunities, without education there are little access to economic capital. Secondary school for boys is more than enough. “When the girl finishes primary school, *snaps fingers*, her father will have her married. She inherits nothing and does not control any of her husband’s assets. It is back at zero.” Her education will not help her during a drought or if the cattle is insufficient. Boys can do hard jobs and earn money. These jobs are not suitable for girls, but with education she can access work that can give her income. Cindy believed it all to reflect how African culture favors the boy-child.

Being educated for a girl is being empowered already, like you’re so empowered. In that, you can have a right to speak, a right to decisions, like to discuss things even above the family level. You’ll have some authority which now we don’t have. Like for an uneducated woman, they lack that. They just get married and then you own nothing from your family, but if you get education, it will open up your mind and you can fight for all these human or gender rights.

-Cindy

Cindy see a clear connection between empowerment and being educated. Empowerment and education will be discussed in chapter 9.

Why Educate a Girl?

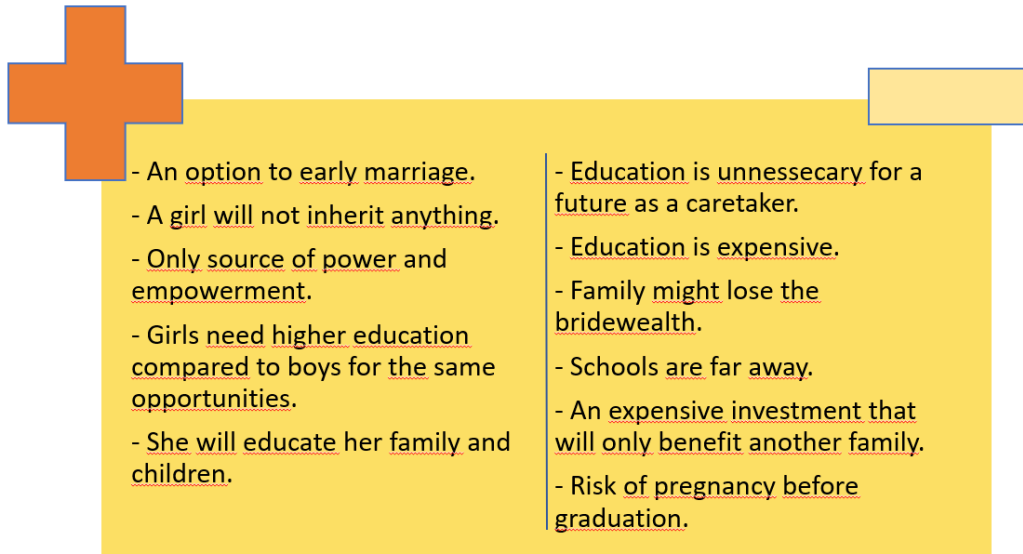


Figure 11: *Summary of Arguments for Girls*

During the interview, the issue of girls and education is a reoccurring subject to a greater extent than boys and education. In Nvivo the transcribed answers of the discussions around the question “who needs education the most?” were gathered and created a word tree, showing that the topic “girl” is used more than “boy”. This was evident among all the focus groups. This illustrates that the focus around girls in school is more discussed and controversial than boys and education.

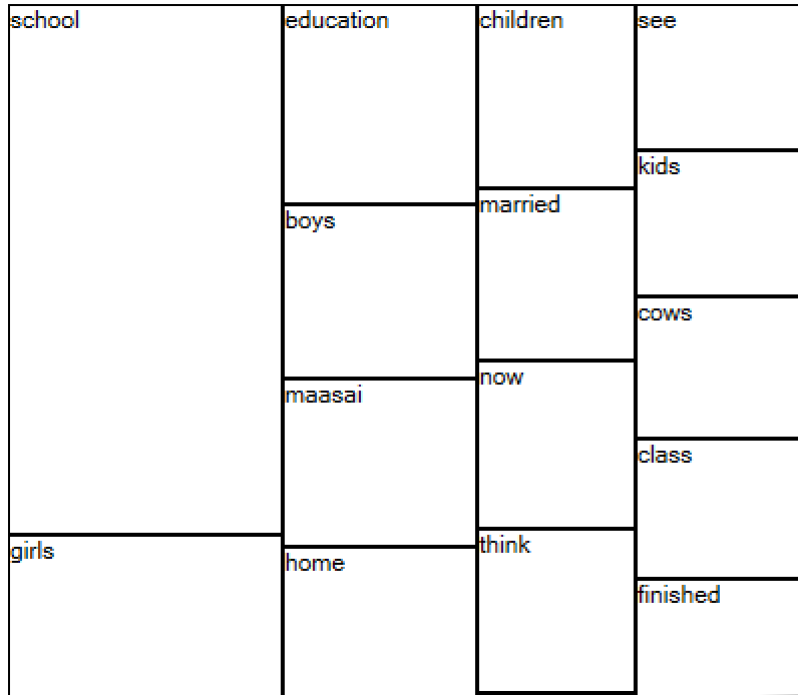


Figure 12: *Word tree of Girls and Boys*

8.3 Sense and Sensibility

There is a cognitive dissonance, that may be embedded in their doxa, between the arguments for education and the choices of who to prioritize to go to school between boys and girls. The tradition of the safer investment suggests letting the boys go if you have to choose. At the same time, it is acknowledged several benefits for girls to be educated compared to the boys.

The Babus have given this some thought and one way to make better odds for girls to succeed is by separating the genders in boarding schools. They have for long suspected the teachers of taking advantage of their daughters, and by dividing the genders they would know if their classmates or teachers are the ones making them drop out. By separating the genders, they believe they could take away the reason why most girls are dropping out. “It could make education fairer, by making it safer to invest in the girl”. The Mamas add to this point that the

vacations should be shorter. The children should not have months of vacation at home, as many do not want to go back. They see how nice it is to be Morans and enjoy staying out to *sing*, where many of the young fall in love, and many get pregnant. It makes them want to drop out and stay with their age mates and not go back to what is strange and unfamiliar to them. That school will postpone marriage and might delay or rule out the bridewealth did not seem to be of any mentionable concern among the fathers. Even if it is often a considerable value added to the family that many rely on. When asked about it, the Babus did not make a difference distinction between their sons and daughters. One Baba sums up their points like this:

Of course, school has interfered with the marriage system, but now if I hope to take my child to school that means I will not stop them in their teens or twenties and tell them they need to stop so they can get married. Giving them education is giving them freedom. They should marry when they are done.

- Baba

Most men seem to be okay with education, but according to the Bibis it is the mothers who advocate education. A Mama proposes that the point of view might be different between the mothers and fathers. For men, they see it differently because they do not want to sell their cows for education for the children, they understand the economy behind the investment in the child. The women do not have any control in that. Those who are reluctant are men, and those insisting are the mothers.

You know the mothers can't help with the paying, but they wish to. You know a Maasai man can be married to more than five wives. Maybe one of the wives get their sons to school and maybe two makes it. That can be enough for the father, then he will have educated children, but for the women it will not be enough for her. The child will come back to help the father and his mother, but "what about me?" what about the co-wives and the other children. It is more like the mothers insist, because they each want their own children to go to school.

- Bibi

Recent numbers from Northern Tanzania show that of pastoralists in the area, where 92.1% of those being asked were Maasai, 71.8% had no education, 25.7% had primary school and only 2.4% had secondary school (Hedges, 2015). Business owners in the same area had a different outcome as only 24.3% were without any education and 53.7% had education from primary school and 23% have education from secondary and above, making a visible difference between the livelihoods in the area and their educational level. There is a significant difference between Maasai living urban and does living rural.

Table 2: *School Attendance Tanzania, Primary and Secondary School. (National Bureau of Statistic, p. 19-20, 2011)*

School Attendance in Tanzania – Primary School in percent, Children aged 7 – 13 years.

Residence	Male	Female
Urban	89.6	87.1
Rural	75.6	79.6

School Attendance Tanzania – Secondary School in percent, students aged 14- 19 years

Residence	Male	Female
Urban	44.7	43.2
Rural	20.0	17.7

Numbers from the National Bureau of Statistics show a slight advantage for rural girls in primary school that flips when entering secondary school. Overall among women and men in rural mainland Tanzania, only 0.2% of men have finished secondary school, and 0.1% among the women. Among the urban population, 2.7% of men and 1.1% of the women have secondary education.

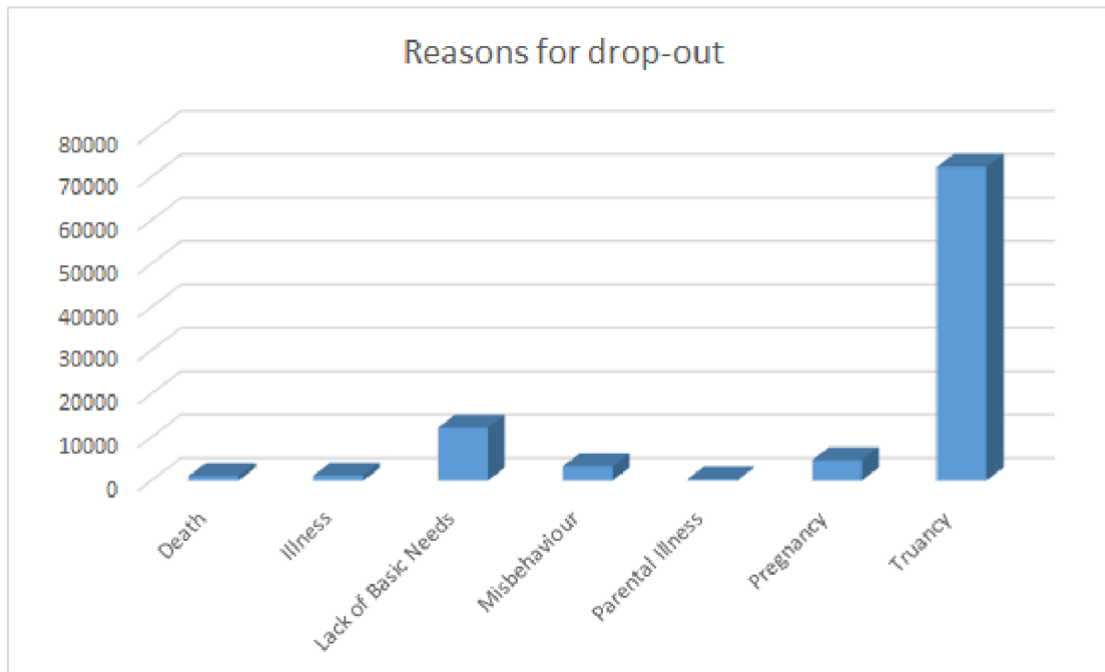


Figure 13: *Reasons for drop-out (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014)*

Among drop outs the statistic blames truancy as main reason for drop outs (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2004), and not pregnancies as gets the most attention in the Village.

In the way many families seem to favor their sons over their daughters when investing in education could be understood as risk aversion and a way of ensuring that their limited resources comes to good use. As Chayanov explains through his Peasant Theory, that marginalized peasants have little to no wiggle-room when investing (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 115). Even if that specific risk could change their standard of living over time, as the risks of failing can have catastrophic outcomes. Education is a good example of that. In theory the investment in education is investing in a safer future for the parents and the children, as it gives knowledge, safety, and income. This investment is not guaranteed. Many of the people that I spoke to in the Village have not experienced an increase of income from their education, and the investment is not returned or gives better standards of living. So, choosing to educate one of your children is a risk, and after that it is viewed as a higher risk if that child is a girl.

Pregnancy is one cause of girls dropping out that makes them not favorable for secondary education. It is easily noticeable and is not in the control of the parents or sponsors. This may

make pregnancies more obvious as a drop-out reason and gets more attention than other reasons. Some of the drop-outs are under more controlled circumstances, as keeping the girl behind to help or take care of a family member. Another example is of the widow in the Village, who, when her husband recently passed away, had to tell her four girls to come back home, while she will try to support her only son through secondary school. Another example for the boys are those kept back to graze cattle far away for a longer time during droughts that lead to missed start of school and drop-out. This is similar to the stories of one of the Morans from the focus group. Pregnancies still stands as one of the main reasons to be reluctant to educate the girls. It is often unplanned, and rules are getting stricter as many schools now do not accept girls who have a baby to continue on their education. This makes the risks even higher for the families. These are factors that may let many parents dwell on the risks of educating a girl compared to a boy (Smukkestad, 2008).

Hydén's thoughts of the Economy of Affection may explain why women have been left out in many arenas, as they as caregivers have had a different role in the social networking needed when living in a pre-capitalist society. This is according to Hydén where the economy and exchange of capitals often take place (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 117). Women have been an asset for the family in terms of future bridewealth needed by the family. In many patriarchal society women are often treated as an economic object to be traded in exchange of money or livestock when married as an agreement between families with intentions of strengthening bonds between different groups. This may be part of the networking crucial for maintaining the Economy of Affection, but keeps the women out of the bargaining and decision-making (Smukkestad, 2008, p. 117). This can be why women do not get their opinion heard when arguing about education and why they are not prioritized. The girls will not stay in the family so the family benefits from her income and capitals, but will marry into another family fairly early and be their asset.

8.4 A Patriarchal Bargain

Through my interviews in the Village, a power-struggle between the genders seems evident. The separation of the genders is reinforced in the patriarchy through systems like the economy of Affection, social networking, and how the gender roles are set and preformed (Smukkestad, 2008). Through a Marxist feminist point of view the women are left out due to their role in the home and their reproductive and caring function (Butler, 1988, p. 524). The key to reproduction of classical patriarchy lies in the operations of the patrilocally extended household (Kandiyoti, 1997, p. 89). The implication for women entails forms of control and subordination as being given away for marriage and most go into a new family often headed by her new husband's father, making them subordinate to a new set of men, and often also the more senior women. The Maasai do not have a dowry that the girl can use when married, but her father will get a bridewealth as a compensation for "losing" a family member. The girls do not inherit anything. Many girls are dispossessed when entering a new household when married, but can, through giving birth to a son, establish her place in the patriline, as did the Mama who spoke for the crying girl in chapter 4.3.1, where she explains that the girl will cry when married until the day she gives birth to a son. This may show how disempowered a young newly married girl is in the new household.

The patriarchal system of power in the Village is experienced as unjust by the women. They are seemingly struggling to find ways to bargain with the system, and the men. The Maasai men I spoke with seem to accept education as a way to bargain with the patriarchy. An educated woman will live by a different set of rules than an uneducated girl. It is accepted that she can choose her spouse and decide whether she will undergo circumcision, work, and how many children she wants if she is educated, making her empowered (Kabeer, 1999). With that said, not many have ended up deciding for themselves, and those who did were frowned upon, as the one Baba who disowned his daughter after she married a non-Maasai after secondary school. One Bibi started a small jewelry business with glass beads as a way to support one of her grandchildren through school when it had been decided that he should not go.

Even if my experience talking to my informants implies there is a dichotomy between men and

women in their opinions and views of education and gender, this seemed to be experienced by the informants themselves. In their speech, they often talked of the groups as one - *the men* and *the women*-- with little nuance. The Mamas would talk about the views of men as one united group, and the men would do the same, which indicates how distinct these two groups are divided as feminine and masculine. There may not be much communication between men and women, which may lead to misunderstandings. The Mamas told me they are not as important to the men as their cattle, and that a husband in the Village recently had let his wife bleed to death during childbirth to avoid selling one of his cows. The Babas on the other side told the same story of how devastating it was to struggle to trade his cow to shillings, so that he could pay a driver to take his wife to hospital. If this story was of the same unfortunate woman who lost her life, it shows little insight of the other gender's perspective on the same topic.

Patriarchy is not only enforced by men. The women also maintain the system. Many women have paid a high price to bargain with the patriarchy (See Appendix 1). As the women get older they will have climbed socially and are now in charge of subservient daughters-in-law themselves. Now this is changing in households in the Village as more girls are not married early into a new household and are at a boarding school instead. With this change there are some women that have paid their price to the patriarchy, but will not gain the promised benefits, which could be among the Mamas who told me they knew ways to have their girls fail in school and come home. The Mamas have themselves been a young childless wife taking orders from older women in the household. Now they are in a position where the privilege of their age frees them of different household chores, and put them in charge of the younger wives. This puts them in a dilemma between supporting the girls to get educated and giving up on their own age privileges.

8.5 Summary

Both the men and the women self-report a growing faith in girls and education, but still believe girls to be of a higher risk and therefore an unsure investment. The boy is seen as the safer choice; men are providers and women are caregivers. The girl's chances of getting pregnant when in school is seen as the main argument of why boys should be preferred, as a pregnancy is a sure drop-out with limited possibilities to go back to school. This is a risk aversion which is rational for marginalized pastoralists, who must protect their assets.

The women tell of their everyday life where there is a power-struggle between the men and the women. The patriarchal structure of the society has kept the women restricted and with little freedom to make decisions in their own life. They are using their limited agency to bargain with the patriarchy and are getting their way by finding sponsors to support their daughters through school. They see that education is empowering girls and helps them make life choices on their own. They see it as one way to make sure further generation are achieving higher equality between the genders.



Picture 12: *Woman waiting for the cattle to come home for milking (private)*

9.0 Empowerment

The concept of empowerment was launched in the *Ottawa Charter* in 1986, and was defined as a process that allows people to increase their control of their own life. Empowerment means that people are able to define their own problems based on their own situation and find their own solutions in cooperation with others (NOU 1998:18).

In this chapter I present different ways the men and women in the Village feel disempowered and how they feel education can change that. They represent a group that had little to no education. I have chosen to give their argument based on gender, as the life as a man or a woman often plays out very differently in the Village. Cindy and Leshan are both Maasai aged 27 and 30 years old. Cindy has a bachelor-degree, while Leshan finished a few years of primary school as a child.

Empowerment is according to Cindy a new term in KiSwahili, and not a term used in KiMaa. Even so, the concept is known and understood, but not known by the term empowerment. When translating from KiMaa to English she understood the KiMaa word *Aidimie* as empowerment. It means *to help* or *a help to lift up*. During the interview they would often say *Aidimie Indasati*. *Indasati* means women, and in this combination, Cindy explains that the term directly translated equals the same as “empowerment for women” means in English.

9.1 Mamas and Bibis

The women with whom I spoke gave a clear picture of feeling disempowered in their everyday life. Some to the extent that it changes the way they perceive themselves, as this Bibi: "I feel like a sheep or a goat. I can see, but I can't tell"

There is clear that they feel like there is an aspect of the world that they are not able to be a part of. As uneducated they cannot “see”, and understand the codes around them and what they mean. They see how the children and often the men can read, write and recognize cues that they do not. They give examples of not being able to read the prescription on medication, read the news, knowing who different visitors are, and recognize their purpose by their cars. This lack

of skills is disempowering, making them not able to participate in the society or to express their voices.

Sometimes I feel like I'm blind, but I'm not. Even when I try to see like my kids, but I can't.

– Bibi

The women are describing a position of being powerless and unable to navigate in the extended world that they are part of. This feeling of being disempowered pervades their life so completely that they feel it is affecting their being like missing the sense of vision. They claim their children can see in a different way than themselves, which could be due to the fact that their children are often literate and have some education, while the mothers have none. Just this difference would enable them to navigate and act in the world in a whole other way. For women with no education, it reduces their chances of realizing their own will in a social action, even against the resistance of others as Weber believes empowerment to be (Appelrouth, 2012, p 654). Variations of this feeling are expressed among the women when explaining their experiences with hospital, the educational system, and even the men in their own village. There is a sense of feeling “stuck”.

We the women will be more empowered, we will be that by more women getting education. We will be equals. Like for example me, I'm alive, but I do not have any control of anything. I am the one taking care of them, like a caretaker. Everything we have will be taken from us. Even our own sons! When they grow up the fathers can say “Why are you talking to that woman?”. It makes me feel unimportant.

- Mama

Empowerment of women is one of the positive outcomes they expect to get through education. Most had no education, but the few I met who had some education, even just a few years of primary, could tell of a great advantage compared to those with none. Among the eighteen women I spoke to in the Village there was only one woman with a few years of primary; the rest had none. The Ndito were all in school, most with ambitions to continue. The Babus claimed that education of women would make them equal to men, as they viewed the ability to generate income as a measurement of when you can have a say in the community and it is a way to be considered “of age”. An uneducated woman would have to be circumcised to no

longer be considered a child. This did not necessarily apply to an educated woman, although they had not yet heard of a woman from the Village that was not circumcised. Education may eliminate circumcision as it empowers women and changes their status without the cut.

For we, women, are looked down upon by men. By presenting our point and learn how to present it we feel like we could be accepted and be equal. Then we would, or we would like to feel that way, and we want our children to feel that way. So, by education later generations will feel equal. They will be fine.

- Mama



Picture 13: *Maasai women (private)*

There was a strong belief among the women that education would empower them and change their lives. Mama Enkiti was lucky and got to go a few years to primary school as a child. She acts like a leader figure among the women and claims her skills come from this education. She knows what the city looks like, she knows how to use the busses there if necessary, she can read letters, road signs, and use the cellphone. Even with these skills, she highlights other qualities she got from education, like confidence, credibility, and know-how to be more important in the community. The downside is how she feels her culture and their doxa still holds her back, and how she keeps herself back because of it.

Education will bring us into power. Like me. I look more like a warrior, because I know things and I have the confidence that I got through education. In this way I'm not afraid to talk in meetings, I know what to say and I know about development. But because I still have the Maasai in me, and it tells me that I should shut up, I'm a woman and should not talk in front of men. With the education you feel like you are equal and you can contribute and in that way you are empowered.

- Mama Enkiti

Foreign sponsors enable some Nditos in the Village get to go to secondary school. Their mothers are the ones who have negotiated and gotten their daughters sponsors. When she has the money to send her daughter to school it rules out the father's intentions of early marriages. Showing that economic capital overrides the fathers decision-power. Traditionally the cattle-driven economy is not sufficient to support the girls' education, but also reluctance in the family as described in chapter 7.2. One issue is the tradition of a bridewealth. It is not distinctive to Maasai, but widespread in Tanzania. The families will get an amount of cattle or other valuables in exchange for their daughters in marriage which they often are relying on. If the girl continues with her education beyond primary school, her date for her marriage often has to be postponed, in some cases the family could have to pay back the bridewealth to compensate with their daughter not being ready to be married. In some cases, the girl will choose another man for marriage, rather than the one selected for her, when she finishes her education. One Baba told me of his experience, where he was deeply insulted that his daughter married a non-Maasai after secondary school. He lost money on her education, and the bridewealth that he was counting on. He is no longer acknowledging her as his daughter, and it has shaped his views of educating girls as harmful for the Maasai. Hodges (1999) confirms this dilemma and adds that even with education, the bridewealth will rarely be higher with the girl's education. It may lead to the family suffering a lost income as the girl may not get married. This could explain the lack of motivation in many Maasai villages to send their girls to school, as they rely on the income marriage gives.

We are not educated ones, we do not have other option in life than livestock. We want to be empowered when it comes to the development of the village. Like when there is a meeting then the men should involve us. But they don't.

- Mama

The Mamas have a clear understanding of what they believe the men think about a change in the position of women in the Village. Men are afraid to lose their power. If a man sends his girls to school they will lose his right to decide for her. The father can no longer force her to be circumcised, and he can no longer send her to a husband she does not approve of. In this way his position and status in the Village are at risk. Unterhalter (2013) believes this could be controlled by emphasizing empowerment as a phenomenon, by supporting measures that educate girls and their parents of their rights in this situation. By getting more women in school administration and leadership, getting school closer to where the students live, and working toward gender equality to create confidence between school and the local community, the balance-of-power concern could be alleviated.

Now we do not have doctors, teachers or lawyers, because the Maasai is late to start with education. We will have block houses and permanent houses. The rain is as you can see not as good as it used to be. So, we do not have enough grass to put on the hut that we used to have. Everything around us is changing, so we need also to change.

– Bibi 1

To not have Maasai and their language represented in different services is a challenge for many, as discussed in 7.2.5. Several Mamas tell of a different struggle when visiting hospitals. They tell their stories of how a Maasai no matter how sick they are will not get to be first in line at the hospitals. The non-Maasai will always get in line first, they claim. A Maasai will not have someone talking their language or even working there. The non-Maasai can speak their language and have doctors of their own ethnicity working there that will pick him first.

You will not be able to even ask “why not me? I came here first, I was next!”. When we educate our children, we will get our people in hospitals and other services and so that other people do not have to go through what we are going through.

- Mama

With these examples we see that this group feels disempowered when facing the society outside their own community. Dominant groups, both private and from the government, may use their

power in a repressive way, in which the Maasai do not have the right tools to protect their land and rights and are left with a feeling of not having a fair chance in matters that concerns them. This may make them feel victimized, though that is not the impression they give when they discuss their opportunity.

9.2 Cindy

When educated you won't be the same, like people in the village. To be able at least to run a small business. For example, if you are a lady and you get married and you can always have some ideas, and someone will listen because *they* don't have much education.

– Cindy

By using the framework of Kabeer for ability to make choices, we may see how Cindy has gone from disempowered to empowered through education. She grew up in a rural Maasai village; her mother and her three co-wives did not have any education, but her father had a few years from a Catholic primary school. Cindy tells about how her education, made possible by the help of her father and sponsors, has empowered her in most aspects of her life. She now has the ability to get paid work, and secured a loan to buy property for future housing. She lives in an urban area and she can choose whom to marry and where she wants to live. In this way education provided Cindy with resources through an income and knowledge. Without education she pictures a life dependent on a husband, father, or brother. Even for their basic necessities the Mamas and Bibis from the boma would go to their husbands and the widows to their brothers when they needed money, food, or new clothing for themselves or the children. Cindy gained agency of self-determination. She decides her profession, residence, recreation, and to an extent her social circle. The women from the Boma believed that the most important things for girls to learn in school were to make their own choices and acquire the knowledge that may help them know how to help themselves. With the ability to make choices the Maasai permit an educated woman, compared to an uneducated woman, the transition between being a disempowered girl to an empowered woman visible through education.

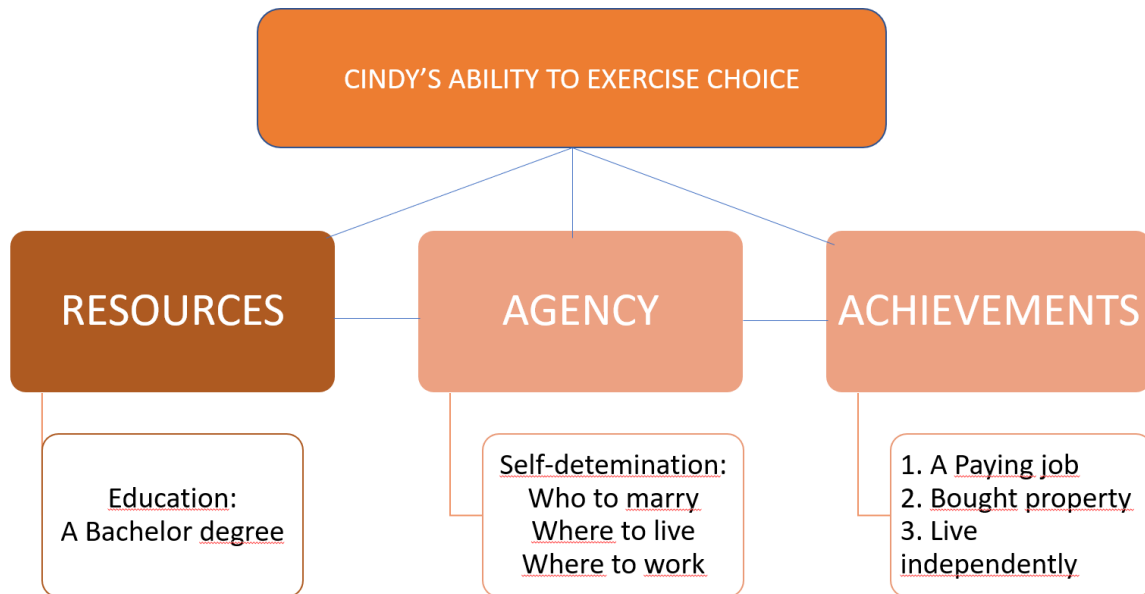


Figure 14: *Cindy's ability to make choice.*

The Mama and Bibis tell how women with education from secondary and above can live where they want. It would be their choice if they would want to move out of the Village and into a city. They can to a greater extent decide how many children they want and what lifestyle they want. Cindy points out that these decisions comes with the power education gives you as a woman; men may have these choices regardless of their education. Cindy explains how she finds it important to go back to the rural village where her family lives. This is typical, she asserts, as educated women want to show their local communities the benefits of education. They eat, live, and talk as a Maasai, they can cook and live in a boma. In this way they sit on the cultural capital of both spheres. This underlines Kabeer's point of agency to get through the process to achieve the goals that are making the main difference for girls and women with a Maasai background. Education has extended the possibilities to make strategic life-choices where it used to be impossible for the women (1999, p. 20).

Before even, as a woman, you cannot stand in a group of men. When there's meetings in the villages, government meetings, I mean like central government, it's only men who go there. Now, we have a representative, women representatives, and those are like respected women in status, you know, strong women in the community which is good

because it brings the fair and the equality. It even brings to more ideas from both sexes. I think there's a difference, and it comes with educated women.

- Cindy

Cindy is proud to be Maasai, and proud of her background, her people, and their way of life. There is a lot of focus of the problems of the Maasai culture and how it affects and can oppress especially the women. Cindy is clear in distinguishing between positive cultural practices and “negative cultural practices”. She defines bad practices as female circumcision, forced marriages, child marriages, female oppression, and to some extent also polygamy. Life in the Village is not bad, she insists, but it is important that girls should have choices and be able to make those themselves. “They should be the ones to decide whether they want a life in the Village or pursue a different life”. To get these opportunities, education can give them the resources needed to act according to their own will (Kabeer, 1999). She believes modernity is important, and that the Maasai women have not taken part in the development that is happening around them. She wants more women taking part in it, but at the same time preserving culture. She does not know of any who moved back to the Village to live traditionally after finishing their education, but many moves in between city and village according to where there is available work. In this way they exist in between the modern and the traditional sphere. In this way they safeguard their traditions, but lift the Village with resources and knowledge.

9.3 Babas and Babus

Even as the women feel disempowered within their own community, the men contend with a situation of being disempowered by the modern sphere and especially the legal system in Tanzania. The men, like the women, believe education will make this problem smaller, as there would be more educated Maasai taking care of them in each branch, as connections are important to get your cases through in Tanzania.

The Babas were concerned with the lack of educated Maasai, as that gives few available Maasai lawyers to represent them in the land conflicts from the activities of “landgrabbers” occurring

in their area. In Maasailand there is a growing problem of land grabbing. The land is claimed by, for instance, international tourist companies and mining companies. The Babas think it is unlikely that a non-Maasai would speak their cause if the defendant is non-Maasai as well. One man gives the example of a conflict where the landgrabber and his lawyer were from the same city. He claimed a lot happened “behind the scenes” and that they met behind his back and conspired against him, showing how important social capital and connections are. This is one of the areas where he notices the Maasai are behind compared to the other ethnic groups in the area. Those who embraced education earlier have the advantages today.

Another Baba said that education is security, it will make them safer wherever they travel, as they would be able to read, write and communicate in different languages. It will bring more Maasai in different sectors of government and leadership. He gives an example of his cousin who travelled to South Africa. He got sick and became paralyzed on one side of his body. He stayed there for one year with no help. Eventually he got in contact with the ambassador of Tanzania and through a politician that is part Maasai he was able to get help and they flew him back to Tanzania. Anything could have happened to him, but because of a fellow Maasai in a high position, he got help. Showing how one educated Maasai can bring collective empowerment to the group (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 249).

It would be safe for me to know that wherever I go there would be a Maasai- person that I know can help. So, education is important for all of us. For independence and security.

- Baba

The men seem, for the most part, supportive of the process of strengthening and changing the position of women. Some expressed that even though the men were widely for empowering of women, it was those against who would yell the loudest. The believed it was the elderly men who were among the most reluctant. The women believed the men to be rigid and women to be flexible, but there are men with a genuine wish for change. Those with education are often the ones advocating it to others, while those without might feel like they are doing fine as they are. Cindy is among those believing that men will change according to the women. The empowering process among Maasai women has received great attention, both from NGO’s and the government. Still, it is not just easy for the Maasai man working for empowerment. In the Village the men keep the meetings and make the decisions without the women. This is where a

lot of culture and tradition are being maintained, and also the matters regarding the women, without them having a say. Cindy tells about a Baba she knows who told the other elders in his village about his decision of not having his daughters circumcised. The immediate sanction against him was isolation. He was separated from the others and the other men overrode his words. In the same way as with the women, the community will treat the educated men differently from the uneducated. Cindy claims that if this Baba was educated, the consequences of his action would have had been different and he might even have won a breakthrough with his announcement. Empowerment through education is therefore also important for men in the Village, as a means to make independent choices and to stand up to the patriarchy, much in the same way as the women describe. They see a way for their children to empower themselves, but also work as a protection and help for their own pension when they grow old.

If they can't help us right now, at least they can help themselves. Maybe later they can help the community. And it is a safety when we get older. Someone can help us when we get sick and old. My daughter is a teacher, that is development in society. That is how she helps the society, she comes to give something back home. Personally, she can earn her own money, later when you educate more children

- Baba

One Baba explains that he is a parent, and halfway through his life became himself independent. In the way Maasai structure their life you often depend on others. Education is changing that, making it easier to be independent. Education is a way to give your children the opportunity to be independent. He underlines how it is not a miracle worker, some finish and do not get jobs, some drop out and others do not perform. Even if that would be the outcome, you still have given them knowledge, so that even for those who continue living off the cattle there are other options and means to survive. He says they want their daughters and sons to be independent and he points to me, saying he would want his children to be able to do what I do. He want his children, even when young and unmarried, to be able to independently travel alone and finish a degree without being dependent on somebody that could decide they must quit and go home.

9.4 Leshan

I went to primary school, but I did not finish. Because Maasai is not allowed to go to school long or to go faraway or without to see them, because they think that they are going to lose your culture or whatever, and then become another person, or you are going to forget your tradition and you are going to forget maybe where you are from, so that's why only primary is allowed.

- Leshan

Leshan is thirty years old and from the Village. He just retired after being a Moran for fifteen years and is now considered a junior elder. He did not go to school, but lived as a Moran in a separate boma with other warriors in the Village up until now. He is also affected by the drought and went into the city to make some extra money. As an uneducated Maasai boy, he still had access to many things that the girls had not. He was still able to travel some, and he learned to speak English and Swahili. Even with the skills he gained as a Moran, getting a job is hard.

Even if I had the books and practice by myself, it does not matter. The world is changing, and they only want the person who is educated for the job, and my job is now hard to get, only the educated ones have a chance.

Leshan has been trying to make a living out of the mining industry and wants to learn how to trade gemstones. He finds this to be difficult, and the last time I met him he had decided to go back to the Village and get his own boma. With his father's permission he wants to take his mother with him, as his father is struggling to feed everybody. Leshan feels like he was being noticed in the town. He still wears his *shuga* and Maasai attire, and he believes people on the street wonders what he is doing in town and not being out with the cattle. He feels a little out of place when acting in the modern sphere.

Among his agemates he estimates that half went to primary school and only very few got a try at secondary. He keeps a strong belief in education as he feels his lack of it is holding him back. "Education is the key in life, it is better and make you to have a better life, you do not have to lose your tradition as they fear." Leshan believes that it would take more than education to separate a Maasai from his culture. He will use his example in the Village to show how being

uneducated is an obstacle outside the Village. “My parents were afraid education would destroy their baby’s mind. They wanted the kids to have fun and allow that. Those in school let their hair grow, they smoke, and they stop understanding themselves. Those who came back brought no difference, so they said no.”

Leshan is sure he can tell that more education, the way it is administered today, will change the traditions. He says he loves his traditions, but some things are nice to be changing. “But, not like, destroy it.” He can see that Maasai are mixing with other groups without it changing much of the Village life. It is not a threat and modern housing is not a threat, either. “You can live in the Village and do both; some even stop having cattle and still live as Maasai. It is difficult to maintain the traditional lifestyle, however, if you get a government job and have to go to town.”

Today Leshan sees a big difference in having and not having an education. He feels like at his age, he should provide for his extended family, and not his father. This is difficult as he does not have sufficient cattle in the Village, and it is hard to get jobs in the city. He sees that being Maasai does not have to make you disempowered, but it is much harder if you are a poor Maasai. He claims that poverty makes it harder to get an education; it even makes it difficult to vote, leaving the group vulnerable and disempowered. It is hard, in a different way, for rich Maasai to make it in education, as they often have so much cattle that they need their children to help take care of them. He insists that those he knows do not understand the importance of education, and that those with low education keep holding others back so you get even more people with a low educational level. Leshan’s wish is to have the school closer to home, so parents can keep an eye on their children and the children can still be a part of the local community. To get there the government must help them getting “actual hospital, and actual drinking water”. This could collectively enhance empowerment in the area, as Leshan suggests it would increase power politically and personally, so individuals and communities can act to improve their situation in the same way as Gutierrez defines collective empowerment (1995). Leshan believes the system to be unfair, it does not give the families in the Village a fair chance to be educated. He even declares that better educational opportunities is more important in the Village than better drinking water.

Leshan had built up capitals valuable in the Village. He acquired cultural capital by being a junior elder, and by recently having his long hair cut off to symbolize that he is no longer a Moran. He had been part of a five-man group who killed two lions, one of them was his kill which gives him high symbolic capital in the Village. This capital does not convert in the city.

When he tries to make it in the gemstone industry his abilities are not enough, he is lacking the institutionalized cultural capital as an educational diploma or certificate would represent, and even though he can read and speak three languages, the industry do not appreciate his skills without a diploma. After six weeks he gave up and returned to the Village to start planning for a family, and building his own boma. The capital he had gathered so far in his life did not convert in between the two spheres, and left him in lack of capitals to choose the city over the Village. It is worth mentioning that other Maasai villages can earn money from tourism and can convert their capital in that way by selling their jewelry and have guided tours in the boma for paying visitors, making an arena where both spheres meet. This Village's geographical location is not conducive to this kind of economic activities.

9.5 Simple Windows to Complex Realities

Many of my informants describe their positions to be powerless, and a feeling of being disempowered. At the same time, they all describe education as a means in the process of empowerment. Kabeer specifies that you must have been disempowered to be empowered (Kabeer, 1999). The stories of the women do differ from the men. The men feel disempowered towards the outside community, while the women feel disempowered towards the outside community, but also in their own community and towards the men in the community. They are in many ways denied the option to make strategic life choices.

For the women, the opportunity to take choices for themselves is taken away from them. This denied choice makes their situation to fit the definition of disempowerment (Kabeer, 1999). They explain how education changes the life and prospects for their daughters, and this process of change nurtures empowerment. The Nditos that were denied education did not have another option than getting married. Those who are educated have the alternative of not accepting an arranged marriage, they can provide for themselves. In the Village, poverty is an issue that affects the inhabitants, and it is logical to make the association between disempowerment and poverty. When living in a marginalized area it may be about surviving together or dying alone, and rules out the ability to make meaningful choices. For the Village the survival imperative is not always dominating, which gives the problem that not all choices are equally valuable or relevant to give power and thereby empower the individual. Some choices have bigger impact

on people’s lives because of the consequences of the chosen option. Strategic choices could be choices of livelihood, wanting children, whether to marry and who to marry. None of these choices are available to the women in the Village. With education, the women believe that their ability to make strategic life choices may be expanded into areas where it used to be denied.

The men in the Village had a hard time to get their choices through when dealing with modern sphere. They believed education would make them stand stronger when negotiating and it would help collectively to have Maasai higher in the system to help each other out. Using the framework of Kabeer this may be a pre-condition and therefore within the category of resources, which could be understood as capital. In this sense resources do not have to be material, but can be various human and social capitals, as social relationship. Access to these may extend and broaden your choices and be part of the process of empowerment, as the men explain, by having educated Maasai in different positions to broaden their own social capital. This access will reflect the rules that govern distribution and give the ability to define priorities and enforce claims. These men are considered the heads of their households, and some have authoritative roles in the Village, and one with a position endowed by the government makes them still more empowered in many aspects of their life. That is one crucial way in which they differ from the women and their feeling of powerlessness.

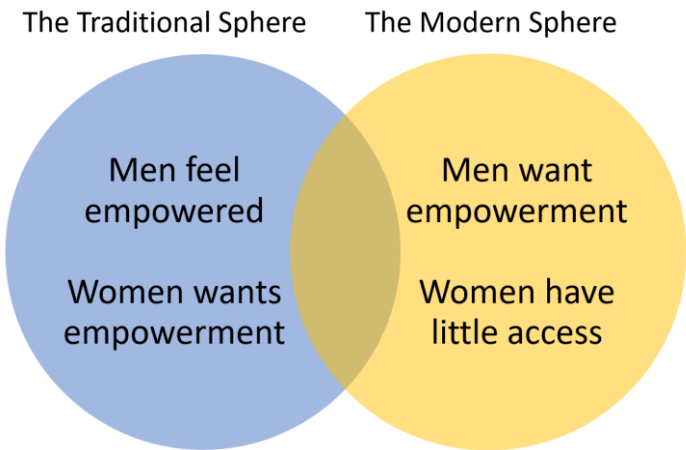


Figure 15: *Women seeking internal empowerment, while men seek it external*

The second dimension of power relates to agency and the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. It encompasses the meaning they bring into the action. It can be through decision-making, but also negotiation and bargaining. This gives agency two different relations to power. As it may give you "power to", that can define your life-choices, and it can give you "power over" that may compromise other agencies by, for instance, coercion and threats (Kabeer, 1999, p. 438). Cindy used her education to live in the city and have an income. Leshan tried the same without education and had to return to the Village. It is far easier for Cindy to define goals and act upon them than for others with common origin, but without the education. She can build up leverage to make herself attractive as an employee and to bargain on her position. She is able to save enough for a plot for a house and plan to build a home on. The Mamas believe education is part of empowering their children, and in that way extend their agency. The level of poverty makes it difficult, so, they try to take it year by year, as they believe some helps more than nothing, and so they do not necessarily express the more common materialistic view of education with the certificates as the most important outcome.

Most of my findings describe the Mamas as mothers, and not as wives, co-wives, sisters or friends. This might be because of me asking about topics of education, but could be because this is where they feel they have agency, as mothers deciding for their babies. Kabeer explains that often traditional factors decide the status of women, such as number of her children, the size of the brideswealth and the residence of her nuclear family. This will have impacted some community level of decision-making at home and less domestic violence (Kabeer, p. 456, 1999). Read tells in his biography that it was common for a Maasai woman to retire and become an elder, only if she had given birth to four sons that grew up (Read, 1979).

Kabeer's terms resources and agency put together constitutes what Sen refers to as capabilities in this framework. That is the potential that people have for living the lives they want, and choosing their way of "being and doing" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 438). In this sense, power is not relevant. For example, your level of being and doing may be due to incompetence or priorities, or it could reflect some constraints that may be a manifestation of disempowerment. Leshan and his experience with the mining industry could be a question of capability, and a question of whether there was a fair chance to make it there, or a matter of him lacking the skills and willpower to do so.

Achievement as a methodological term and measurement for empowerment may be hard to determine, as one must differentiate between actual choice and inequality in the ability to make

a choice. Achievement of empowerment and the lack thereof can be seen in the Village in different forms: tales of domestic violence, patriarchal gender roles and how living with in-laws seemed common among the Bibis and Mamas. Also, low levels of education, especially among girls, arranged marriages with high age and educational difference in the Village may show a lack of achievement towards empowerment for the women. A change in that is visible through belief in education for their daughters, and one Bibi controls her own earnings at a jewelry shop. There are signs of growing egalitarian gender roles. Cindy, as mentioned, fits the description of how to empower young Maasai girls through education. Among the Nditos, Tara wanted to stay in the Village and live traditionally and go through with the planned marriage to her father's friend. This is one incident where difference in choice and ability to make choice is difficult to distinguish. The other girls talk about education as their lifeline to becoming empowered and to get a say in their community. If Tara has a legitimate choice of going to school, but she herself chooses not to, then it is not an inequality of the ability to take choices. It could be a potential choice and not an actualized choice, even though throughout her life it may have consequences towards her level of empowerment compared to the girls that get educated.

Changes that empowerment may require can be hard, as many parts of the everyday life, the culture, tradition, and customs are taken for granted. Bourdieu's idea of Doxa can help with understanding what is not necessarily self-evident in its nature. The doxa in this case may be the nature-given understanding of gender roles and the submissiveness required of women.

Mohanty (1991) comments that women from the Third World with different backgrounds and contexts tend to get reduced and universalized, particularly when discussing women and development. "It may well be true that women prioritize children's needs, but there is a sense in which one might wish women to be a little less selfless and self-sacrificing" (p. 497). Women's acceptance of their secondary claims in the household resources, their willingness to bear the number of children their husband wants, even when her health deteriorates, undermines her own well-being. Kabeer points out that women's heavier workload and men's decision-making in the home often is acknowledged by both genders, but these inequalities are not deemed as unjust (1999, p. 440). The context in which women live could be disempowering. Women are often given greater respect within their community for conforming to rules and norms, and penalized if they do not. Their behavior and values are likely to reflect the expectations of the community and thereby reproduce injustice. One example is of the Mama who was recently widowed. She spoke of the importance of educating girls and the benefits of

that being greater than when educating the boys. Now, she is not financially secure anymore and took her four daughters out of secondary school and let her one boy try to finish with whatever money she could get. In that way she acted against her opinions of who needed the education the most, towards what might have been expected of her in that circumstance. With that said, individuals can, and do act against the norm, but for many women it is likely to remain limited. Many have to pay a high price for their autonomy. Men are not unaffected either, as the man mentioned who was isolated after declaring at the town's meeting his daughters would not be circumcised. The process of empowerment is dependent on collective solidarity, both in public and in the private home.

9.6 Empowerment and Capital

In short terms: Capital brings empowerment to the people that obtain it. Capital as economic, cultural or symbolic capital is an important asset for the individual and is part of the choices they get the chance to make in their lives. It can help the individuals get resources, widen their agency, and by that make it easier to reach and fulfill wanted achievements. My informants seem to mostly agree to welcome education if it leads to an increase in capitals later, but in some cases the symbolic and cultural capital of staying in the Village is higher and safer. Therefore, they do not take the risk. The women talked of empowerment through status and cultural capital, where the men talked about concrete capitals in institutionalized cultural capital with a diploma, cattle or cash. The outcome was the same: an increased level of empowerment and opportunities to execute choice in their life and leverage to get their cases through both in the Village and in the surrounding communities when visiting hospitals or in the legal system.

9.7 Summary

The feeling of disempowerment is present in every group represented in this paper. The feeling seems to be based on gender. The women feel disempowered in the Village, while the men feel disempowered when acting outside the traditional sphere. Education is seen as a tool to empower all groups. The women feel disempowered and in dire need of empowerment in their everyday life, as today many cannot even make simple decision about themselves. Also, The Village is in danger of losing their representatives in government as there are not qualified candidates, which would leave them without representation in the future.

10.0 Summary and Concluding Remarks

There is a stereotypical understanding of the Maasai as natural and without interest in formal education (Maipai, 2016). This could be a false interpretation of their position. Rural Maasai are often affected by poverty and are limited in many areas of their life. Education, grazing lands, clean water, health services and infrastructure are among the areas where they are marginalized. Girls have been targeted as victims of the culture and the area has in a long time had a focus on girls and education from foreign NGO's. The successful global project of education has made a universal conviction of education as good, but is not necessarily adopted by all groups, with different reasonings for their reluctance. This thesis discusses different perceptions of secondary education among a group rural Maasai and to what degree they embrace secondary education.

It has led me to the following research questions:

- I. What is seen as advantages and disadvantages of secondary education?
- II. Why do rural Maasai prioritize boys and girls differently when it comes to investment in secondary education?
- III. To what degree can secondary education entail empowerment among rural Maasai?

In order to elaborate the questions, I conducted a fieldtrip to Northern Tanzania. I visited a rural and geographically isolated Maasai village, and got interviews, focus groups discussions, field conversations and observations. 34 participated in the focus groups based on semi-structured interviews, first as a short individual interview, and then group discussions. Multiple others engaged in field conversations on the topic. In addition, I had four interviews in a neighboring city, of Maasai raised in rural villages that were trying to make a living in the city.

Before conducting the interviews, I had the expectation to find a great gap between gender and age when asking about education. My findings became much more nuanced, as a positive perception of education is dominant among all groups and both genders, but there are different obstacles such as economy, societal structures, pastoralist lifestyle, culture, and misunderstandings that holds individual back and makes the parents reluctant to invest in their children's education.

I. What is seen as advantages and disadvantages of secondary education?

There was a broad agreement on education as an advantage, but the agreement stops when arguing secondary education. Primary education is good for basic skills like reading, writing, and basic hygiene and medical knowledge. Secondary school is expensive as there are no public schools in the area, so the alternative is private boarding schools. The Village need their young people for different chores, as taking care of the animals, and getting firewood and water. Sending the children to boarding school weaken the workforce of the community, and disturbs the cultural and social structures in the community. Cultural practices as circumcision, marriage and the boys living as warriors are being challenged. In school the individual is met with a different language, western clothes and different food. The lifestyle is different and it makes some feel like it is a threat to their way of life and their culture. There seems to be a generational gap, where the Morans and the Ndito are open for changes in their own culture, more than the Babus and Bibis. The younger participants divide between negative and positive cultural practices, while the adult men claim there are no negative aspects of the practices they keep.

Another argument that makes several of the adult men reluctant is the unsure returns from secondary school. Very few finish, and those who graduated have not proceeded to university. Experience has shown them that secondary school rarely gives any returns for the investment and the student come home without adding anything to their lives and are in lack of pastoralist skills their peers have already acquired. The drop-out rates are high, and the dry season is at the same time period as the start of school, when they are needed the most at home. Most have little information about the educational system which leads to misconceptions and distrust in the system, that adds on the reluctance and many show a risk averting behavior as supported by the economy of Affection and the Peasant theory by Hydén and Chayanov, where their children go to school if their education is sponsored from private investors or NGO's.

II. Why do rural Maasai prioritize boys and girls differently when it comes to investment in secondary education?

There are very different expectations for the life of girls and the life of boys, especially when uneducated. Education brings a new status to the individual and a new set of rules, challenging the doxa of gender roles. The girls will be spared of forced marriages at a young age and can in some cases avoid female genital mutilations. She can make decisions about her body and children, she can decide where to work, have ownership of things, make her own salaries and decide how to invest it. The boys will have several ways to earn an income. Traditionally, he will be the sole provider and the breadwinner of the family, having many who rely on his skills to generate an income and manage the capitals appropriate in both the modern and the traditional sphere.

There is a general reluctance to educate the girls, as she is of a great risk of falling pregnant during her studies and wasting the capital invested in her graduating, which makes the boy a safer investment, though there are contradicting statistics from the area (NBS, 2011). This was debated among the groups and there are nuances. Only a few of the Babas and Babus wanted to educate the girls. They claimed it was how they could provide for their daughters in a way that no one could later take away from her, underlining the suppressed position the women have in the Village and of how education is understood as capital. Among the Mamas and Bibis all believed education to be good and necessary for their daughters, but when confronted of who they would prioritize for education among their sons and daughters the group was evenly divided among the two alternatives. Among the two younger groups the Morans believed the boys should be prioritized, while the Ndito believed the opposite, as they believe it to make the biggest difference in the life of a girl.

Education is challenging the patriarchy, as it disturbs the societal structures. The boys that go away for school can be circumcised and thereby Morans, but will not live like the Morans traditionally do. The women who are educated rarely get married during her school years, and she escapes the reality of being a child-bride with a position limited by the patriarchy. With education she is given agency and self-determination. Kabeers framework of empowerment could be used to see how education could play a big part in empowerment in the individual, but the outcome often show that family life is difficult and many stay unmarried, as they become a new social construct in the community (Kabeer, 1999).

III. To what degree can secondary education entail empowerment among rural Maasai?

All groups cross age and gender feel like they are in a position of disempowerment. They all agree that being educated will change their position as being empowered both as individual and collectively. The women feel disempowered in their own traditional sphere, and get to take little part in the modern sphere. They feel disempowered towards the men and their own society. The men, on the other hand, experience disempowerment when acting in the modern sphere, and they see how their capitals valued in the traditional sphere do not convert in an appropriate manner. The power-struggle work on many level and the women have ways to bargain that may not be as clear to the eye, as negotiating sponsors for their daughter's education that overrides their husbands wishes, showing that capital is power. Everyone I spoke to believe that education could change the situation from being disempowering to empowering. Not all agree to secondary education being necessary or beneficial, and believed primary school would be sufficient. The challenge of embracing secondary school seems to be of how to keep the important and distinctive part of Maasai life intact, but still benefit from the educational system. Their aim is to get their representatives in different sectors and branches to collectively empower the Village, but the Maasai as a group. They do not have experience with individual in the Village returning with higher education, but they believe this to be collectively empowering, not encountering that it could lead a scenario of brain-drain.

The changes in attitude and use of secondary education may be one of several indication of the process of change as the traditional and the modern sphere is increasingly overlapping in the Village, leaving the group in a dilemma of how to coincide the two worlds. The participant in this study are reflected when discussing their future and how to control the outcomes. The situation today makes cattle most relevant in the traditional sphere, and education in the modern sphere. The capital conversion is difficult and limited. Capital conversion may be crucial in the future to prevent further marginalization that could leave make those living traditionally in Maasai villages even poorer then what they are today.

11.0 References

- Aase, T. H., & Fossåskaret, E. (2015). *Skapte virkeligheter: om produksjon og tolkning av kvalitative data*. Oslo: Universitetsforlag
- Aikman, S. (5. July, 2010). Education and indigenous justice in Africa. 15-22. doi:10.1016/j.ijdev.2010.05.07
- Appelrouth, S., & Edles, L. D. (2012). *Classical and contemporary sociological theory: text and readings*. Los Angeles, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Benjaminsen, Grete & Hem, Mikal. (2016, 29. desember). Tanzania. I Store norske leksikon. Retrieved 26. February 2018 from <https://snl.no/Tanzania>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, Greenwood), 241-258.
- Bishop, E. (2007) The policy and practice of educational service provision for pastoralists in Tanzania. Available at <<http://www.saga.cornel.edu/saga/ilri0606/22bishop>>
- Brock-Utne, B. (2006). *Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind* South Korea: Homi Publishing Company.
- Butler, J. (1988). Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), 519. doi:10.2307/3207893
- Christoffersen, L. & Johannesen, A. (2012). *Forskningsmetode for lærerutdanningen*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag
- De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteene. (2016). Forskningsetisk retningslinjer for samfunnsvitenskap, humanoria, juss og teologi. *Forskningsetiske retningslinjer*, 1-44. www.etikkom.no
- Dewey, J (1944). *Democracy and Education*. The Free Press.
- E., Mbelle, M. B., Wilson, E., E., Sichone, L., E., . . . E. (n.d.). Tanzania - Educational System-overview. Retrieved December 08, 2017, from <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1516/Tanzania-EDUCATIONAL-SYSTEM-OVERVIEW.html>
- EP-Nuffic. (2015). The Tanzanian education system described and compared with the Dutch system. *Education system*. Retrieved November 8, 2017, from <https://www.nuffic.nl/en/publications/find-a-publication/education-system-tanzania.pdf>.

- Feldberg, Karen Brit (2013). Hva betyr utdanning for utvikling? I Linne Eriksen, Tore (red.)
 “Utvikling. En innføring i utviklingsstudier. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk
- FN (2017) Universal Declaration of Human Rights Retrieved November 19. 2017 from:
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=nrr>
- Foord, J., & Gregson, N. (1986). Patriarchy: Towards A Reconceptualisation:. *Antipode*,
 18(2), 186-211. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.1986.tb00362.x
- Galaty, J. G. (1982). Being 'Maasai': Being 'People-of-Cattle': Ethnic shifters in East
 Africa. Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological
 Association. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/644309>
- Hedges, S., Mulder, M. B., James, S., & Lawson, D. W. (2016, October 9). Evolution
 and Human Behavior. Sending Children to School: Rural Livelihoods and
 Parental Investment in Education in Northern Tanzania, 142-
 151. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2015.10.001>
- Hennes, L., Marroll, C., & Smith, J. (2013). Roles and Status. Retrieved 27 April, 2016,
 fra <http://maasaisociety.weebly.com/roles-and-status.html>
- Hodges, D. L. (1999). Pastoralism, Patriarchy and History: Changing Gender
 Relations among Maasai in Tanganyika (1st ed., Vol. 40, The Journal of African
 History). Retrieved fra <http://www.jstor.org/stable/183394>
- Hodgson, D. L. (2002). The Cultural Politics and Structural Predicaments of the
 Indigenous Rights Movement in Tanzania (4th ed., Vol. 104, American
 Anthropologist). Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association.
 Retrieved September 20, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3567098>
- Hodgson, D. L. (2011). Gender and culture at the limit of rights. Philadelphia: University
 of Pennsylvania Press.
- John, J. C. (2009). What is the difference in the quality of education provided by Government
 and Private Primary schools in Tanzania. (Master of Philosophy in Comparative and
 International Education Comparative study), University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Kandiyoti, D., & Visvanathan, N. (1997). *The Women, Gender & Development Reader*.
 London: Zed Books.
- Knox, P. L., & Marston, S. A. (2014). Human geography: Places and regions in
 global context (6th ed.). New York: Pearson.
- Korsnes, O. (2008). *Sosiologisk Leksikon* (2nd ed.). Oslo: Universitetslaget.

- Kriese, P., & Osborne, R. E. (2011). *Social justice, poverty and race: Normative and empirical points of view*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Kvale, S. (2008). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.
- M., & Maipai, O. (2016). *Maasai People*. (2016, October 25)
<http://www.maasai-association.org/maasai.html>
- Mosha, H. J., & Omari, I. M. (1987). *The quality of Primary Education in Tanzania*. Nairobi, Kenya: Man Graphics Limited
- National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) [Tanzania] and ICF Macro. 2011. *Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2010*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: NBS and ICF Macro
- NOU 1998:18 (1998) *Det er bruk for alle*. Oslo: Helse og Sosial Departementet Retrieved from: <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/nou-1998-18/id141324/sec1>
- Stock, R. (2013). *Africa South of the Sahara, Third Edition: A Geographical Interpretation*. Guilford Publications, Incorporated.
- Tarabini, Aina. (2010.) *Education and poverty in the global development agenda: Emergence, evolution and consolidation*. *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol.30, 204-212. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059309000649>
- Grønmo, S. (2015). *Samfunnsvitenskapelige metoder*. Fagbokforlaget.
- Gutierrez, L., Maye, G. L., & DeLois, K. (1995). *The organizational context of empowerment practice: Implications for social work administration*. *Social Work*,
- Hammersley, H., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Feltmetodikk: Grunnlaget for feltarbeid og feltforskning*. Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflection on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment*. Oxford: Backwell Publisher. Retrieved from: http://www.sida.se/contentassets/51142018c739462db123fc0ad6383c4d/discussing-womens-empowerment--theory-and-practice_1626.pdf
- BEST, 2016 National Data. *Ministry of Education and Vocational Training*. (18.09.2017). Retrieved 18.09.2017, from http://www.moe.go.tz/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=358&Itemid=619
- Mohanty, C. T. (1991) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torred (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, pp.51-80. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Read, D. (2013). *Barefoot over the Serengeti*. Maungaturoto: Penelope Read.

- Shanton, A (2004). *Education for Information: Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects.*
- Smukkestad, Oddvar. 2008: *Utvikling eller avvikling. En innføring i økonomisk og politisk utviklingsteori.* Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk forlag.
- Temba, E. I., Warioba, L., & Msabila, D. T. (2013). Assessing efforts to address cultural constraints to girls' access to education among the Maasai in Tanzania: A case study of Monduli district. *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, 21-37. Retrieved November 8, 2017.
- Thagaard, T. (2010). *Systematikk og innlevelse: En innføring i kvalitativ metode.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- The World Factbook* 2017. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2017. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>
- The East African (2013) *Shock as 60pc of Tanzania students fail national exam.* Retrieved from <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Shock-as-60pc-of-Tanzania-students-fail-nationalexam/-/2558/1698388/-/67o04s/-/in>
- UN (2015) The Sustainable Development Goals, retrieved February 3. 2018 from <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>
- UNESCO.(2015) The Incheon Declaration retrieved Mai 20. 2017 from: <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/ED/pdf/FinalVersion->
- UNESCO (2017) Utdanning 2030 retrieved from November 20. 2017 from <http://unesco.no/utdanning/utdanning-for-alle/>
- Unterhalter, E. (2013). *Gender Justice, Education and International Development: Theory, Policy and Practice: Girls claiming education rights: Reflections on distribution, empowerment and gender justice in Northern Tanzania and Northern Nigeria.* Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.galanga.hib.no/science/article/pii/S0738059313000631>
- Walker, J. F., (2002) *A Certain Curve of Horn: The Hundred-Year Quest for the Giant Sable Antelope of Angola.* Grove Press
- Watson, L. R. (2014). *Unspeakable mutilations: circumcised men speak out.* Ashburton: Lindsay R. Watson.
- Wedgwood, R. (2007). *Education and poverty reduction in Tanzania.* Edinburgh: International Journal of Educational Development. Retrieved April 01, 2017, from www.elsevier.com/locate/ijedudev.
- World Bank. 2010. *Tanzania - Human Resource Development Pilot Project, Primary*

Education Development Program Project, and Secondary Education Development Program Project (English). Washington, DC: World Bank.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/340871468174232243/Tanzania-Human-Resource-Development-Pilot-Project-Primary-Education-Development-Program-Project-and-Secondary-Education-Development-Program-Project>

Wæhle, Espen. (2018, 20. februar). Doxa. I Store norske leksikon. Retrieved 12. mars 2018 from <https://snl.no/doxa>.

12.0 Appendices

12.1 Appendix 1 : Biography – Focus Group Interviews

Baba:

1. Baba 1: The Chairman was one of them. He finished primary school. He has four wives and many children. His older children are girls and the younger are boys. A daughter works as a teacher after having a sponsor through school; another girl had to drop out due to pregnancy. One boy is starting college. He claims he has children “everywhere”, boarding in different schools in different cities.
2. Baba 2: He has one wife, as the second passed away in childbirth. He has four children and finished primary school when young.
3. Baba 3: He has more than eleven children, and has no education himself. He has children in most classes in primary. One son failed in secondary and a daughter is finishing primary this year.
4. Baba 4: He has three wives and eight children, who are in primary school. He has no education himself, but keeps a high position in the Village council.
5. Baba 5: He got no education, and believe that education is necessary for a life in the Village. Most of his children started primary school, but none started secondary. He got four wives and twenty-two children.
6. Baba 6: He got no education, but wishes his children to be educated. Especially his daughters as he believe that to be the only think he can give them that they are allowed to keep for the rest of their life. He got one boy in secondary, and hope he can afford to send his oldest daughter if the drought stops.

Babu

1. Babu 1: He has no education himself. He claims to have many daughters and six sons. The boys finished primary school and are with the cattle.
2. Babu 2: He used to live in another village where he got adult education that is the equivalent to primary education. He has two wives. He has five sons spread in different classes in primary. He has one daughter whom he disowned after she dropped out of secondary to marry a non-Maasai.

3. Babu 3: He has no education; he has one wife and two children. The girl finished primary school before she got married and had a child. She still lives in the village. The boy is in fourth grade in primary, but will drop out to be a Moran in the village.
4. Babu 4: He has no education. He has 6 wives that are still alive. He did not have a count for all his children. Most never went to school, of those who went, many failed. At the moment he has nine children in school and one will soon finish secondary school.
5. Babu 5: He got no education, and none of his children got to go to school. His many grandchildren are doing well in school. Most are in primary school and some of the boys are in secondary school. One of the girls are in secondary with the help of sponsors. He hope to pay for her himself, as he worry what will happen if they become to reliant on sponsors.

Mama

1. Mama 1: Married, has some years of primary school. She has seven children, two girls and five boys. All her children are in school; the daughters have sponsors.
2. Mama 2: Married, no education, as her parents hid her from the government. She has five children that went to school. One son failed in primary, the rest are in secondary and primary school.
3. Mama 3: She married at thirteen, and became a widow at fourteen. No education herself. She has seven children, two have graduated secondary school, but did not know what to do next so they came home.
4. Mama 4: She married at thirteen and became a widow at fifteen. No education herself. She has seven children. One boy finished primary school. One daughter dropped out to marry at sixteen. A second daughter got pregnant in secondary and dropped out.
5. Mama 5: Uneducated. Married with six children. Four went to primary school and two never went.
6. Mama 6: Uneducated. Married with eight children. Four went to school, and two of those dropped out in secondary school.
7. Mama 7: Uneducated and widowed. Ten children of whom six lived to school age. None of her children went to school and she is now saving for her grandchildren so they can go. She keeps a bead business for jewelry to save money for her grandchildren's schooling.

8. Mama 8: Uneducated, married with 3 co-wives. She got 7 children of her own, none of them are in secondary school, one son is in primary, she hopes he will go to secondary school and later to university..

Bibi

1. Bibi 1: Uneducated. Nine children, of whom five passed away. Two children started school and two did not.
2. Bibi 2: One of the chiefs eight wives. Parents hid her from the government so she did not get any education. Seven children, all attend school. One boy and one girl in secondary school.
3. Bibi 3: Married and has no education. Seven children; one of whom died. One made it to secondary, the others dropped out of primary school and got married. She adopted her grandson and wants him to succeed in secondary school.
4. Bibi 4: Uneducated and widowed. Seven children, five went to school. Three went to primary and two are in secondary. After her husband's passing she must ask her four daughters to come home from school and she will try to keep her remaining son in school.
5. Bibi 5: Married and has four children. She is uneducated. One child is in primary, the rest did not go. The girls are married and the son is out with the cattle.

Morans and Layoni

1. Moran 1: Graduated secondary, form 4. Wanted to continue school, but was out grazing cattle during the drought and did not get his certificate in time to start A-level classes and dropped out.
2. Moran 2: Dropped out after form 2 in secondary school.
3. Moran 3: Dropped out from form 3 in secondary school. Was mainly interested in sport and dropped out when those classes finished.
4. Moran 4: Finished primary, but never got the certificate to continue to secondary school.
5. Layoni: Younger boy, not yet a Moran and uncircumcised. He hopes to pass his exams in primary school and succeed in school and get to go to higher education.

Ndito

1. Ndito 1: Thirteen years old, graduating primary this year. Wishes to continue to secondary, but parents want her to marry in few weeks, if there are no sponsors to pay her schooling.
2. Ndito 2: Eighteen years old and graduating secondary school. She has a sponsor who pays for her to continue to University. She hopes to go, as she believes that's where the real difference can be achieved in her life.
3. Ndito 3: Thirteen years old and graduating primary this year. Is in a similar situation as Ndito 1. She wish to continue to secondary school, but is in need of a sponsor as her parents want her to marry one of her father's agemates in few weeks.
4. Ndito 4: Eleven year old and attending class five at her local primary school. She hopes to go to secondary, but knows her father does not approve. She lives with her mother and five sisters.
5. Ndito 5: (goes by Tara in chapter 7.) Eleven years old and attending class five at the local primary school. Wants to quit school after primary. Her father has an agreement with a friend who will marry her as his third wife. She hopes for ten children.

12.2 Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Background

- About your family, who are they, what are they doing?
- Who lives in your household? Who eats with you?
 - Are you married?
 - Do you have any children? Are they in school?
 - Who supports the children through school?
 - How is a day in your life?
 - How was it for you growing up?
- Where were you born?
- -(How was it for your parents/children?)

- **Experiences with education**
- Did you get any education/training?
- Did you go to school? - From whom?
- How much education is common where you are from
 - In your family and among your children?
 - What is common for boys and girls?
- Do you know Maasai adults with education; how are their lives?
 - What options and limits do they have that are different from those who don't have education? (compare to other families, as your mother and your daughter)
- How are those with or without education different from each other?
- What advantages does education gives a person? What disadvantages?

- **Maasai**
- How are Maasai different from other people?
- What is typical Maasai?
- What makes a person Maasai? –
- What are some typical traditions?
- What is important for boys to learn to become Maasai? - What is important for a girl?

- **Opinions of education**
- Is education important? Why?
- Is it more important for boys or for girls?
- What is more important for Maasai youth: Marriage or secondary education first? When should boys marry and when should girls?
- Do some feel like they have to choose among those? Are there different opinions between father and mother?
- Do you feel like the Maasai are more reluctant than others to take on formal education? (rephrase – city vs village)
- Who is fighting for or against secondary education?
- Is secondary education useful for the Maasai? - Are there ways secondary education could adapt to different ways of life, like the Maasai? How?
- How can education change the Maasai life? For men and women?
- Are there similarities or differences?

The Individual part of the interviews, The rest was used for the group

- Do some choose to keep living traditional lives after finishing their education?
- If they are, how are educated Maasai changing Maasai villages? Like this one?
- Are the roles of men and women changing?
- How do you think it will be living here for your children or grandchildren? (in 50 years?)
- (Is it a goal to be either modern or traditional?)
- In general, do men and women feel the same way about education?
- Where do they disagree?

- **Extra**
- Anything else I should have asked about the relationship between education and the Maasai?
- Any questions for me?