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An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education Among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania

By

Joseph Christopher Pesambili

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Education and Social Work
(ESW) in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

**University of Sussex
November 2017**

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is based on my original research and has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature.....

ABSTRACT

The research described in this thesis investigated the tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western education systems among the Maasai pastoralists in Monduli by: a) documenting Indigenous knowledge (IK) and its articulations in Maasai society; b) exploring Maasai students' encounter with formal education in the school contexts c) exploring the Maasai experiences with and responses to Western education in their society; d) establishing how IK might be used to support a more sustainable and culturally relevant education system among the Maasai in Tanzania. The thesis, therefore, looked at whether through using IK, the encounter between Indigenous and Western education might be used as the basis for offering a relevant and meaningful education for the Maasai pastoralists. The thesis is underpinned by postcolonial theory with its emphasis on the subaltern agency, alternative voices, and different ways of knowing; world system theory with its focus on the political and economic structures of the global capitalist system; and social justice framework with its concentration on recognitional, redistributive, and participatory justice in postcolonial countries like Tanzania. The research employed a glocalised methodological approach informed by both indigenous and ethnographic lines of inquiry. Equally, multiple research methods and tools of data collection, including *olpûl* camping, culture-sharing, participant observation, interviewing/listening, focus groups, visual methods, as well as documentary and electronic resources were used to generate fieldwork data.

The findings showed that the Maasai encounter with formal education in the study contexts is beleaguered not only by strong cultural tensions, hegemonic, and unequal relationship between traditional and Western knowledge, but also by the mixed and contested responses among the Maasai, as well as frequent conflicts and misunderstandings between teachers and students in schools. The findings highlighted that the tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings, as well as hegemonic and unequal relationship between the two knowledge systems, as well as between teachers and students had been the major obstacles hampering the provision of relevant and meaningful experiences for the Maasai students in schools. In the light of the findings, the thesis concludes that minimising tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge might involve the process of dialogue (*enkigúéná*) that would allow all stakeholders to reach a consensus on what the Maasai themselves would value as a relevant and meaningful education for their lives, pastoral culture, and livelihoods. The thesis, however, maintains that the localised teaching, constructivist learning, and communitisation approach can be applied not only to minimise tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings between Indigenous and Western knowledge but also to provide a bridge between the two knowledge systems.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father, the late Mwl. **Christopher Pesambili** and my mother, the late **Joranda Mwanisawa**. Their great love for me throughout their lives here on earth inspired me to be what I am today. May God rest their souls in eternal peace.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
ABEKI	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
BEST	Bureau of Education Statistics of Tanzania
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COSTECH	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology
DAS	District Administrative Secretary
DEO	Division Executive Officers
EFA	Education for All
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
EwP	Education with Production
FC	Female Circumcision
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
IK/IKs	Indigenous Knowledge(s)
ITK	Indigenous Technical Knowledge
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MWEDO	Maasai Women Development Organisation
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TEN	Tanzania Education Network
TNAC	Tanzania National Arts Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WEO	Ward Executive Officer

GLOSSARY OF MAA TERMS

Only frequently used words are included in the glossary

Maa word (Sing; Plural)	English Translation
<i>áyíókìshò</i>	boyhood
<i>ɔlaigúénàni; pl. ɪlaiguenák</i>	age-set/clan spokesman/traditional leader
<i>ɔlMaa</i>	Maa language
<i>ɔlmurrání; pl. ɪlmúrran</i>	warrior/moran
<i>enkigúéna; pl. inkiguenát</i>	meeting
<i>esiankíkì; pl. isiankikín</i>	young woman; married woman with young children
<i>esípólìdì; pl. isípólìdì</i>	newly circumcised girl
<i>esóto</i>	night gathering for morans and girls
<i>eúnótó; pl. iunót</i>	installation ritual that marks a status of junior morans transitioning to senior morans
<i>emányátá; pl. imanyát</i>	warrior village
<i>emúrátà</i>	circumcision
<i>Enkai; pl. Inkaitin</i>	Maasai God; monotheistic deity
<i>enkáji; pl. inkájíjík</i>	house
<i>enkámúrátani; pl. nkamurátak</i>	female circumciser
<i>enkányít; pl. inkányítí</i>	respect/honour
<i>enkâñ; pl. inkâñítie</i>	boma (kraal)
<i>enkayíóni; pl. inkayîôk;</i>	junior boy
<i>enkéráí; pl. inkérà</i>	baby/child
<i>enkípáátá</i>	pre-circumcision ritual
<i>enkíteñ; pl. inkíshú</i>	cow/cows/cattle
<i>enkitéñena; pl. nkiteñéna</i>	education
<i>ɔláyíóní; pl. ɪlayîôk;</i>	senior/older uncircumcised boy
<i>olkipokét; pl. ilkípókètà</i>	sheep
<i>enkayíóni; pl. inkayîôk</i>	junior/young uncircumcised boy
<i>enkíyíó; pl. inkiyiotín</i>	young/junior girl
<i>entását; pl. intasáti</i>	old woman
<i>entitó; pl. intóyie</i>	senior (older) girl before puberty
<i>kéráíshò</i>	childhood
<i>kor'yangá</i>	moranhoo age-group currently in authority
<i>múrránó</i>	moranhoo
<i>nyangúro</i>	moranhoo age-group currently under recruitment
<i>olmórûô; pl. ilmórùàk</i>	elder/man
<i>olng'eshér</i>	junior elders' ceremony
<i>oloibóni; pl. iloibónok</i>	spiritual/ritual expert/prophet/diviner
<i>oloshò; pl. iloshón</i>	section
<i>olóshóróí; pl. ilóshóro</i>	senior warrior
<i>olpirón; ilpirónito</i>	firestick father; a sponsor of an alternate age-group
<i>olpúl; pl. ilpúli</i>	meat-eating place; meat feast
<i>osípólìdì; pl. isípólìdì</i>	newly male initiate

NB: Note on Orthography and Usage of Maa Terms

The orthography developed by Doris L. Payne and Leonard Ole-Kotikash (2008) has been adopted for most Maa terms used in this thesis. The first occurrence of each Maa term in the text appears with its meaning, both in singular and plural forms where appropriate. But depending on the context of their usage in the text, either the singular or the plural form of the Maa terms has been enclosed by the round brackets (). Also, the first appearance of the Maa word has been punctuated with quotation marks, while all other subsequent appearances of the word have been italicised where applicable. Furthermore, in other contexts, some English words are followed by Maa terms enclosed by the square brackets [] to provide the reader with direct translations as applied in the local Maa language. Nonetheless, in situations where the anglicised versions of the Maa terms are commonly used in the literature, such words have neither been punctuated with single/double quotation marks nor written in italics. The important ones comprise words like “Maa” for *ɔlMaa*; “morán/s” for *ɔlmurraní* (*pl. ilmúrran*); “Maasai” for *ilMáásâi*; “boma” for kraal; and “moranhoo” for *múrranó*. The glossary above, therefore, serves as a reference guide to the reader for frequently used Maa terms in the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND SETTING

1.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter offers contextual information and a series of topics that set the scene for the thesis. The issues discussed in this chapter represent an opening within which the subsequent chapters are framed. The chapter orients the reader to the sequences of routes through which this thesis can be read and understood. These routes offer the possibilities for the production of knowledge within the framework of both Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. As will be evident in the unfolding chapters, the thesis tries to live by the possibilities for different ways of knowing in the research encounter.

1.2 Background to and Rationale for the Thesis

This section provides a contextual foundation for the thesis by offering both personal and contextual rationales for undertaking this research project.

1.2.1 Personal rationale and ambitions

Indigenous knowledges are important not just because of the potential value of what is known, but also because they can provide us with alternative ways of coming to know. This does not, of course, mean the rejection of Western science; it merely calls on us to be a bit more open to alternative ways of knowing, and alternative constructions of reality (Reagan, 2005, p. 252).



Picture 1: A young Maasai boy seen moving cattle from home to the grazing field

I (Joseph) belong to the Fipa ethnic group which is found in Rukwa Region, located in the south-western part of Tanzania. I was born and raised primarily in rural areas where I was exposed to traditional ways of life at the very tender age. After reaching the age of 6½, my father sent me to my grandfather at Kifone village where I spent three years up to 1991 while tending cattle. Throughout this period, I attained knowledge and skills on how to brand cattle, castrate bulls, and milk cows. Also, I learnt practically several aspects of indigenous knowledge (IK), including skills on how to make the traditional tools such as spears, bows, and arrows; animal hunting and bird' trapping techniques, as well as skills on how to construct rain-proof huts pertaining to bush and rural life. I recall, for instance, not only how I used to make local muskets with old bicycle pumps using spokes as bullets, but also how I used to kill birds with my own handmade slingshots. Likewise, during this period, I developed various skills and abilities concerning the identification of edible and non-edible wild fruits and roots as well as herbal and non-herbal plants.

Importantly too, at this age, I developed different skills in farming and crop cultivation such as the use of oxen-ploughs in tilling and making barns for grain storage. At the age of eight, I already knew how to identify soil fertilities and could specify a type of soil suitable for cultivation or not. Being surrounded by two small lakes (Zyalungu and Sundu) at my grandfather's local village, I was also exposed to fishing activities. I can recall trapping fish using simple tools such as local fishhooks, fish-traps made of reeds, nets, and wooden canoes. At this very tender age, for instance, I could identify edible insects useful for baiting fishhooks such as worms, caterpillars, and maggots. Nonetheless, after starting primary school at the age of nine, all the skills I had gradually began to disappear. Now, when I try to remember the past, I do not recall well any of these abilities and skills. It took me many hours to write these paragraphs, and what is written here is a small fraction of what I knew and practised during my boyhood.

Stories should begin somewhere, but their birth is a dangerous one (Bainton, 2007). In this hazardous journey, some stories are told, some not. The story of a previous lifetime as a herdboys in my grandfather's village is not placed here to show that my interest in IK started during that time. Instead, I wish to state that although the thoughts and ideas reflected in this thesis are embedded in the data generated during my fieldwork, the understandings gained from the fieldwork are themselves entrenched in a myriad of past experiences like this one. The young Maasai boy [*enkayíóni*] above is used here

symbolically to signify that the experiences of living with my grandfather while herding cattle in the late 1980s and the early 1990s cannot be detached from this thesis.

Experience is used here as a troubling concept that seeks to transgress the frontiers of the academic; frontiers that allow some forms of experience to be held as knowledge, others not. The picture above also embodies past experiences as forms of data for this thesis. This is mainly because I learnt diverse skills during my boyhood from my grandfather, relatives, neighbours, and peers in our society through experiences and daily interaction with the local environment. But what made me forget these myriad experiences was my encounter with formal education. This created a lacuna between what I used to learn in my socio-cultural milieu and what I began to learn in school. Thus, the rationale for undertaking this study is informed by my personal background, life history, and experiences of IK and indigenous ways of life in a predominantly rural community.

As the quotation from Reagan suggests, this thesis places greater emphasis on the alternative ways of knowing and different ways of constructing reality. The thesis expands on Reagan's account above by engaging with openness to alternative ways of knowing currently ignored in the dominant research discourses. The study marks a foray into my long-awaited dream of constructing reality from the African viewpoints. My ambitions are to offer new possibilities of knowing and coming to know in the research encounter. Also, the study seeks to transcend my Western scientific background of understanding reality by allowing me to encounter new ways of constructing reality and find the alternative strategies for engaging in education in the African context. Finally, the thesis aims to understand what it means to know differently; and eventually, to offer new hopes and buoyancy for what are often seen as *primitive* ways of knowing.

1.2.2 Contextual rationale for the thesis

While the world has moved towards post-2015 to 2030 agenda, the period set for achieving the sustainable development goals (SDGs), there is a growing concern for pastoralists who are still excluded from formal education (Dyer, 2013; 2016). This is mainly because in many countries, providing education to nomads and pastoralists in the current era of globalisation is a challenge of enormous proportions (Krätli & Dyer, 2009). All over the world, nomadic peoples are denied education which is a fundamental right for every human being. It is estimated, for instance, that, of the 101 million children out of school, and the 776 million adults who cannot read and write worldwide, the majority are from indigenous, nomadic, and pastoralist ethnic groups, as well as religious and

linguistic minorities within their national states (Curtis, 2009; Sayed, 2009; Dyer, 2016). The nomads and pastoralists particularly are among the marginalised ethnic groups in the world that have recently been recognised as the hardest populations to reach (UNESCO, 2010; Dyer, 2013) and that require urgent global concern (Krätli & Dyer, 2009).

The latest estimates by Carr-Hill (2012) show that about 21.8 million pastoralist children are out of school worldwide, whereby about 4.3 million of whom are “missing children” uncounted in Education for All (EFA) estimations of out-of-school children. Nonetheless, such EFA global figures obscure disparities that exist between and within nations. In Benin (West Africa), for instance, nearly 90% of Peul pastoralist children of the primary school age have not attended school (UNESCO, 2010). Also, in Garissa, Kenya (East Africa), the gross enrolment rate (GER) for pastoralist children out of school was 87 per cent by 2008 (Osman, 2009). Furthermore, in Uganda, about 85% of Karamojong pastoralists aged 17 to 22 had fewer than two years in school, compared to a national average of over six years (UNESCO, 2010). Consequently, in many countries, national educational statistics show that the pastoralists are at the bottom in terms of access, enrolment, performance, gender equity, and advancement to the next levels of formal education and training (Kelleher, 2007; Malinga, 2009; Raymond, 2015).

Notwithstanding the existing challenges, the intervention strategies, including mobile schools, alternative basic education (ABE), open and distance learning (ODL), and boarding schools have been implemented in various countries in an effort to ensure the inclusion of pastoralists in education (Krätli, 2000; Krätli & Dyer, 2009; Dyer, 2013). However, research on these initiatives indicates that despite the high levels of investment and rapidly rising national enrolment ratios, they have been unsuccessful in many countries (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Malinga, 2009). Three sets of factors are suggested as contributing to the dismal performance of several models of education in pastoralist areas. There are contextual issues such as students’ mobility, the remoteness of the areas (Krätli, 2000), scattered populations with a long distance to school, and harsh environmental conditions in pastoralist areas (Krätli & Dyer, 2009). There are also challenges within the school system itself such as an inappropriate curriculum, dilapidated school buildings, and inadequate facilities (Ruto, Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009; Hartwig, 2013). The third set is misconstrued and is linked to problems within the pastoralists themselves such as cultural conservatism, resistance to change, poverty, illiteracy, and a child labour economy (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005).

Although several challenges have to some extent been overcome by existing models of education practice, the non-relevance of western education to a pastoral economy and society has not been adequately tackled so far (Phillips & Bhavnagri, 2002; Ruto Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009). This is particularly because the existing models of education practice in pastoralist areas have focused mainly on increasing access to and the attainment of education among the pastoralists (Tikly & Barrett, 2011) without adequate attention to what is and might be taught and learned, and how (Harber, 2004). As Dyer (2016) states, while access is important, concerns about it have eclipsed attention to the learning needs and to the pressing issue of how formal education intersects with and supports livelihood security. The focus on access and attainment, therefore, fails to sufficiently capture whether what is taught in formal education responds to the immediate needs, interests, and priorities of the learners, their families, and communities.

Moreover, negative assumptions and stereotypes that regard pastoralists as conservative, culturally backwards, and primitive have very often resulted in inappropriate interventions that further marginalise pastoral communities, instead of developing them. We can see, for example, that alongside the misconceptions and the cultural prejudices held by outsiders and professionals about pastoralists (Mohamed, 1999), issues related to relevance, programme design, and education provision are usually considered from the viewpoints of educational planners, not pastoralists themselves (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Tahir, 2007). Yet, with respect to the Maasai, there is much evidence that like other pastoral groups, they are rich in IKs as valuable “cultural resources” (Semali, 1994; Mlekwa, 1996) that have been mainly neglected and remained untapped in most models of education practice (Mohamed, 1999). Consequently, the failure to strengthen a link between pastoralists’ IK and formal education has contributed to the design of intervention strategies which have little relevance to pastoral culture and local realities.

As such, instead of carrying on with misconceptions that regard pastoralists as backwards, conservative, and primitive, there is a need to design culturally sensitive education models that would tap the rich cultural resources prevalent in pastoral societies. Over recent years, for example, IKs have been increasingly recognised as potential cultural resources for enhancing relevance in education (Semali, 1994; Mohamed, 1999; Briggs, 2005; Owuor, 2007; Aikman, 2011; Ogachi, 2011). In this regard, to equip pastoralists with an education system that is more culturally relevant to and meaningful for them would require new approaches to and models of education that would make policymakers think and act

“outside the box” of the conventional schooling system (Krätli & Dyer, 2009). In the context of nomadic and pastoral societies, this new approach would entail a shift away from the intervention strategies and discourses that are antipathetic to IK towards approaches to and models of education that are sympathetic to the traditional forms of knowledge as valuable cultural resources for a valued education among the pastoralists.

1.3 Problem Statement

While the current approaches to education practice in pastoral societies have been dominated by access and attainment, issues of what is and might be taught and learned by pastoralist children, and how have been overlooked. This suggests that the design of education models and delivery of programmes that are largely insensitive to the pastoral economy, culture, and livelihoods, remain the profound challenges deterring the inclusion of pastoralist groups in formal education (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Tahir, 2007). The problem remains in place because of lacking a meaningful linkage between traditional and formal education that, in turn, creates a damaging trade-off that the pastoralists have to make by participating in either one of the two education systems (Siele, Swift & Krätli, 2011). But in recent years, some development discourses are beginning to recognise the value of IKs as potential cultural resources for enhancing relevance in formal education (Semali, 1994; Mohamed, 1999; Aikman, 2011). Despite this, there is a paucity of studies that have investigated the tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings hampering the provision of relevant and meaningful educational experiences within the context of the encounter between Indigenous and Western education among the pastoralists.

1.4 Research Aim and Questions

1.4.1 Broad objective

This research aims at filling the existing gap in the literature by investigating the extent to which the tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western education hamper the provision of relevant and meaningful educational experiences among the Maasai pastoralists in Monduli.

1.4.2 Research questions

This research was guided by **one** broad question and sub-questions as follows:

- 1) Which tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western education systems hinder the provision of relevant and meaningful educational experiences for the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania?

- a) What is Indigenous Knowledge among the Maasai pastoralists and how is that knowledge articulated in their community?
- b) What have been the Maasai's responses to and perspectives on formal education practices in their community?
- c) What are the Maasai students' experiences with and perceptions of formal education practices and processes in the school contexts?
- d) How through using Indigenous Knowledge (IK) might the encounter between Indigenous and Western education support a more sustainable and culturally relevant education system among the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania?

1.5 Focus and Scope of the Thesis

While I am aware of the many ways in which the practice of Western education has influenced the Maasai and their livelihoods, the ways in which IK and pastoral culture have encountered Western education undergird a focus of this thesis. In addressing this encounter, the study takes the indigenous standpoint. In doing this, the research neither calls for a dichotomy between indigenous and other perspectives concerned with pastoralists' education nor seeks to persuade that education in pastoral communities should be solely based on the indigenous pathway. Instead, I am in line with what Santos (1999) calls 'taking side' with the South by identifying the alternative positions in the field. I am, therefore, mindful that education in pastoral societies is a complex issue that requires a combination of multiple approaches rather than isolated bits of approaches.

In such context, the thesis does not rule out the existing approaches to the provision of education in pastoral societies; rather, it establishes a locally-based model that can make the existing interventions workable, and perhaps more successful. This is mainly because most interventions whether formal or non-formal are inherently western-based and operate by Western models of knowledge systems (Ogachi, 2011), without substantial inputs from pastoralists' traditions of education (cf. Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). Regarding the scope, the study focuses on the Maasai in Monduli, and hence, does not research all pastoralist ethnic-groups found in Tanzania and elsewhere. However, the strong contextualisation of the thesis' findings means that they may offer some understandings of relevance to pastoral societies in other parts of the country and beyond. Also, although the education system is much broader, the research covers explicitly the primary and secondary levels of formal schooling as both levels were found operating and were locally accessible in the areas in Monduli where the fieldwork took place.

1.6 Theoretical Positioning and Other Conceptual Imaginings: An Overview

The theoretical positioning adopted in this thesis offers new ways of understanding the relationship between Indigenous and Western education. Although it brings together postcolonial and world-system theories operationalised through social justice framework, my theoretical positioning is also underpinned by some insights from Maasai philosophy. The approach allows me to draw together diverse ideas and thoughts, as well as more experiential insights into a conceptual framework for the thesis. This is congruent with a restructuring concept of “imagining” essential for accommodating a broad range of critical perspectives and potentially allied theories concerning the conditions of postcoloniality (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012). In this thesis, therefore, the theoretical imaginings offer the possibilities for the alternative ways of knowledge production in respect of valuing the othered “worldviews” in whatever form they might be.

Thus, rather than adopting a fixed theoretical stance, I draw together various thoughts, concepts, and ideas from postcolonial, world system, and social justice theories with Maasai philosophical views into a ‘theoretical assemblage’. This is grounded in ‘enkigúéna’ [meeting], a concept in the Maa language suitable for accommodating several perspectives and multiple ways of knowing. Equally, by acting as an intersection point between the local and the global, *enkigúéna* aligns well with the research design adopted for this study. In this spirit, my theoretical approach, in Santo’s (1999) sense, seeks to offer a ‘theory of translation’ that may become the epistemological basis of emancipatory practices as opposed to a grand theory. The approach also seeks to transcend the boundaries in knowledge construction and gives room for alternative ways of knowing which might best support the production of counterhegemonic knowledge in research.

1.7 Research Methodology and Methods: An Overview

This study employs a *glocalised research design* that draws from both the indigenous and non-indigenous lines of inquiry. The design borrows a concept of ‘glocalised’ from the economic metaphors, namely “glocalise” and “glocalisation” which originated from Japanese economists in the late 1980s, and later became popularised by Roland Robertson (Khondker, 2004; Gobo, 2011). What I have designated as the ‘glocalised design’ is my own creation, with the approach being put into practice as far as I can ascertain for the first time in social research. Nevertheless, the *glocalised design* as elaborated later in the thesis seeks to offer a conceptual framework for exploring a dialogical exchange between indigenous and non-indigenous systems (Nakata, 2007; McGinty, 2012).

1.8 Framing the Study Setting: General Overview

This section offers a general picture of the research setting, including the national and sub-national settings of the study as a contextual basis for the study sites that are presented and described in Chapter Three. The Maasai pastoralists as the main subject of the thesis are also introduced here to provide the background information about them.

1.8.1 National setting: Tanzania's country profile

The United Republic of Tanzania is a country in East Africa within the African Great Lakes region, with its geographical coordinates of 6° 00' S and 35° 00' E. Tanzania is a neologism deriving from a portmanteau of two republics of Tanganyika and Zanzibar that united on 26th April 1964. Tanganyika got independence from Britain on 9th December 1961 and became a Republic in 1962 (URT, 2015). Zanzibar became independent on 10th December 1963 under the Sultan, and the People's Republic of Zanzibar was established after the Revolution of 12th January 1964 (URT, 2015). By geographical size, Tanzania is a vast country, the 31st largest in the world, covering 947, 300 square kilometres on the East African coast (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2016), larger than Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the UK combined. Uganda and Kenya border the country to the north, Burundi, Rwanda, and the Congo DRC to the west; Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south, and the Indian Ocean to the east (URT, 2015).

According to the latest population census conducted in 2012, Tanzania had a total population of 44,928,923 (Tanganyika, 43,625,354; Zanzibar, 1,303,569) with 21,869,990 males and 23,058,933 females (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2013). But at present, Tanzania's population is estimated at 51,045,882 with a growth rate of 2.79% per year (CIA, 2016). This population is diverse and contains over 130 ethnic and linguistic groups that speak their own languages. However, Kiswahili is the national language, and lingua franca widely used in communication by most Tanzanians and English is the official language of education, administration, and business (URT, 2015). Kiswahili is also used as a medium of instruction in primary schools, whereas English is the language of instruction in secondary and post-secondary education. Administratively, the country is divided into 31 regions, with Dodoma as the capital city (URT, 2015).

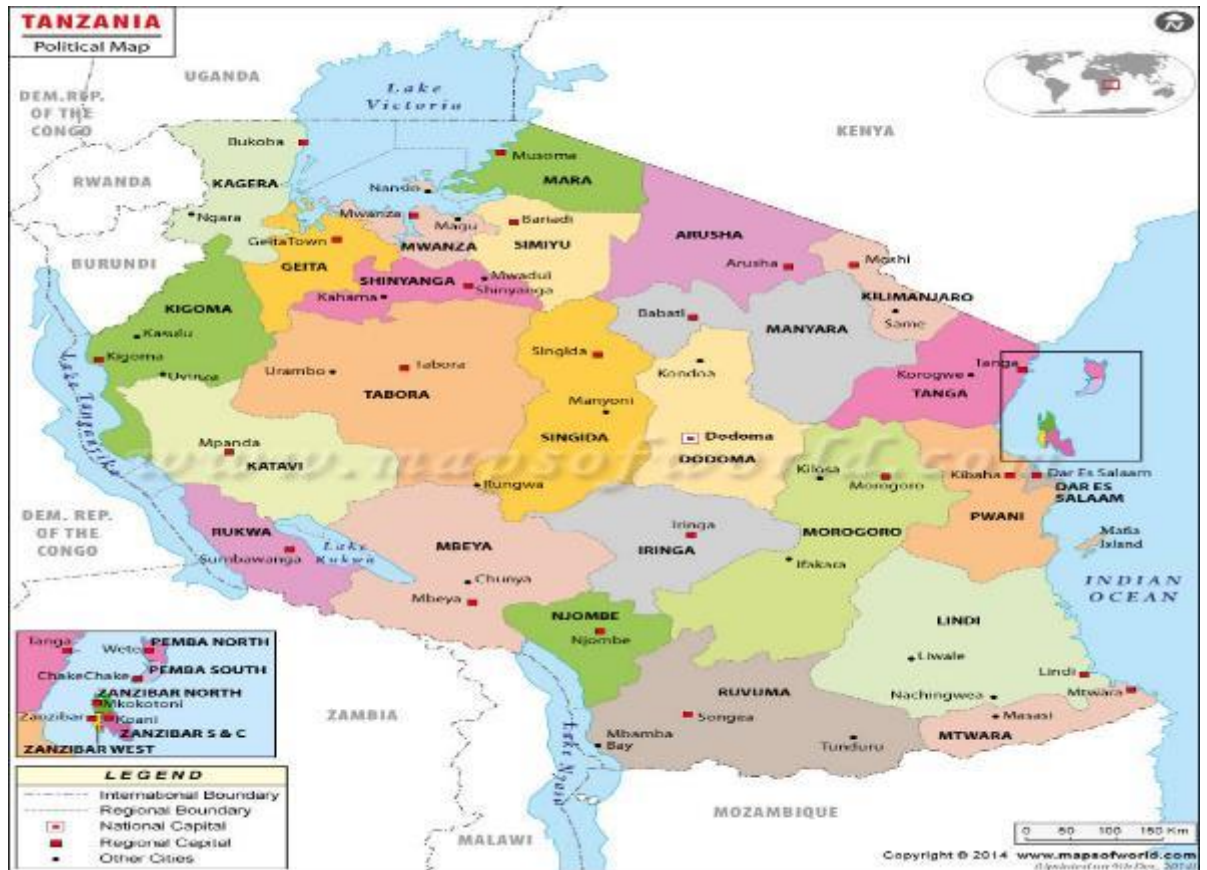


Figure 1: Map of Tanzania showing its geographical location and boundaries

Source: <https://www.mapsofworld.com/tanzania/>

Despite its vast natural resources, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world both by regional and international standards. The country, for instance, is the home to two famous tourist destinations including Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain and a substantial number of wildlife-rich national parks and game reserves such as the Serengeti, Ngorongoro, Mikumi, and much more others. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Tanzanian citizens live below the poverty line. In 2015, the country's per capita income was estimated at \$3,000 with a growth rate of 7% per annum (CIA, 2016). Tanzania's economy depends primarily on natural resources and agriculture, which accounts for more than one-quarter of GDP and provides 85% of exports (CIA, 2016). The country has about 88.6 million hectares of land appropriate for agricultural production, including 60 million hectares of rangelands that are suitable for livestock grazing (URT, 2015).

1.8.2 Sub-national setting: Monduli district profile

This study was conducted in Monduli District located in Arusha Region, the north-eastern part of Tanzania. Monduli is one of the districts in Tanzania that falls within the "Maasai Steppe-proper", characterised by arid land and tree savannah (Ndagala, 1982). The

district is categorised by a bimodal type of rainfall, with short rains falling between November and December, and long rains in March to May (Ndagala, 1982; Harvey, 2013). The average annual temperature is 27°C as a maximum, and 16°C as a minimum (Harvey, 2013; Nonga & Haruna, 2015). Administratively, the district is divided into three divisions: Manyara, Makuyuni, and Kisongo comprising 20 wards and 47 villages in total. By geographic size, Monduli District covers an area of 6,419 km². Likewise, the district is bordered to the north by Longido District, to the east by Arumeru District, to the south by Mbulu and Babati Districts, to the south-east by Simanjiro District, and to the west by Ngorongoro and Karatu districts (Raymond, 2015; URT, 2015).

According to the latest Tanzania National Census (2012), Monduli District had a population of 158,929 with 75,615 males and 83,314 females (NBS, 2013). The Maasai pastoralists mainly inhabit the district as the largest ethnic group constituting 60% of the entire population. About 86% of the population in Monduli District live in the rural areas engaging in livestock keeping and little crop cultivation (Kipobota, 2013). The district was chosen as a general area of research study by two criteria: first, there is enough evidence that indigenous knowledge practices continue to exist among the pastoral Maasai in Monduli (Msuya, 2009; Kipobota, 2013); and second, the district constitutes the majority of the pastoral Maasai (60%) who are highly marginalised and disadvantaged in formal education and other social services than other ethnic groups in the country (FitzGerald, 2008; Tanzania Education Network [TEN], 2009; Raymond, 2015).

1.9 Wanderings in Maasailand: Background to Maasai People

This section provides insights into the background of the Maasai as a people with their own history and culture. The section traces the origin and short history of Maasai society, both as an ethnic group and as a cultural community. The section also provides an account of the traditional Maasai economy, mode of life, and socio-political systems.

1.9.1 Origin and short history of the Maasai

The Maasai [*ilMáásái*] are a Nilotic ethnic group of semi-nomadic people whose population straddles the border between Tanzania and Kenya. Found in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania along the Rift Valley; today, the Maasai constitute one of the largest pastoralist ethnic-groups in Africa. In Tanzania, the Maasai pastoralists occupy a large territory comprising the districts of Monduli, Longido, Ngorongoro, Simanjiro, and Kiteto; while in Kenya, they are found in Narok and Kajiado Counties. The Maasai pastoralists speak a Maa [*ɔlMaa*] language that is closely linked to the Nilotic languages

spoken by the Kalenjin, Turkana, and Luo of Kenya, and by the Dinka, Shilluk, and Nuer of Sudan (Kipuri, 1983; Ehret, 2011). Nevertheless, their culture is closely related to the Cushitic-speaking peoples such as the Borana, Rendille, and Somali that presently inhabit the north-eastern side of Lake Turkana (Homewood & Rodgers, 2004).

The place where the Maasai originated is uncertain, and it remains a subject of debate among the scholars because of the contradictory evidence collected from linguistic, archaeological, and oral sources. According to their oral traditions, the Maasai originated somewhere in the north, at a place called *Endikir-e-Kerio* [the scarp of Kerio] (Kipuri, 1983) and they are said to have lived further to the north along the Kerio River valley around A.D.1400 (Lynch & Robbins, 1979). Many scholars (see, for example, Lynch & Robbins, 1979; Phillipson, 2005; Ehret, 2011) refer to this place as the south-eastern region of the modern Lake Turkana. Despite this, some oral sources suggest that it might have been somewhere further north, probably in the northern part of Africa (Kipuri, 1983). The Maasai pastoralists are said to have had started migrating southward around the mid of the 15th century, occupying the region from near Mt Marsabit in northern Kenya to Kiteto in central Tanzania (Kipuri, 1983; Homewood & Rodgers, 2004).

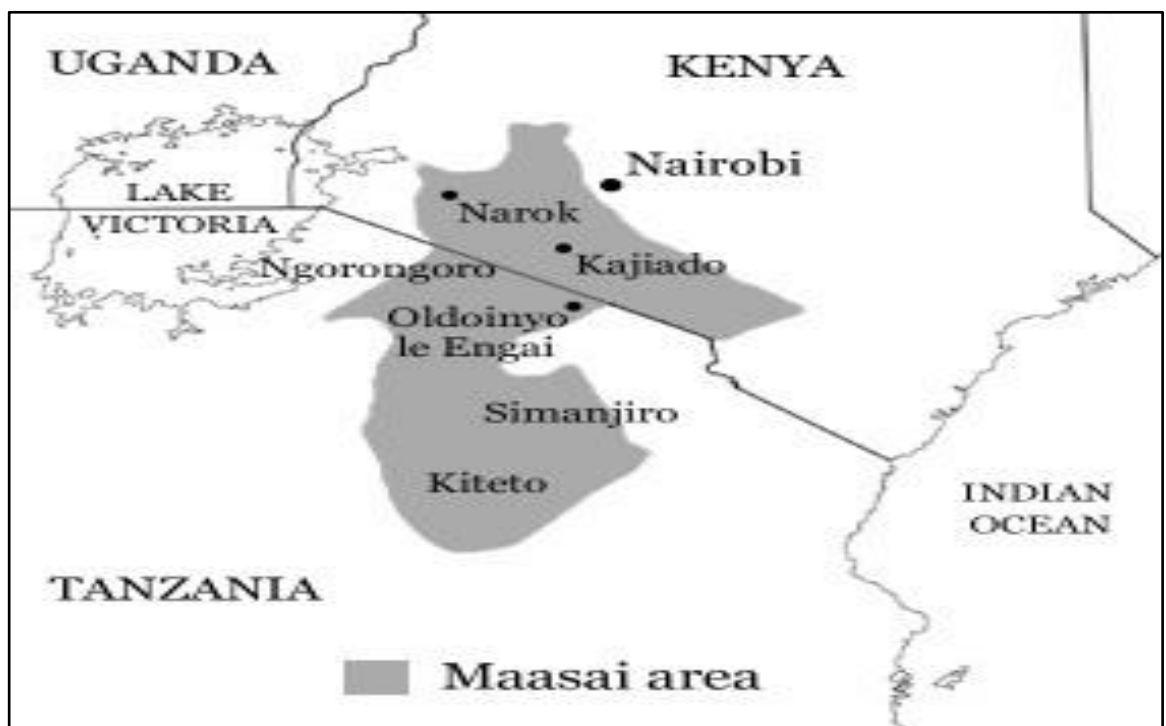


Figure 2: A sketch map of Maasailand and its boundaries straddling Tanzania and Kenya

Source: <http://umich.edu/~snre492/Jones/maasai.htm>

Using linguistic sources, Galaty (1993) traces the arrival of the first Eastern Nilotic Maa-speakers in the Rift Valley around AD 1600. The Maasai reached a land stretching from present-day southern Kenya to the present day northern-central Tanzania probably between the 17th and late 18th century (Ehret, 2011). By the 17th century, the Maasai are said to have had come into contact with their host neighbours, with some ethnic groups already settled in the region being either forcibly displaced by invaders or others like Southern Cushitic groups being absorbed into Maasai society (Homewood & Rodgers, 2004). By the mid-19th century, Maa speakers inhabited an area stretching from southern Ethiopia and eventually as far south as northern and central Tanzania (Galaty, 1993).

The Maasai consist of six distinct groups, with the first group comprising the *Samburu/Loikop* [Ilooibor-Kineji], the semi-nomadic herders of cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. There is also the *Iltiumus* (*Njemps*) living south and south-east of Lake Baringo in Kenya where they subsist primarily on fishing, keep a few livestock, and do subsistence farming (Kipuri, 1983). The *Ndorobo* [*Iltóróbò*] who subsist mainly on hunting and gathering constitute the third group of Maa speaking people. The fourth group contains the *Ilkunono*, an ethnic group that subsists mainly on iron smithing in addition to keeping some livestock (Berntsen, 1979; Hodgson, 2005). The fifth group consists of the peripheral Maa ethnic groups such as the *Arusha* (Ilarusa), *Ilkumarn*, and the *Ilparakuyo* (Ilbaraguyu/Kwavi) who are either semi-pastoral or crop cultivators subsisting mainly on agriculture (Kipuri, 1983; Semali, 1994). The last group contains the Maasai proper, whom except for slight dialectical variations, speak one language and have struggled to maintain a purely pastoral existence for a long time (Kipuri, 1983; Ndagala, 1990).

However, in recent years, due to cattle diseases, land shortage, and scarcity of pastures, the Maasai proper are also becoming increasingly involved in some agriculture. This body of the Maasai falls into sixteen politically independent sections [*iloshón*] or territorial locations, including the *Serenget*, *Ilkeek-onyokie*, *Iloitai*, *Ildamat*, *Ilpurko*, *Isiria*, *Ilwuasin-kishu*, *Ilmoitanik*, *Iloodo-kilani*, *Ilkankere* (Ildalat-le-kutuk), *Ilmatapato*, *Ilkisongo*, *Iloitokitoki*, *Ilkaputiei*, *Isikirari* and *Isampur* (Kipuri, 1983; Semali, 1994). Although the Maasai can be regarded as an ethnic group that is somewhat homogeneous as for speaking the same Maa language (Nilotic), sharing the same age-set system, and belonging to the same clan system; their divisions into numerous geographical sections, entail that each section has its particularities. Thus, this thesis represents the *Ilkisongo* section of Monduli in which most Tanzanian Maasai belong to (Ndagala, 1982).

1.9.2 Economy and mode of life

The Maasai economy revolves primarily around livestock keeping, cattle particularly, together with goats, sheep, and donkeys (Ndagala, 1982). In their various oral traditions, the Maasai consider themselves as God's chosen people and the only ones gifted with the right to ownership and being custodians of all cattle in the world. With this understanding, traditionally, the Maasai did not associate cattle raids with any guilt, but more like a restoration to the just owners (Hodgson, 1999). To the pastoral Maasai, cattle bear both economic and social meanings that, in turn, determine their modes of life and livelihoods. Thus, it is cattle, which give meaning to being Maasai as pastoralists and people of cattle. Livestock act as sources of food and the Maasai staple diet consists mainly of meat, milk, and cow blood (Kipuri, 1983). In recent years, cornmeal has however been introduced to serve as emergency food during drought periods (Summitt, 2002).

Economically, the Maasai practice a subsistence economy based on the communal ownership of land and familial ownership of cattle. As economic assets, cattle are used as a medium of exchange that provides the Maasai pastoralists with other items such as utensils, clothing, adornment, and other products not locally produced (Ndagala, 1982; Kipuri, 1983). Socially, for the Maasai livestock means more than food and economic security since they usually use them as a symbol of culture and all rituals such as births, marriage, and circumcision are performed around the cattle economy (Kipuri, 1983; Kweka, 2011). The social meaning of livestock is also noticeable in symbolising social relationships, determining social wealth, and status as a basis for social transactions and relationships (Ndagala, 1982). For this reason, instead of analysing livestock only as a means of subsistence, we must regard them in their social capacity as prestige goods and objects of mystification related to social and ideological relations (Hedlund, 1979).

1.9.3 Socio-political organisation

The traditional socio-political system among the Maasai is a decentralised one with every age-set of each section having its own elected political and ritual leaders (Ndagala, 1982; Kipuri, 1983). For that matter, the Maasai's political organisation is based on three interlinking social institutions: clan, section (territory), and the age-set system. At the clan organisation level, there is a family as a basic social unit consisting of a wife and her children (Ndagala, 1982). A man, his wives, and dependents constitute the next level of a social organisation unit known as a gate [*enkishòmi*; pl. *inkishómin*]. The family is the basic social unit responsible for the management of livestock rather than the clan

(Homewood & Rodgers, 2004). The Maasai are divided into six or seven clans, and over 25 sub-clans exist (Ndagala, 1982; Kipuri, 1983). As Homewood and Rodgers (2004) argue, in the past, the Maasai pastoralists had no formal clan leaders as clans were not organised as local geographically cohesive groups. Nonetheless, the clan leaders have recently been introduced to accommodate new changes in the Maasai community.

The second level of social organisation in Maasai society is the *section* [*oloshô*] which is recognised due to its dominance in each geographical area over an extended period. The Maasai are divided into some sections [*iloshón*], the most important social unit in the control of land and pastures. Within the section, grazing rights are communal and are primarily obtained through continuous residence (Hedlund, 1979). In this regard, a section can be defined as a territorial unit with its members owning their water and pastures (Ndagala, 1982). The section may be divided into subsections. The Kisongo section in Tanzania, for instance, is divided into the Kiteto and Moibo subsections. The Kiteto live in Kiteto, Talamai, Kibaya, Makama, and Simanjoro in southern Maasailand while the Moibo live in Monduli, Longido, and Ngorongoro in northern Maasailand (Ndagala, 1982). Nevertheless, all Maa-speaking people share a descent (clan) system based on two *moieties* namely: *Odomong'i* and *Orok-kiteng'* (Kipuri, 1983).

The last level of sociopolitical organisation is an *age-set system*. The age-set is the main social institution which determines politics, religion, production system, social life, and the daily life practices in the Maasai community. Every age-set has its own political and ritual leader. Whereas the traditional chiefs [*ilaiguenák*] preside over meetings and secular functions, the ritual leaders [*iloibónok*] preside over religious and spiritual matters of the age-set. Both the political and ritual leaders are elected during the warriorhood stage of each age-set and retain their positions throughout their life (Kipuri, 1983).

1.10 Thesis Structure

This thesis comprises seven chapters covering various aspects relating to the encounter between Indigenous and Western education among the Maasai in Monduli. The second chapter reviews a variety of literature about Indigenous and Western education in pastoral societies. Various discourses surrounding Indigenous and Western knowledge are also examined in this chapter. Chapter Three describes the research design, methodological approaches, and methods used in generating, analysing, and presenting data. The ontological and theoretical framework- *enkigúéná*, postcolonial, world system, and social justice theories informing the research design and the findings are equally examined.

Chapter Four is devoted to the ethnography of traditional knowledge and education in Maasai society. This involves exploring various aspects of traditional training, socialisation patterns, and the content of indigenous education among the Maasai.

Chapter Five focuses on the Maasai students' experiences with and perceptions of formal schooling within the context of their encounter with Western education. Chapter Six explores the Maasai's responses to and perspectives on formal education as well as the potential of the *enkigúéna* approach to valued education among the Maasai. Equally, the two findings' chapters analysed in Chapters Four and Five are brought together, interrogated, and problematised through *enkigúéna*, a structuring Maa concept for the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge. As the final chapter, Chapter Seven summarises the main research findings and key issues raised by the thesis. Theoretical and methodological reflections, thesis claims to new knowledge, possibilities for future research, and key conclusions of the thesis are also presented in the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

INDIGENOUS AND WESTERN EDUCATION PRACTICES IN PASTORAL COMMUNITIES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews a variety of literature concerning Indigenous and Western education in pastoral communities. The chapter discusses various debates surrounding Indigenous and Western knowledge in pastoralist societies and how they are mirrored in development discourses. Also, the chapter examines the introduction of Western education in colonial Africa and the extent to which it travelled through the barrel of a gun under the banner of modernity and civility while appropriating and exploiting traditional African forms of knowledge. Moreover, the chapter draws attention to issues related to pastoralism, education, and development in pastoral societies, by examining how different ideas in development discourse at both national and international levels have influenced the nature of education practice and approaches to formal schooling among the pastoralists.

2.2 Conceptualising and Articulating Key Terms and Concepts

This section discusses briefly the meanings of key concepts, namely: *indigenous*, *indigenous people*, *indigenous education*, and *indigenous knowledge*. This conceptualisation, among others, does not intend to provide the actual meanings of the terms, but rather to proffer a focused and a tentative view of issues under discussion. This is primarily because the terms “indigenous”, “indigenous people”, “indigenous education”, and “indigenous knowledge” have varied interpretations.

2.2.1 Defining the concept of “indigenous”

The term “indigenous” is a complex, fuzzy, and contested concept among scholars (Coates, 2005; Shizha, 2013; Stagenhaven, 2013). Two ambiguities surrounding the definition of this term are notable: first, there is no universally and internationally agreed upon definition of the term, but only various definitions and connotations exist (Coates, 2005; Shizha, 2013; Stagenhaven, 2013); second, it co-exists with other terms in various countries often being used interchangeably with *aboriginal*, *native*, *original*, *first nations*, and *tribal* depending on the geographical locations (Coates, 2005; Stagenhaven, 2013). In North America (the USA and Canada), for instance, terms like *natives*, *tribes*, and *first nations* are commonly used; while in Australia (and New Zealand), the term *aboriginal*

is widely applied. Nonetheless, in sub-Saharan Africa, the term *indigenous people* is commonly used as an ideological tool for political struggles (Aikman, 2011)

According to Hodgson (2002a), etymologically, the term *indigenous*, derives its meaning from the Latin word *indigena*, meaning “born in a country” or “native”. In this sense, *indigenous* refers to that which is local, original, or native to a geographic region (Jacob, Cheng & Porter, 2015). Nevertheless, over the years, the etymological meaning of *indigenous* has been expanded to include different connotations. Despite such definitions and interpretations, many scholars tend to agree that although the meaning of the term *indigenous* varies according to place and historical contexts, its meanings are loaded with ideological connotations which are inextricably linked to colonialism (Maurial, 1999; Smith, 1999; Hodgson, 2009; Aikman, 2011; Chilisa, 2012). Nested in the ideological meanings, are different uses of the term *indigenous* in various ways by formerly colonised societies and marginalised people’s struggles against political domination, subjugation, dispossession, and discrimination (Smith, 1999; Aikman, 2011; Chilisa, 2012).

2.2.2 Defining “indigenous people”

The latest estimates show that there are about 300 and 370 million indigenous populations worldwide, living in some 70 countries, most of them being in South Asia and Latin America (Stagenhaven, 2013). Their numbers comprise the First Nation tribes and the Métis people in Canada, American Indian Tribal Nations in the United States, the Aboriginal populations of Australia and New Zealand, the Tupinikim and Guarani peoples of South America, the San people of the Kalahari Desert in Africa, and the Orang Asli people of Malaysia (Henningfeld, 2009). Like *indigenous*, the term ‘indigenous people’ is more difficult to define (Coates, 2005). The controversies surrounding the definition of who is an “indigenous person” are caused by numerous factors:

First, in some countries, local terms are commonly used that are not easily translatable (Stagenhaven, 2013). Second, in other nations, the existence of indigenous groups is denied altogether thereby making the definition more problematic (Stagenhaven, 2013). Third, there is no consensus concerning the criteria for membership in an indigenous group, nation, or community (Aikman, 1995). Fourth, there is still no universally and internationally settled definition of indigenous people (Coates, 2005), but rather, a collection of definitions encumbered by a considerable number of complexities (Stagenhaven, 2013). Despite the existing complexities in defining *indigenous people*, in the Americas and Australia, there is a common consensus that *indigenous populations*

represent original inhabitants of the lands who have become culturally, economically, and politically marginalised by the colonising groups (Coates, 2005; Almeida, 2006).

2.2.3 Conceptualising “indigenous people” in the African context

Many scholars agree that defining and characterising *indigenous people* in Africa is a complex and challenging issue (African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights [ACHPR], 2005; Coates, 2005; Igoe, 2006; Hodgson, 2009). Several factors trigger this controversy: first, colonialism that has been used as a primary determinant for designating indigenous populations cannot work in postcolonial Africa because all the formerly colonised societies in that sense are considered ‘indigenous people’ (ACHPR, 2005; Hodgson, 2009; Aikman, 2011; Shizha, 2013; Stagenhaven, 2013). Second, diverse cultural groups that exist in the African continent (Shizha, 2013) make it hard to get specific criteria of identifying indigenous peoples in Africa (Coates, 2005). Third, most African states do not recognise indigenous populations due to the fear of tribalism and ethnic conflicts which are often seen as a threat to national unity (ACHPR, 2005; Igoe, 2006; Stagenhaven, 2013). Lastly, there is a delusion that protecting the rights of indigenous peoples in a country would give special rights to some ethnic groups over and above the rights of all other groups within a national state (ACHPR, 2005; Igoe, 2006).

Due to this, the criteria used to identify indigenous people in Africa markedly differ from other parts of the world because of the continent’s historical context. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, all “black Africans” who were formerly the colonial subjects are regarded as *indigenous* (Hodgson, 2002b; 2009; Shizha, 2013). Despite the existing definitional controversy, the ACHPR report of 2005 took the view that there are “indigenous populations” in Africa who, due to the colonial and postcolonial processes have become marginalised in their own countries, and hence, they needed recognition and protection. Various ethnic groups recognised as *indigenous people* in sub-Saharan Africa include the hunters-gatherers ethnic group of Hadzabe in Central Rift Valley of Tanzania, Ogiek in Kenya, Batwa in Central Africa, and San in southern Africa (Igoe, 2006). They also comprise the pastoralist ethnic groups like the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania, the Barbaig in Tanzania, Samburu and Turkana in Kenya and Ethiopia, Karamojong in Uganda, and the Tuareg in Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso (ACHPR, 2005).

Overall, although all people in Africa are ‘indigenous’, it is true that certain groups are discriminated in various ways because of their culture, mode of production, and relegated position within the postcolonial African states (ACHPR, 2005). In that regard, in Africa,

indigenous populations refer to socially and economically marginalised ethnic/linguistic minorities (Igoe, 2000; Hodgson, 2011). Thus, this thesis classifies the Maasai as indigenous peoples because their strong attachment to nature and cultural distinctiveness have made them experience a subordinate position in the country springing up from both colonial and postcolonial historical processes. This implies that Maasai indigeneity does not emerge because of domination and marginalisation, rather, their relegation by the mainstream society emerges due to their strong ties with nature and traditional culture. This attachment ousts them from participation on a par with others in the mainstream's sociocultural, economic, and political development. In sub-Saharan Africa, therefore, it is useful to define *indigenous peoples* based on 'the cause, not solely the outcome'.

2.2.4 Defining “indigenous education”

In the African context, the concept of “indigenous education” is laden with other multiple terminologies, including traditional (African) education, community education, pre-colonial (African) education, cultural education, and informal education. Nevertheless, for maintaining consistency, in this thesis, the terms *indigenous education* and *traditional education* are often used interchangeably as opposed to others. The concept of *indigenous education* is used both as an analytical and an ideological tool for social and political struggle and mobilisation (Aikman, 2011). What does indigenous education mean then? Though not widely defined in the literature like *indigenous knowledge*, some scholars have variously attempted to define the term “indigenous education” as follows:

Ways of teaching and learning in Africa which are based on indigenous knowledge accumulated by Africans over centuries in response to their different physical, agricultural, ecological, political, and sociocultural challenges (Merriam, 2007).

Locally developed forms of teaching the young, based on the traditions and values of African societies (Kanu, 2007, p.68).

The path and process whereby individuals gain knowledge and meaning from their indigenous heritages (Jacob, Cheng & Porter, 2015).

In this thesis, indigenous education is viewed both as *form* and *content* involving teaching and learning the indigenous types of knowledge implicated in the complex sets of physical and non-physical environment, economic, technological, political, and sociocultural spectra of the society. In this sense, as a concept, *knowledge* entails ways that individuals look at and give meaning to experiences as characterised by their cultural and social worldview (Shizha, 2005). As *form*, indigenous education entails the methods and processes of teaching and learning the accumulated, evolving, and dynamic forms of

knowledge from one generation to another. As *content*, indigenous education embodies knowledges, philosophies, skills, values, traditions, and attitudes of society that are accumulated, evolved, and transmitted from one generation to another. Indigenous education, therefore, involves knowledge that is generated, enacted, practised, and adapted to fit the historical contexts and needs of indigenous peoples and is then transmitted through educative means to others (Jacob, Cheng, & Porter, 2015).

2.2.5 Conceptualising “indigenous knowledge”

The term “indigenous knowledge” is loaded with other possible formulations: local knowledge, indigenous science, endogenous knowledge, traditional science, traditional knowledge, folk knowledge, folk science, ethnoscience/knowledge, indigenous technical knowledge (ITK), cultural knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), and so forth. The existence of multiple terminologies signifies the ambiguities and fluidities surrounding the definition of the term. For that reason, I proffer no fixed definition of indigenous knowledge, though many scholars have tried:

The cultural traditions, values, belief systems, and worldviews of local peoples as distinguished from Western scientific knowledge (Dei, 1993).

Any knowledge held more or less collectively by a population, informing understanding of their world (Sillitoe, 2002, p. 9).

Peoples’ cognitive and wise legacy as a result of their interaction with nature in a common territory (Maurial, 1999, p.62).

The systematic information that remains in the informal sector, usually unwritten and preserved in oral tradition rather than texts (Quiroz, 1999, p. 307).

A body of knowledge associated with the long-term occupancy of a certain place (Dei, Hall & Rosenberg, 2000, p. 6).

A complex set of knowledge and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area (Ocholla, 2007, p. 2).

I do not offer any meaning because I am aware that the term captures definitions from various angles and contexts across fields and diverse worldviews. Given that understanding, engaging in such debates is, as Semali and Kincheloe (1999) contend, to put oneself in a dangerous terrain. Notwithstanding the definitions posed by various scholars, I conceptualise IK by what its meaning might be in the African context. Importantly, I wish to contextualise IK by according agency to the nomadic pastoralists as the owners of knowledge. This articulation stresses the realistic, hands-on, and experiential character inherent in IK or if one wishes, the authority (power). I am,

therefore, with Agrawal (2005) in engaging with the question of how to enable a way of relating power to IK resources that is internally consistent and politically progressive in a way that opens a space for talking about change through the agency of the victims of modernity. This political context draws our attention to the understanding of IK in relation to the experiences of the Maasai as people who enact and practise that knowledge.

However, I am conscious that situating IK in its political contexts requires an understanding of Western knowledge and its hegemony in the current system of education. In the spirit of Bainton (2007), it is in the understanding of IK as situated, fragmented, and non-essentialised in relation to western knowledge which offers the possibility for critiquing. Given this awareness, what might then be an IK in the African contexts? In my opinions, *indigenous knowledge* is the knowledge of, by, and for the indigenous people embedded in their cultures, histories, ontologies, epistemologies, and worldviews. The knowledge of, by, and for is used to accord agency to the people who practise IK since it is owned by indigenous populations themselves, produced by them in their local environments for their own survival. I am also of the view that traditional knowledge is both local and cultural in character as it is situated in certain local and cultural contexts. In this sense, conceptualising IK would require the understanding of its local and cultural contexts through which that knowledge is located and practised.

Given this observation, I would concur with Mawere (2013) that indigenous knowledge is ‘indigenous’ because the meanings as well as the categories of sense-making, are deeply context-bound in so far as they are generated internally within a cultural community. Also, although indigenous knowledge embraces local and contemporary aspects, to a large degree, it is traditional in nature. In the spirit of Dei (1993), the term *traditional* denotes a continuity of cultural values from past experiences that shape the present. Nevertheless, in the African context where several ambiguities surrounding the term “indigenous” exist, IK is closely related to the longevity and continuity of knowledge production by indigenous peoples over many generations. In this thesis, therefore, both terms “traditional” and “indigenous” are often used interchangeably.

2.3 Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development in Africa

This section offers insights into IK and its contribution to sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa. Using examples from various ethnic groups, the first subsection provides an overview of the roles of IK in promoting sustainable development in Africa. The second subsection analyses how Indigenous and Western knowledge systems are featured

and represented in development discourse. Drawing upon the examples from the Maasai community, the last subsection looks at the contributions of IK in the management, utilisation, and the preservation of natural resources for sustainable development.

2.3.1 An overview of the role of traditional knowledge in sub-Saharan Africa

For so long, IK has been snubbed for being primitive, unscientific, and irrational (Shizha, 2006; 2013; Maweu, 2011) by professionals, experts, practitioners, and outsiders in development discourse (Briggs, 2005). Many development theorists, professionals, experts, and practitioners, for example, see it as a hindrance to the development needs of poor communities and countries in various parts of the world (Agrawal, 1995; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Nevertheless, as the modern world has become increasingly vulnerable to challenges such as environmental pollution, global warming, loss of biodiversity, civil wars, economic crises, subsequent fuel crisis, and food insecurity, there has been an urgent need for sustainable development (Gupta, 2011). Since most of those problems are caused by rapid developmental activities performed by the market economy of the modern world era (Gupta, 2011), IK has become central to debates about sustainable development because of the way in which such knowledge has apparently allowed people to live in harmony with nature for generations (Agrawal, 1995; Briggs, 2005).

Today, the contribution of IK is widely recognised in various development sectors such as agriculture, animal husbandry, veterinary medicine, natural resources management, primary health care, preventive medicine, and poverty alleviation (Sillitoe, 1998; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Despite its destruction and marginalisation during the colonial rule, the available evidence shows that IK remains vibrant in rural communities of sub-Saharan Africa. Farmers in Ghana, for example, utilise their IK to enhance agricultural production by using locally selected varieties of seeds for improving soil fertility and land use, a practice that has existed for centuries (Easton, 2004). Also, in Zambia and Malawi, the conservation and sustainable use of medicinal plants [*mishonga*] has been implemented for centuries to preventing people from logging in trees (Ramphela, 2004). Equally, in Zimbabwe, the killing of animals was traditionally restricted to male and older animals, not female and young ones to ensure sustainable resource use (Shizha, 2007).

Accordingly, studies conducted among the Maasai have documented essential characteristics of their IK as efficient in the ecological dynamics of East Africa's geography (Holland, 1992; Hodgson, 2001). A close connection with the land essential for allowing the Maasai to survive as a cultural group and physically as people in a semi-

arid and drought-prone conditions, for example, makes them hold a deep reverence for animals and plants around them (Goldman, 2007). Due to this, the entire way of living in relation to the environment surrounding the Maasai requires a thorough understanding of the ecological processes and the least destructive land management strategies that are sustainable for maintaining last human and environmental stability (Ogachi, 2011).

2.3.2 Indigenous and Western knowledge systems in development debate

For several decades, IK of the indigenous people has for so long seen as having nothing to contribute to the development of poor societies (Agrawal, 1995; Semali & Stambach, 1997; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Briggs & Sharp, 2004; Ocholla, 2007; Dei, 2008). The upshot of this assumption is, as Ocholla (2007) argues, that the more a community practises IK, the more the community becomes marginalised. In contrast, while IK has been undervalued as unimportant for development, most scholars have paid much attention to Western knowledge as the basis for interventions in various development projects in less developed countries (Escobar, 1995; Briggs & Sharp, 2004). The experts from the West, for instance, have been employed to analyse development problems and to offer solutions based on Western scientific method in developing countries (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). It is, therefore, assumed that development could only be achieved by bringing poor people and rural communities into line with the universal scientific knowledge, as opposed to their traditional knowledge (Escobar, 1995).

Nevertheless, the Western scientific path to development has failed to resolve a problem of underdevelopment as high rates of poverty and growing economic differences between communities and countries remain persistent all over the world (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). Several projects in developing countries have failed, among others, because Western knowledge is mostly foreign to local cultural traditions, which usually have few if any ideas equivalent to those prevalent in western science (Sillitoe, 1998). Following the failure of several projects in developing countries, some development theorists criticised the modernisation approaches for being based on the uncritical transfer of science and technology from the North to the South (Escobar, 1995; Briggs, 2005). Also, other writers questioned whether scientific approaches are the only solution to development problems in the underdeveloped world than other forms of knowledge (cf. Sillitoe, 1998). Similarly, Western knowledge has come to be viewed as indigenous to the localised institutions of the West and has gained its apparent universality by being projected all over the world through the colonial and neo-colonial power relations (Agrawal, 1995; Escobar, 1995).

Faced with the failure of several development projects, over the last three decades, it has been recognised that development in less-developed countries requires an understanding of the IKs of the local populations (Sillitoe, 1998). In contrast to the past, when traditional forms of knowledge were seen as obstacles to development; today, they have become pivotal to discussions on sustainable resource use (Agrawal, 1995; Grenier, 1998; Ogachi, 2011). Central to this rhetoric is the inclusion of the local knowledges of groups at whom development projects are aimed, rather than relying on the universal applicability and superiority of scientific knowledge in the development process (Escobar, 1995; Grenier, 1998). As a result, many development theorists have begun channelling efforts to draw in the voices and knowledge of those who are to be involved in the development projects (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). This suggests that an increasing recognition of IK in development discourse has brought about alternative pathways which have challenged the conventional thinking by empowering hitherto subjugated forms of knowledge.

2.3.3 Maasai's IK and its contributions to sustainable development

The Maasai community in Tanzania continues to practise traditional knowledge which has evolved over thousands of years through their constant interaction with nature, observation, and experience. While IK has been ignored in development discourse, this type of knowledge, however, has supported the traditional ways of life among the pastoral Maasai in a sustained way and continued to do so today. The main areas where traditional knowledge among the Maasai has contributed to sustainable development include:

Health and medicine

In Africa, herbal medicine is widespread since it is estimated that 80% of the population resort to traditional medicine to treat different diseases (Ole-Miaron, 2003). The Maasai, for example, are familiar not only with different kinds of herbs capable of curing several diseases inflicting both humans and livestock, but also every Maasai can correctly prescribe the treatments for simple human diseases like headaches, colds, and stomach-ache (Tarayia, 2004). The Maasai children usually learn knowledge about human and animal diseases as well as herbal medicines as they continue to work and interact with their local environment in their daily lives (cf. Chapter IV). When preparing herbal concoctions, for instance, the Maasai utilise roots, barks, and leaves of various plant species for treating both human and livestock diseases (Kipuri, 1996). However, soaking and boiling are the standard methods for preparing medicines (Ole-Miaron, 2003). Due

to this, human ethnomedicine and ethnoveterinary practices among the Maasai are said to be relatively advanced compared to modern medicine practice (Ole-Miaron, 1997).

Traditional animal husbandry

Management of livestock among the Maasai aims to ensure that the natural resources are continuously available and can be optimally utilised on a sustainable basis. To ensure optimum utilisation of range resources, the Maasai employ various strategies:

First, the Maasai practise seasonal movements of livestock by driving them to the lowlands during the rainy periods and to the highlands during the dry seasons. This mobility is an essential strategy for maximising fodder and ecosystem productivity (Tarayia, 2004). Second, the Maasai employ various traditional procedures for breeding and selecting genetically healthy livestock that survives in their harsh environment (Ole-Miaron, 2003). During the dry seasons and periods of fodder shortage, for example, the Maasai practise a controlled breeding for various animals using penile sheets to allow the breeding of sheep and goats only during the rainy seasons (Kipuri, 1996). Third, the Maasai use and practise traditional procedures for monitoring changes in range conditions to determine the effect of resource management practices. The pastoral Maasai, for example, learn how to interpret livestock and wildlife behaviour such as milk yields, conditions of the animal's fur, mating frequency, colour, and texture of the dung in order to quantify forage type, quality, quantity, and the condition of other range animals (Kipuri, 1996). This suggests that various skills for protecting and optimally utilising natural resources and the environment around it in sustainable ways are underpinned by IK which is learnt, enacted, and practised by the Maasai in their day-to-day life.

Biodiversity conservation

IK has contributed profoundly to the protection of biodiversity in Maasailand through the traditional management of land resources and cultural practices which are friendly to both fauna and flora (Mapinduzi et al., 2003). Among the Maasai, for example, not only is it a taboo to cut down trees and plant species with medicinal value but also it a taboo to eat wildlife. These taboos which young children are taught from their early childhood have made it possible for Maasai to preserve the ecosystem (cf. section 4.3.1 in Chapter IV). This implies that the availability of natural resources in Maasailand has been possible because of preserving the ecosystem through rotational grazing and a variety of livestock species that utilise different flora (Kipuri, 1996; Mapinduzi et al., 2003). In this regard, although the Maasai had once been characterised as environmentally destructive (Semali,

1994; Kweka, 2011), their traditional systems of land use for livestock keeping are now regarded as more environmentally friendly than formerly known by scientists and conservationists (Tarayia, 2004; Goldman, 2006). Consequently, the Maasai pastoralists are beginning to be heralded as custodians of wildlife and are asked to collaborate with conservation agencies to protect wildlife on their lands (Goldman, 2007).

Cultural heritage and eco-tourism

The Maasai community is endowed with both cultural and natural heritage resources that have made Maasailand a famous tourist destination in East Africa and Africa in general. The cultural heritage of the Maasai, for instance, is expressed in traditional arts and crafts as well as traditional practices like garments, ceremonies, and dances. Today, Maasai women learn diverse skills about designing and producing a variety of cultural products like beads, leather, jewellery, and regalia which not only generate incomes for their families but also act as important tourist attractions in our country. Besides cultural heritage, the presence of wildlife in the national parks and game reserves found in Maasailand continues to attract tourists from all over the world. Both cultural heritage and eco-tourism have been possible in Maasailand because of the culture-nature nexus which has allowed the Maasai culture to coexist with nature (Tarayia, 2004; Goldman, 2007). Nevertheless, traditional knowledge of the Maasai which has for so long enabled this relationship to happen and flourish is now at a crossroads, meaning that the alternative approaches are needed to support its survival to preserve their cultural heritage.

2.3.4 Section conclusion

This subsection has established that IK is crucial for the management, protection, and conservation of the range resources for optimum and sustainable use. The traditional Maasai knowledge about the surrounding environment and its range resources, for instance, has enabled them to diagnose, prevent, and cure both human and livestock diseases. The subsection has further indicated that the importance of the natural environment for the daily lives of the Maasai is found in traditional knowledge of the environment and its resources. Different uses through which the environmental resources are put and practised suggest that the Maasai appreciate the vitality and sustainability of their environment essential for survival as a community. As will later be shown in Chapter Four, IK on sustainable development that the Maasai learn, enact, and practise is characterised by their local history, environment, language, and pastoral culture.

Despite being valued for its potential contribution to development process, IK remains largely vilified in Tanzania's school system and other development projects and discourses. Given a strong connection between education and development, there is a need for using IK to debunk the mythologies surrounding development discourse. The approach of drawing on the knowledge and voices of the local populations offers a positive way necessary for providing peoples with ownership of the development process (Briggs & Sharp, 2004). With an increasing shift in the understandings concerning the value of IK in development discourse, most successful efforts are currently incorporating IKs, local technologies, and the local environment in their development interventions. This suggests that in Africa where education reforms based on Western models have often failed when introduced into a new setting (Semali & Stambach, 1997), utilising IK resources might be the best way to mitigate the existing problems.

2.4 Colonisation of IK through Western Education in sub-Saharan Africa

This section looks at the introduction of Western education and its impacts on IK during the colonial rule in sub-Saharan Africa. The first subsection discusses how colonialism and colonial education paved the way for the decline and ultimately the destruction of the traditional knowledge systems in Tanzania and sub-Saharan Africa in general. The second subsection examines educational development and measures undertaken towards reforming the education system in a post-independent period of African states. By paying attention to colonialism and colonial education, this literature review helps the reader to understand how traditional forms of knowledge in Africa have been marginalised. This debate further demonstrates how indigenous populations lost access to their inherited IK and the traditional technologies prevalent in Africa before colonial rule.

2.4.1 Colonialism, Western education, and their impacts on IK in Africa

Following the physical conquest of Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, African countries were subjected to colonial rule by the European colonial powers. The colonisation of Africa was justified in the name of Western humanism which aimed to bring light, civility, rationality, and social progress from Western societies to non-western societies (Shizha, 2013). Equally, colonialism was established in the belief that superior races had the right and the duty to civilise the less fortunate and inferior races by exposing them to a superior culture (Nyamnjoh, 2012). In this way, the European colonialists speciously regarded colonisation as the process for and the means of bringing modernity to African societies regarded as backward populations living in the "dark ages" (Shizha,

2006). The beliefs rooted in “European modernity” itself were ruthless and callous, with a tenacious drive to wipe out the so-called savagery, backwardness, ignorance, slavery, and barbarism from the face of the colonised Africans (Rodney, 1972; Shizha, 2006). As the heartland of Western humanism, reason, and civilisation, therefore, Europe was said to have the duty to spread enlightenment and progress to the rest of humanity.

During the process of establishing colonial rule in Africa, however, the Europeans discovered that they needed to dominate Africans both physically and mentally. This is consistent with Shiva’s (2000, p. vii) argument that “*Colonialism has from the very beginning been a contest over the mind and the intellect*”. Due to this, the mental domination of people’s minds was implemented through formal education system, which the colonisers perceived as a tool for political, social, and economic control of the Africans (Rodney, 1972). Initially, missionary societies which had established themselves in African territories since the 1840s introduced formal education, followed later by the colonial states (Buchert, 1991). In that regard, missionaries used formal education not only for winning converts to the Christian religion but also for qualifying Africans for semi-skilled jobs in the colonial bureaucracies (Cameron & Dodd, 1970). This suggests the colonial education in sub-Saharan Africa was not a selfless ‘civilising mission’, but meant to provide colonialism with the human workforce, and local support staff needed to achieve the imperialist purpose (Rodney, 1972; Nyamnjoh, 2012; Shizha, 2013).

To meet their objectives, the European colonisers applied two related but different processes. First, European colonialists legitimised (validated) Western scientific knowledge and ways of knowing as superior, universal, rational, and only objective truth. Through the legitimisation process, Western knowledge was regarded as a benchmark by which the production of non-western civilisation was measured and knowledge defined and authenticated (Shiva, 2000; Shizha, 2006). Embedded in the myth of knowledge superiority and universalism, Western knowledge was also regarded as a definitive yardstick for rationality and civilisation from an irrational and primitive society to a modern and civilised society. As Shizha (2005) argues, definitions of what counted as valid knowledge and how it was produced and distributed were done intentionally to establish hegemonic social, economic, and political interests of the European colonisers. With the validation process, therefore, Western science produced universal knowledge and determined reality in contrast to the indigenous forms of knowledge, local technologies, and social realities of the Africans (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

Second, European colonisers delegitimised (invalidated) IK and African ways of knowing as unscientific, barbaric, and primitive. Through the invalidation process, for example, the colonial education destroyed and silenced IK, experiences, and ways of knowing of the colonised Africans because they were considered as non-scientific, irrational, and inappropriate (Shiva, 2000; Shizha, 2006; McPherson, 2007). The process of destroying all alternative forms of knowledge conducted during the European colonial rule is what Santos (2014, p.154) succinctly designates as “epistemicide”. Equally, this delegitimation process involved removing Africans from their traditional learning structures by forcing them to use the learning structures of the colonisers and assimilate a hegemonic foreign culture (Shizha, 2013). For this reason, while introducing colonial education, the European colonisers destroyed the social practices and disqualified the social agents that operated according to such knowledges (McPherson, 2007; Santos, 2014). Given that colonialism was a violent project from its very outset, the invalidation of the traditional knowledge and the African ways of knowing, therefore, involved brutal tactics.

The legitimisation and delegitimation processes used by Europeans to introduce and establish colonial education in Africa have had far-reaching impacts. First, by invalidating IK, the structures, and social institutions that transmitted that knowledge, the colonial education removed the Africans from their cultural heritage and indigenous forms of learning passed on by elders to new generations (Buchert, 1991; Dei, 2012). Second, due to the unequal exchange among cultures, colonial education led to the demise of IK of the subordinated African culture, thereby contributing to the erasure of the social groups that practised it (Santos, 2014). Third, by subjugating IK and the people who practised it, colonialism led to the social and political domination of the Africans (Shizha, 2006; McPherson, 2007). Fourth, colonial education exposed African learners to fragmented and compartmentalised knowledge contrary to holistic learning which they used to learn in their communities ((McPherson, 2007; Shizha, 2013). Finally, since the colonial schooling constituted the voice of the dominant powers, colonial education led to the loss of indigenous voices, self-identities, and self-confidence (Shizha, 2005).

2.4.2 Reforms in post-independent education system in sub-Saharan Africa

Following the attainment of political independence from the early 1960s, most countries in sub-Saharan Africa inherited a school system which was both inadequate and inappropriate. The inadequacy of the inherited colonial education, for example, was evident in its elitist and pyramidal structure designed to meet the needs and interests of

the few (Nyerere, 1968; Buchert, 1991). In contrast, the inappropriateness of the inherited colonial education was evident in its different purposes, inappropriate pedagogy, and irrelevant curriculum content imparted to its graduates as opposed to the goals and values of the newly independent African states (Buchert, 1991; Owuor, 2007; Shizha, 2013). According to Nyerere (1968), the colonial education aimed to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state by deliberately replacing IK with the knowledge of a different society. Equally, the curriculum content of the inherited colonial education was irrelevant for it was modelled on the British system, with its emphasis on the intellectual arrogance, human inequality, and individualistic instincts (Nyerere, 1968; Rodney, 1972; Buchert, 1991; Shizha, 2006).

As such, some of the newly independent states in Africa took various measures to rectify the main faults and to overcome the legacies of colonialism in the inherited education system. In countries like Tanganyika and Kenya, for instance, among other changes, racial and religious discriminations were abolished in the school system while the curriculum was modified to make education provided in schools much more reflective of the African context (Buchert, 1991; Owuor, 2007). Despite this, the reforms made in the education systems of African countries during the early years of independence did not resolve the core problems of the legacies of the colonial education in terms of purposes, structure, and content particularly (Nyerere, 1968). As a result, various countries in sub-Saharan Africa resorted to both policy and ideological transformation from capitalism to socialism, while other countries like Kenya continued with the capitalist ideology but undertook major curriculum reforms that overhauled the entire school system.

Following such policy, ideological, and curriculum reforms, sub-Saharan African countries attempted in various ways to Africanise school curricula so that they could reflect the social, political, and economic environment of the continent. In countries like Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, the governments introduced diverse forms of Education with Production (EwP) to guide the education system in their nations (Banda, 2008; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2009). In East Africa, Tanzania is renowned for its Education and Self-Reliance (ESR) philosophy and policy that reflected a socialist ideology pursued by a country at the time. In West Africa, countries like Nigeria devised an educational policy that emphasised developing a workforce for economic development and Africanisation of the civil service (Woolman, 2001). Since it may not be possible to look at educational reforms in all African countries after independence, Tanzania and

Zambia are selected as examples of two countries that attempted to implement radical educational changes and transformations aimed at localising the school system.

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in Tanzania

Following the Arusha Declaration of 1967 with its political ideology of Socialism [Ujamaa] and Self-Reliance, Julius Nyerere, the then president of Tanzania, introduced “Education for Self-Reliance” primarily for fostering the social goals of living and working together for the common interest (Nyerere, 1968). ESR introduced new changes and radical transformations in the entire organisational structure and the curriculum content of the education system. In the organisational structure, for instance, ESR proposed to orient schools to rural life by making them integral parts of the local communities (Nyerere, 1968). Regarding the curriculum approach, ESR advocated the curriculum for production by making schools able to deliver meaningful learning experiences through the integration of theory and practice. Besides de-emphasising formal examinations, ESR also stressed the majority-focused curriculum (mass education) which had to draw from traditional African knowledge with the aim of offering the learning experiences, values, and skills that would make learners contribute well to the improvement of life in rural communities of the country (Buchert, 1991).

Nonetheless, while Mwalimu Nyerere’s ideas promoted indigenous discourses in Tanzanian education, the ESR philosophy failed to achieve its intended goals. First, ESR faced opposition from key educational players like teachers, parents, and pupils alike (Mbunda, 1982; Buchert, 1991). Parents, for example, were against an education system that made their children labourers and they perceived it as limiting their opportunities in a changing world (Shizha, 2013). Also, although the entire education system was overhauled and the curriculum changed to reflect the Tanzanian context, the ESR curriculum remained inappropriate as it continued to mirror national contexts rather than specific local contexts (Parkipuny, 1975). Using Kiswahili as the only medium of instruction, for instance, intended to build a national identity but came at the expense of local languages and those ethnic groups that did not have good access to it. Equally, there was the lack of traditional teaching methods as envisaged, and most teachers were incapable of delivering on its curriculum at the formal school level (Semali, 1999).

Consequently, ESR was abandoned in the mid-1980s due to the failure of socialism and the conditions of the structural adjustment programme that demanded the liberalisation of the economy in Tanzania. Following the collapse of ESR, Tanzania embraced

neoliberal policies, and the country's education policy reflected the new ideological and development outlook. Hence, until today, integrating Indigenous and Western education has not been addressed (Semali & Stambach, 1997). Despite its shortcomings, ESR is heralded as exemplary national efforts to localise the curriculum in Tanzania through its emphasis on practical and rural-oriented education that is relevant to learners and society. Also, ESR raised the necessity of parents to participate in planning and designing school curricula (Banda, 2008). Moreover, albeit selectively, ESR encouraged the use of IK and cultural values that reflected activities generated within communities, identified by communities, and benefited the communities (Shizha, 2013). In many ways, Nyerere's ideals about nationalising education were radical and echoed the climate of educational reform taking place elsewhere in Africa at that time (Semali & Stambach, 1997).

Education with Production (EwP) in Zambia

The policy of "Education with Production" was announced by the former President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda as a response to socialist ideology and the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the country at the time (Achola & Kaluba, 1989). EwP aimed to transform Zambia's education system so that it could suit the country's socialist ideology. The assumption behind *EwP* was that the concept was indigenous to pre-colonial African societies (Banda, 2008), and hence, it had an active role to play in the country's socio-economic development (Achola & Kaluba, 1989). Based on the socialist-leaning, in July 1975, Kaunda devised EwP as a guiding educational policy to be pursued by the country (Banda, 2008). As a way of implementing an EwP policy framework, Kaunda issued a directive that made it mandatory for every school in Zambia to incorporate production units (PUs) in their curriculum and school activities (Achola & Kaluba, 1989).

According to Banda (2008), a key transformational impact of EwP had to do with creating awareness of the perceived interrelationship between study and work. Given such interrelationship, the draft had two parallel frameworks for progress through the education system namely: 1) Full-time education involving study and work and; 2) The world of work which encompassed continuing education and in-service education. Nonetheless, EwP which was the archetype of Nyerere's ESR failed to achieve most of its objectives. First, in linking theory with practice, EwP suffered severe challenges in its implementation as agriculture-based activities unrelated to curricular subjects prevailed over the latter in schools (Banda, 2008). Second, most teachers in schools lacked any formal training in agriculture that would give them the theoretical knowledge to inform

practice (Achola & Kaluba, 1989). Finally, EwP lacked coherence due to the credibility gap between the revolutionary humanism brand underpinning EwP and the more liberal and the Christian-based brand of humanism working with Kaunda (Banda, 2008).

Despite its weaknesses, EwP approach attempted to link theory with practice, and in so doing, to ensure more efficient learning and an understanding of production in its social context (Achola & Kaluba, 1989). Also, EwP tried to break down the social division between mental and manual labour that was a characteristic feature of the colonial education under colonialism (Banda, 2008). Most importantly too, the very idea of EwP philosophy was close to the ideas of contextualised and culturally relevant learning (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2009). Due to its successful application in Zambia, EwP and its principles were later modified and became implemented in other southern African countries like Botswana, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Namibia shortly after their independence (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2009). However, like other African countries, Zambia has been following neoliberal educational policies since the early 1990s.

2.4.3 Section conclusion

Colonialism and colonial education symbolised European cultural invasion over traditional African culture and indigenous ways of knowing. The colonial schools, for instance, provided the built-in mechanisms through which the so-called “superior European culture” and “civilisation” were imparted to the Africans for rationalising social, political, and economic exploitations (Shizha, 2013). As Rodney (1972) argues, colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment. By silencing African voices, the Europeans induced historical, cultural, social, and political discontinuity among the Africans, and this tendency remained unresolved even after the independence of African countries from the 1960s. Consequently, the school systems in sub-Saharan Africa are still largely based on educational structures imposed during the colonial era and continues to reflect the legacies of the colonial education system (Owuor, 2007; Shizha, 2013).

Various attempts aiming at reforming the education system undertaken by post-colonial African states so far have not resolved the core issues facing pastoral groups and other rural communities. With the failure of Socialist-led policies like ESR in Tanzania and EwP in Zambia, the neoliberal educational policies have reinforced the hegemony of Western knowledge in African schooling. Based on Novelli’s (2016) analytical distinction of capitalism, imperialism, and modernity, I would argue that both colonial

education and ESR/EwP were ‘modernist’ at heart, with the former being imperialist and the latter being tied to socialist ideas of modernity. This suggests that both the colonial and socialist projects undermined traditional Maasai knowledge albeit in different ways. The decolonisation of the African education system, therefore, remains the biggest challenge not only in terms of the curriculum and teaching strategies but also in terms of the regeneration of knowledge to suit new post-colonial realities (Emeagwali, 2014).

2.5 Approaches to and Models of Education Practice in Pastoral Communities

This section reviews the literature on the current approaches to and models of education in pastoral communities. The first subsection provides a global overview of the provision of formal education for nomadic pastoralists in international contexts. The second subsection discusses how development discourses inform pastoralism and formal education practice in nomadic and pastoralist societies. The last subsection specifically focuses on the current approaches to and models of education among the pastoralists. This section, therefore, sheds light on how various approaches to and models of education practice in pastoralist communities are reflected in development discourses.

2.5.1 Provision and practice of formal education for pastoralists: A global overview

Pastoralists are people who raise livestock and move them to pastures, sustaining themselves from the domestic consumption and sale of animals and their products (Dyer, 2001). The pastoralists live on land and water and make productive use of the natural resources available in the extreme climatic conditions of the world’s fragile drylands (Dyer, 2013). Nomadic populations are widespread across North and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, south, south-west and central Asia, Latin America, northern, and southern Europe (Raymond, 2015). Overall, nomadic groups include hunter-gatherers such as the Kalahari bushmen, the Spinifex or Pila Nguru people in the Great Victoria Desert of Western Australia, the Batak of Northern Palawan in Western Philippines itinerant pot menders in India, Gypsy, and Travelling groups in the UK (Dyer, 2001; Sharma, 2011). Others include the performance artists such as snake charmers in India, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, the sea nomads of Indonesia, fisher-folk of Nigeria, and pastoralists like the Fulani of West Africa and the Maasai of East Africa (Dyer, 2001).

While accurate counts of nomadic populations are hardly available, a rough estimate indicates that nomadic herders comprise millions of people scattered all over the world. For Africa, official figures vary considerably, but it is estimated that about 50 million mobile pastoralists are found in the drylands, while over 200 million agro-pastoralists are

prevalent across the continent (Dyer, 2001). For South Asia, a significant number of pastoralists tend to concentrate in Pakistan, India, the Himalayan region, and semi-arid zones (Sharma, 2011). Despite their significant contributions to both national and global economies, in many countries, the pastoralists are substantially marginalised in social services, including formal education as well as highly vulnerable in terms of high levels of poverty and livelihood security (Little et al., 2007). These problems are caused by several factors, including population growth, droughts, land alienation for agriculture and wildlife uses, decreasing per capita herd sizes, and increasing commoditisation of land and livestock in pastoralist areas (Fratkin, 1997; Little & McPeak, 2014).

For this reason, formal education, in terms of institutionalised schooling rather than indigenous education is often proposed as a solution to many of the variously conceived problems of the pastoralists (Bishop, 2007; Ogachi, 2011). Nonetheless, the proportion of pastoralists in many countries who have accessed formal schooling is small indeed (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Dyer, 2010). This is because reaching pastoralists with formal schooling remains a major challenge as millions of nomadic children are still outside the education system (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill, 2012). The study of six East African countries by Carr-Hill and Peart (2005), for example, found the rates of primary school enrolment for children in pastoralist societies to be below the national average in each country. Consequently, in many countries, pastoralist areas have low rates of enrolment, low retention, high levels of literacy, and limited continuity into secondary education (Krätli, 2000; Bishop, 2007). As we shall see later, various attempts, however, have been made so far by national states and NGOs worldwide to increase educational levels among the pastoralists in different countries around the world (Krätli, 2000; Oxfam, 2005).

2.5.2 Situating pastoralism and formal education in development discourse

To some development theorists, pastoralism is viewed as a stage in socio-economic evolution signalling an intermediate between hunting/gathering and sedentary agricultural life (Idris, 2011). Also, unlike sedentary agriculture, nomadic pastoralism has been widely seen as an irrational and backwards way of life which is expected to die a natural death (Semali, 1994; Dyer, 2001). This implies that the existence of traditional pastoralism in the world today is as an anomaly which should be rectified by using formal education (Idris, 2011). For this reason, from the mid-1980s, pastoralism began to be reconceptualised in terms of modernisation, mainly through improved productivity which would make pastoralists contribute in the economic development of nation states (Bishop,

2007). Consequently, the provision of formal education is meant to modernise pastoralists to become modern livestock producers and people who can use formal schooling as an exit strategy out of pastoralism (Krätli, 2000; Dyer, 2001; Sifuna, 2005; Idris, 2011).

As a result of these negative perspectives, pastoralism has not profited much from policy processes and outcomes of development practices. According to Idris (2011), this occurs because pastoralists are ignored in many development projects, and even when considered, pastoralism is viewed with scepticism. Likewise, for most development thinkers, modernising pastoralists would only be possible once they agree to live a more settled lifestyle (Krätli, 2000). This implies that the dominant hegemony that equates being sedentary with modernisation remains prominent among the policymakers and development practitioners who are often the providers of educational services (Dyer, 2001). In this way, providing formal education to pastoral societies has been seen as an important tool for containing and transforming pastoralists into a sedentary, advanced, and more civilised mode of life (Sifuna, 2005; Ruto, Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009). Importantly too, providing formal education to pastoralists has widely been regarded as a key to including them within the development processes (Krätli, 2000; Dyer, 2001).

Subsequently, most interventions aimed at providing education to pastoral societies have focused on two broad imperatives. First, in many countries, there have been efforts to integrate pastoralists in the mainstream education as a way of containing and transforming pastoral economy and culture to modern forms of life considered as necessary ingredients for overcoming poverty and improving their standard of living (Krätli, 2000; Dyer, 2001). In Wajir District, Northern Kenya, for instance, various initiatives have been undertaken to provide formal education not only for changing pastoralists' attitudes and beliefs but also introducing modern knowledge, better methods, and practices (Mohamed, 1999; Ogachi, 2011). Second, there have been efforts to provide a modified education to pastoral societies based on non-formal models (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Ogachi, 2011). As we shall see later (in section 2.5.3 of this chapter), non-formal education interventions, for example, have been carried out among the Bahima in Mbarara and the Karimojong in Moroto in Uganda with varied levels of successes (Chelimo, 2006; Owiny, 2006).

In sum, while both pastoralism and formal education are featured differently in the literature, each of the two plays somewhat contradictory roles in development discourse. The dominant discourses, for instance, consider traditional pastoralism as a primitive mode of life which is still in a transitional stage to advanced and more civilised form of

life. In the same way, the pastoralists are viewed as irrational, uncivilised, and conservative. Nevertheless, these assumptions have been criticised in that it is incorrect to see pastoralists as resistant to change in general, though they may be resistant to specific changes in their culture (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Moreover, it is not always the case that nomadic pastoralists are the poorest of the rural people than other communities (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Crawhall, 2006). Notwithstanding the existing criticisms, such misconceptions continue to influence the thinking of outsiders, policy makers, planners, and practitioners in development and education discourses.

2.5.3 Models of educational provision in indigenous and pastoral communities

In the literature, approaches to and models of education practice for indigenous peoples, nomads, and pastoralists in general, can be grouped in three main approaches, namely: the conventional models; non-conventional models; and the curricula-tailored models which might be either conventional or non-conventional. These intervention strategies include the use of tents (as in Irani and Mongolia), permanent or semi-permanent structures in areas occupied by nomads (as in Kenya, Nigeria, Eritrea), boarding schools (as in Oman and Mongolia) or no specific provision at all (as in India); and in curricular content, which reflects shifts of ideas about the knowledge and attitudes that will best serve the intended outcomes of the educational experience (as in Nigeria and Uganda) (cf. Dyer, 2001). In general, the most common models of and intervention strategies for education practice in indigenous and pastoral communities include the following:

Mobile (moving) schools

Mobile schools are offered to nomadic pastoralists who are unable to reach conventional schools in their respective areas for they are continually on the move in response to seasonal and occupational demands (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Osman, 2009; Dyer, 2013). In countries such as Mongolia, Iran, Mauritania, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Kenya, mobile schools in varied forms like tent-schools and schools-on-wheels have been experimented with varying degrees of success (Krätli, 2000; Oxfam, 2005; Krätli & Dyer, 2009). In north-eastern Kenya, for instance, various NGOs like OXFAM GB and Child Fund have been engaged in providing a mobile school system for pastoralist children since 1997 (Ruto, Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009; Koissaba, 2013). The revolutionary aspect of the mobile school system is its ability to integrate the culture and lifestyles of the pastoralists with the education programme (Mohamed, 1999; Koissaba, 2013). However, except for Iran, the mobile school's approach is said to have performed far below

expectations (Krätli, 2000). This implies that mobile schools have not provided the best solution for they sometimes turn out to be costly and unsustainable (Sifuna, 2005).

Boarding schools

Boarding schools have been established in various countries like Kenya, Siberia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Mongolia as a traditional response to the problem of the pastoralists' households need for their children in herding (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). In Tanzania and Kenya, for instance, boarding schools have been established in pastoral areas with the aim of allowing pastoralist children to attend school while their families migrate with the livestock (Bishop, 2007; Dyer & Krätli, 2009). Notwithstanding some successes, in both Tanzania and Kenya, there has been a limited response from pastoralist parents who do not entrust sending their children to boarding schools (Sifuna, 2005; Bishop, 2007). This means that despite being more efficient than day schools, boarding schools have not always been the best solution (Sifuna, 2005). Apart from being difficult to manage and costly to sustain, for instance, boarding schools socialise pastoralist children into a different world and gradually alienate them from their nomadic lifestyle (Owiny, 2006; Dyer & Krätli, 2009). The success of boarding schools, therefore, depends primarily not only on the specific situation of each nomadic group but also on the quality of life and effective security in and around the school (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005).

Community-based schools

Community schools have been practised in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Mali, and Pakistan in which some schools managed by communities operate closer to children's homes (Krätli & Dyer, 2009; Sayed, 2009). In northern Ghana, for example, Shepherd School Programme has been providing non-formal education to pastoralist communities since 1996 (Ogachi, 2011). Also, in Mali, Save the Children established several community schools in the early 1990s to increase enrolment and school attendance as well as to equip nomadic children with basic literacy and numeracy skills (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 2010). Community schools have some advantages over conventional schools in terms of their potential for expanding access to more students, being responsive to the local needs, and cost-effective with better instructional services for less money (Uemura, 1999; Ogachi, 2011). However, the community schools are constrained by centralised national curricula stressing academic achievements rather than practical skills relevant to pastoralists (Osman, 2009).

Open and distance learning (ODL)

There has been increased experimentation with non-formal models in countries like Mongolia, Kenya, Uganda, and Somalia. The non-formal models of education practice involve the use of Koranic schools and the provision of education through open and distance learning (ODL) (Krätli & Dyer, 2009). The most successful example with nomads is the UNESCO adult education project of 1990 in Mongolia which targeted women of nomad households in the Gobi Desert (Krätli, 2000; Krätli & Dyer, 2009). Also, in northern Kenya, Kenyatta University established the Open Learning Centre in 2008 with the aim of offering a distance learning programme to pastoralist women in Marsabit District (Ruto, Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009). In many countries, ODL is said to have increased nomads' enrolment with no differences between boys (Krätli & Dyer, 2009). ODL has also been credited as an evolving approach that can offer opportunities for nomads to access formal education while on the move, thereby bypassing the physical limitations of a school-based education (Owiny, 2006; Siele, Swift & Krätli, 2011). Equally, the ODL approach has been able to address the current trade-off between formal education and productivity among the pastoralists (Krätli & Dyer, 2009).

Alternative basic education (ABE)

An alternative basic education (ABE) is one of the most successful models for offering non-formal education to pastoralists in some countries. ABE started in Karamoja (Uganda) as ABEK in 1998, replicated in Turkana (Kenya) as ABET in 2004, and later introduced in Ethiopia. The ABE programme in Uganda, for instance, is community managed with parents being highly involved, modules being written in Nakaramojong language, and the subjects having immediate practical relevance to the tribe's pastoral lifestyle (Owiny, 2006; Chelimo, 2006). The ABEK schools in Uganda are an example of the most successful models of educational intervention that increased enrolment from 4,097 in 1998 to 35,192 in 2005, an increase of 860 per cent over six years (Chelimo, 2006; De Souza, 2007). Nonetheless, the success of ABE among the pastoralists largely depends on the extent to which it is adapted to their culture, economy, and livelihoods which conserve all the sound and healthy fabrics of their social life (Owiny, 2006).

Indigenous education-based schools

In some countries, there has been the development of separate schools catering for learning needs of indigenous people, religious, and linguistic minorities within their nations. In Latin America, various types of indigenous schools have been practised in

countries like Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Chile (Aikman, 1994; Bryan, 2009). In Brazil, indigenous education, for example, is currently provided to about 165,000 students in 2,332 indigenous schools (Bryan, 2009) while in Bolivia about 1,200 children in indigenous schools learn better and in a meaningful way, both established standard contents and relevant contents from their own cultures (Rodriguez, 2009). In North America, aboriginal residential schools are common in Canada while Alaska native schools are dominant in the USA (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). The indigenous models of schooling differ from their mainstream counterparts by having more culturally related content, classes given in more than one language, and they draw on the resources of traditional knowledge (Aikman, 1994; Bryan, 2009). Also, in indigenous models of schools, teachers, parents, and students are involved in designing, defining, implementing, and evaluating school programmes and curricula (Rodriguez, 2009).

2.5.4 Section conclusion

This section has identified various intervention strategies, including mobile, community-based, and boarding schools as well as ODL, and indigenous-based schools that have been undertaken in different countries to include pastoralists in formal education. Research on models of education practice tried so far in pastoral communities shows mixed results, with some initiatives succeeding to include pastoralists in education, and others not. While factors for these mixed results are complex and invariably different from one context to another (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005), there seems to be a strong tension between conventional and non-conventional models of education. The section concludes that the most important feature for successful approaches to education for pastoralists is their capacity to support and adapt to the pastoral culture, economy, and livelihoods.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has mainly focused on reviewing the literature related to the existing encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge in pastoral communities. The chapter has delineated various debates that have influenced the nature of and the relationship between Indigenous and Western knowledge in development discourse since the colonial era to the post-colonial period in sub-Saharan Africa. The literature indicates that not only have the hegemonic discourses influenced the relationship between IK and Western knowledge but also have led to the socio-political, economic marginalisation, and the exclusion of IK in education and development discourses (Shizha, 2006). Likewise, the provision of formal education among the pastoralists has been dominated

by Western hegemonic discourses which have, in turn, influenced diverse approaches to education practice in pastoral communities. Due to this, various approaches to education practice among the pastoralists have been unable to respond to their learning needs, pastoral culture, economy, and livelihoods (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Owiny, 2006).

Based on the review of the literature, this chapter calls for the new approaches that can decolonise knowledge and debunk the myths surrounding the hegemony of Western knowledge in education and development discourses. Santos (2014) suggests the need for an epistemology of seeing which leads us to solidarity as the point of knowing by recognising the other as an equal producer of knowledge. Equally, as Shizha (2014) maintains, any attempt towards the decolonisation of African education system must consider the role of IK, which has been a much-neglected aspect of Africa's educational reform. In this spirit, my research takes the indigenous perspective to establish a basis that may provide a relevant and meaningful education for the Maasai pastoralists. Based on the indigenous standpoint, the thesis argues for social justice of the Maasai pastoralists and other marginalised ethnic groups to determine their own path towards a kind of education system they might prefer and want for themselves and their children.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY, AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the design, methodological approaches, and methods used for generating, analysing, and presenting data for this thesis. The chapter is organised into various sections and subsections. The main sections cover several aspects of research, including the ontological and theoretical frameworks, the design and methodological approach to the research, and methods of data collection. The chapter also covers aspects such as the location and fieldwork sites of the study, data analysis, and presentation of the research findings. Moreover, the chapter discusses some ethical issues and researcher's reflexivity (positionality, and power relations) that emerged during my fieldwork in Maasailand. Finally, the chapter reflects on some methodological, epistemological, and ontological understandings emerging from this work.

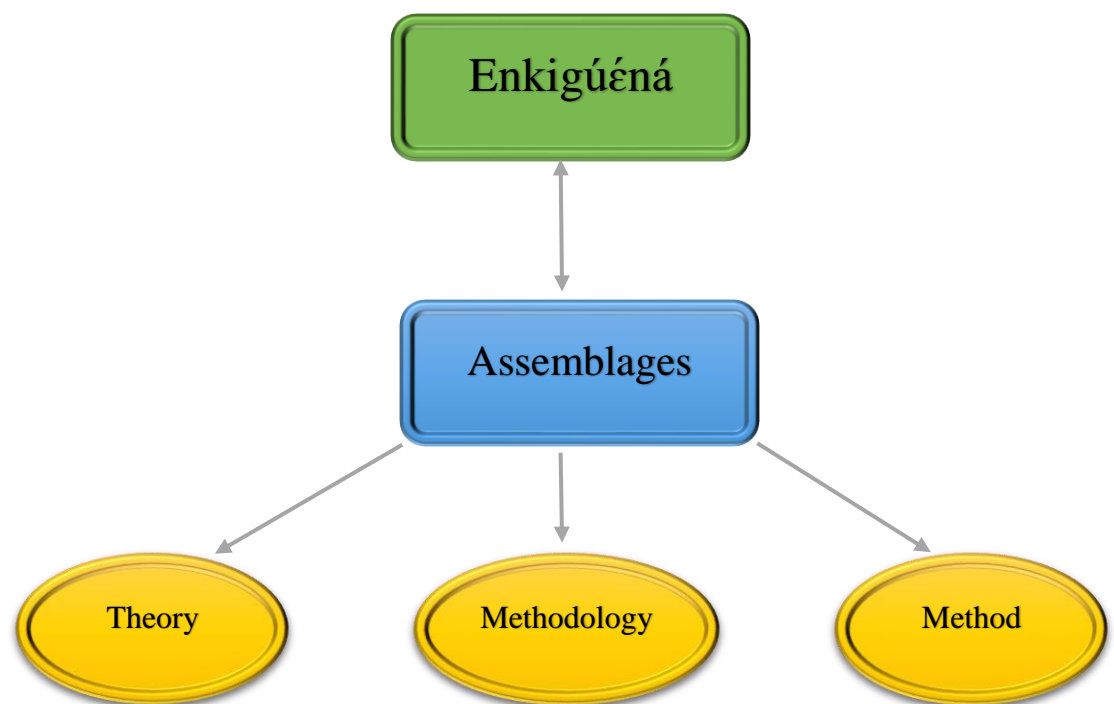
3.2 “Enkigúéná” as an Ontological Framework for Social Research

As a Maa term, ‘enkigúéna’ (pl. *inkiguenát*) literally means “meeting”. Based on its literal and non-literal connotations, the meaning of *enkigúéna* can further be extended to refer to an “assemblage”. Initially developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), assemblage is an ontological framework for analysing social reality based on the fluidity, complexity, and multiple functionalities of entities and their connectivity in the whole. For Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.34), “*Assemblages are necessary for the unity of composition enveloped in a stratum, the relations between a given stratum and the others, and the relation between these strata and the plane of consistency to be organised rather than random*”. Equally, assemblage embraces a wide variety of incompatible components in the synthetic ways without reducing the properties of a whole to its parts (Watson-Verran & Turnbull, 2001; DeLanda, 2006). In this way, assemblage has enabled incommensurable knowledges to move in space and time from the local site and moment of their production to other places and times (Watson-Verran & Turnbull, 2001).

Like assemblage, *enkigúéná* provides the ontological framework for analysing social reality through a dialogue which allows different knowledge contributions of complex and multiple individuals to interact, overlap, and interfere with each other as they weave together (through *dialogue*) a consensus (Goldman, 2006). The *enkigúéná* ontological framework is useful here for various reasons. First, it places Indigenous and Western

knowledge within a landscape of power relations where, in Bainton's (2007) sense, the possibility of hierarchy dissolves and, in their different locatedness, we can see both knowledge systems operating more clearly. Second, *enkigúéná* is appropriate not only as an ontological framework but also a meta-analytical tool that weaves together different theories, methodologies, and methods into *assemblages*. Such weaving, as Verran (2002) argues, produces a "postcolonial moment" through dialogue while respecting the difference between knowledge systems historically categorised in hierarchy.

Alongside *enkigúéná*, the notion of *assemblage* has become a useful metaphor for establishing a connection between theories, methodologies, and methods. For analytical purposes, I have categorised these assemblages into three parts, notably: the "theoretical assemblage", "methodological assemblage", and "method assemblage". Different ways through which each *assemblage* has been applied in the thesis are briefly discussed:



3.2.1 Theoretical assemblage

My theoretical positioning provides a possibility for accommodating several theories, perspectives, and multiple ways of knowing through *assemblages*. This theoretical assemblage is operationalised in different ways. First, the theoretical positioning is underpinned by drawing together the ideas and thoughts from postcolonial and world system theories, which have been operationalised using a variant of social justice approach as a metatheory that weaves together more cultural insights from postcolonial

theory and more political-economic insights of world system theory into a theoretical assemblage. Second, various local concepts from Maa, as well as ideas and thoughts from Maasai philosophy, have informed the thesis. The use of local concepts enables me to consider language as a “powerful weapon” for the marginalised to speak themselves differently and, in so doing, not only engage in a purposeful resistance (Cole & Graham, 2012) but also in a “practical ideology” (Rigby, 1992). My thesis, therefore, has attempted in different ways to weave various theoretical ideas and perspectives together into a theoretical assemblage which is not singular, but complex, multiple, and multisided.

3.2.2 Methodological assemblage

Both ethnography and indigenous methodology underpin the methodological approach of this research. As Bainton (2007) maintains, ethnography, both in its political and epistemological sensitivity and perhaps most critically in its focus upon the embodied intersubjective encounter has the potential to make the world anew by its praxis. The indigenous methodology by its emphasis on IK can make visible the ways of being (ontology), ways of knowing (epistemology), and ways of doing (axiologies) of the marginalised indigenous populations (cf. Hart, 2010; Chilisa, 2012). For this reason, I have woven both methodologies into *enkigúéna* as a useful methodological assemblage for promoting a constructive dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. Based on its potential role in combining the local and the global, I have designated this methodological assemblage as a *glocalised research design*.

3.2.3 Method assemblage

Law (2004) defines a *method assemblage* as the process of enacting bundles of ramifying relations that condense presence and generate absence by shaping, mediating, separating and manifesting realities out-there and depictions of those realities in-here. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.22), “*To attain the multiple, one must have methods that effectively construct it*”. For this reason, method assemblage is crucial for exploring the enactment of and the interactions between different social realities (Law, 2004). The multiple theoretical perspectives employed in this study necessitated me to apply multiple research methods from diverse knowledge systems and ways of knowing by weaving together the ethnographic and indigenous lines of inquiries into a method assemblage.

3.3 Theoretical Positioning and Other Conceptual Imaginings

The theoretical roots of this research are underpinned by drawing together *postcolonial theory* and *world system theory* operationalised using a variant of *social justice*

framework. This approach allows me to draw together post-colonialist cultural insights and more materialist insights into a conceptual framework for this research. The theoretical positioning can simply be illustrated diagrammatically as shown in Figure 3:

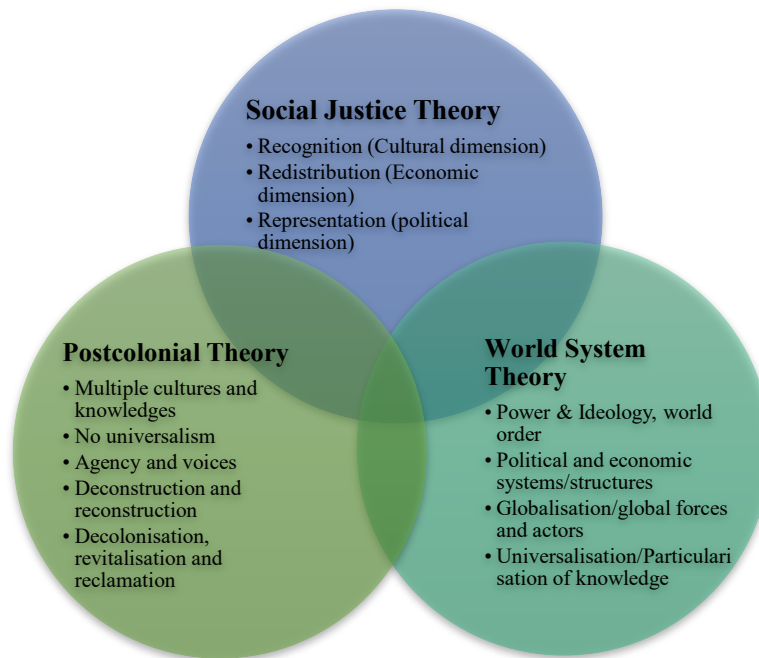


Figure 3: An illustrative diagram of the theoretical framework applied in this thesis

3.3.1 Postcolonial theory

Postcolonial theory examines critically how Western theory and knowledge have dealt with alternative voices and different ways of knowing (Said, 1978; Mapara, 2009). The theory asserts that there are multiple forms of knowledge with respective ways of knowing (Briggs & Sharp, 2004; Dei, 2012; Shizha, 2013) which offer possible spaces for indigenous knowledge to exist alongside Western knowledge as equals and not as the Other (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1995). This suggests that knowledge production in postcolonial theory emanates from multiple sites, sources, and conditions (Semali, 1999; Dei, 2000; 2005). Similarly, postcolonial theory rejects the superiority and universalism of Western knowledge and calls for the deconstruction and hybridisation of knowledge universalism (Bhabha, 1995; Shizha, 2006). Importantly, postcolonial theory reclaims the histories, cultures, identities, and agency of the formerly colonised peoples that were distorted by colonialism (Said, 1978; Gandhi, 1998; Shizha, 2006; Mapara, 2009).

As such, postcolonial theory engages this research in the struggles for cultural identities, reclamation, and revitalisation of IK resources that have been marginalised under Western education system (Mapara, 2009). Also, the thesis employs postcolonial theory to accord agency to the Maasai by presenting them as subjects of history and not as subaltern

subjects who cannot speak (Spivak, 1995). Through postcolonial lens, the thesis has analysed the colonial, post-colonial, and existing educational processes and structures that reproduce the hegemonic ways of knowing at the expense of IK in Tanzania's school system. Likewise, the theory has problematised the marginalisation of Maasai voices and their traditional knowledge as a subordinate group in formal schooling (Dei, 2005).

3.3.2 World system theory

World system theory sheds light on the political and economic structures which determine the dominance and hegemony of Western Knowledge against other forms of knowledge in the global system. Also, the theory focuses on the efforts of the core states to manipulate educational systems in periphery nations to disseminate ideologies supportive of their interests (Clayton, 1998; Spring, 2009). This is manifested in the way the global knowledge and power are arranged in the hierarchy of knowledge systems in which Western knowledge is privileged over others (Weiler, 2011). In this way, world system theory assumes that knowledge systems are part of the capitalist system which cannot be divorced from the basic operations of the world system, and they are essential elements in the functioning and legitimation of the political, economic, and social structures of the system (Chase-Dunn & Grimes, 1995; Wallerstein, 1998; 2004; 2006). In the world system, both Indigenous and Western knowledge are rooted in the capitalist world-economy which implants its neoliberal ideologies and values through formal education (Spring, 2009). World system theory, therefore, engages this thesis in analysing how the Maasai are integrated into and affected by local, national, and global systems.

3.3.3 Social justice approach

This research uses Nancy Fraser's three dimensions of social justice to inform the extent to which social injustices contribute to the marginalisation of the Maasai pastoralists and their traditional knowledge system in education. These dimensions comprise: First, distributive justice (redistribution), which is concerned with equity in the distribution of resources and wealth, including cultural and social resources (Gewirtz, 2006). In education, redistribution is to do with equal access to educational resources and services such as schools, teachers, and textbooks to all categories of people in society (Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Cazden, 2012). Second, recognitional justice (cultural dimension), which is concerned with identity (status) and cultural recognition (Taylor, 1994; Fraser, 1995; 2000; 2009). In education, recognitional justice is an approach that recognises schooling practices that draw on different worldviews and knowledges outside the formal state

system (Aikman, 2011). Third, participatory justice that deals mainly with political representations is also constitutive of the other two dimensions of social justice (Fraser, 2005). Nevertheless, in education practice, representation involves the rights of individuals and groups to have their voices heard in debates about social justice and injustice and to actively participate in decision-making (Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

Social justice approach, therefore, focuses on the ways education can be applied to empower marginalised individuals and communities by giving them power and voices in making decisions about the processes of schooling and the kind of education (in both forms and contents) that is relevant to and meaningful for them and their children.

3.3.4 Experiencing theories, methodologies, and methods in research

To be useful, theories, methodologies, and methods should both be linked to the research problem and questions in a coherent way through the means of experiencing. The first research question concerning IK and its articulations in Maasai society, for instance, is voiced well by both postcolonial and social justice theories. However, in answering that research question, I employed the research methodologies and methods which were sensitive to IK in the Maasai community. In practice, not only did I interview people about traditional knowledge, but also, I observed and participated in knowledge practices like herding, traditional rituals, and *olpûl* (meat-feast camps) to experience the embodied, experiential, interactive, and performative nature of this knowledge. During my fieldwork in Engaruka, for example, I spent a week attending *olpûl* to observe the mechanisms of producing and transmitting traditional knowledge in contemporary Maasai society.

Also, during my fieldwork in Monduli, I visited formal schools where I observed the practice of formal schooling alongside talking to teachers and students in schools to understand their views, perceptions, and experiences about Western education. Equally, not only did I visit some non-governmental schools to explore how they attempted to offer different educational experiences for Maasai children but also to look at the tensions, contradictions, and paradoxes involved in their endeavour to provide counterhegemonic Maasai education. In all these research encounters, postcolonial theory, world system theory, and social justice approach as an operationalising metatheory guided my methodologies and methods. The methodologies and methods applied here were useful not only in answering the question about Maasai students' experiences with and perceptions of formal schooling in schools but also the question about the Maasai views on valued education as well as their responses to formal schooling in their community.

3.4 Specific Study Sites

Although the general area of the fieldwork was Monduli District, it could not be possible to visit all places in the district. I, therefore, selected three specific sites where I carried out my fieldwork (See Figure 4 for details). These sites are described as follows:

3.4.1 Meserani

Meserani is an administrative Ward comprising three villages namely, Meserani Juu, Meserani Chini, and Naalarami in the southern part of the Monduli District. According to the National Census of 2012, the ward had a population of 11,301 where 5,400 were males, and 5,901 were females (NBS, 2013). The climate of Meserani is arid and semi-arid characterised by open grassland and persistent droughts with a mean annual rainfall varying from 600mm to 700mm (Kiunsi, 2010). Meserani has an average maximum temperature of 27°C while the mean minimum of temperature is 16°C (Nonga & Haruna, 2015). Meserani village was chosen as a site for a three weeks' pilot study during an initial phase based on two criteria: first, the area is situated close to Duka Bovu village centre and Monduli township where it was easy to get the research assistants, accommodation, and transport to and from deep inside Meserani; and second, Meserani is situated on the highways from Arusha to Singida and Serengeti National Park, thereby making it susceptible to the influences of globalisation. I intended to understand how the attitudes and experiences of the Maasai who are profoundly affected by the influences of modernity differ from those living in the remote parts like Eluwai and Engaruka.

3.4.2 Engaruka

Engaruka is a semi-desert area featured by acacia shrubs and wooded savannah merging with the Ngorongoro Highlands (Ndagala, 1982; Caretta, 2015). The Engaruka Basin receives little rainfall with an average of 462mm per annum, whereas the annual mean temperature is 23.1 °C (Westerberg, 2010). Administratively, Engaruka is a Ward consisting of two villages of Engaruka Juu and Engaruka Chini alongside other several localities (Caretta, 2015). According to the National Census data of 2012, Engaruka Ward had a total population of 11,121 with 5,314 men and 5,807 women (NBS, 2013). Engaruka was selected as a fieldwork site because the area is remote from any urban centre with the nearest being Mto wa Mbu 63 Kilometres to the south. The area is characterised by poor road transport with only one bus service a day between Engaruka and Arusha City 88 kilometres away. Given the focus of my study, the isolation of

Engaruka from urban centres made it an ideal place for this research. This choice allowed me to explore IK and other cultural practices in their naturally occurring settings.

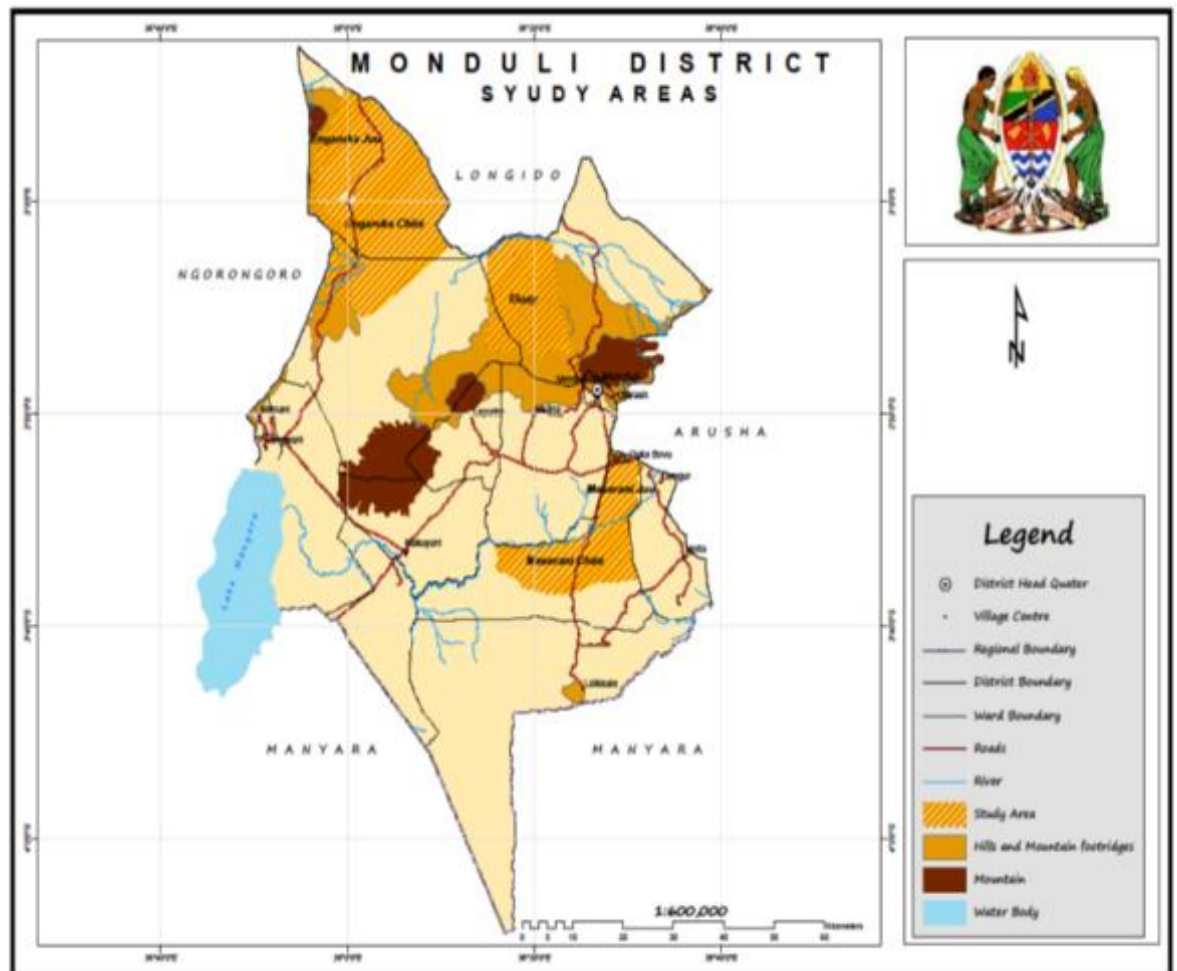


Figure 4: Sketch map showing the research areas and sites in Monduli District

Source: Fieldwork

3.4.3 Eluwai

As a village in the Monduli Juu Ward, Eluwai comprises wooded grasslands, plains, and Tarsero peak (Ndagala, 1982). Like other parts of Monduli, Eluwai enjoys a temperate climate at 1500-1800mm rainfall per annum (Harvey, 2013). Situated at a relatively high altitude, Eluwai receives heavy rainfall and more extreme temperatures with an average maximum temperature of 27°C and a minimum of 16°C per annum (Ndagala, 1982). Also, the area has no permanent sources of water making it vulnerable to an acute shortage of water (Harvey, 2013). According to the National Census of 2012, Eluwai had a total population of 4,809 (NBS, 2013). But Eluwai is one of the most isolated areas in Monduli as there are no transport networks like roads for connecting it with other parts of the district. Eluwai was chosen as a fieldwork site because of the presence of

Noonkodin School reportedly to be one of the few schools in Tanzania that offers “Indigenous Knowledge” as a unique programme (Burford et al., 2012). Similarly, the presence of Eluwai Primary School in the same location with Noonkodin Secondary School allowed me to hit two birds with one stone. As a result, I conducted fieldwork concurrently in both schools in one trip, regularly shifting from one school to another.

3.5 Research Design and Methodological Approach to the Study

This research employs a *glocalised research design* that draws from both Indigenous and non-indigenous lines of inquiry. This methodology borrows a concept of ‘glocalised’ from economic terms ‘glocalise’ and ‘glocalisation’ that originated from Japanese scholars in the late 1980s, and later became popularised by Roland Robertson (Khondker, 2004; Gobo, 2011). Nonetheless, what I have called the ‘glocalised research design’ is my own creation that has been put into practice as far as I can ascertain for the first time in social research. This design of research seeks to provide a conceptual framework for exploring a dialogical exchange between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge systems (Nakata, 2007; McGinty, 2012). Similarly, the research design aligns well with Nakata’s (2007) notion of “cultural interface” or traditional Maasai concept of “enkigúéna” as it generates an opportunity for innovation and creative dialogue (Bala & Joseph, 2007) between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge systems essential for creating new knowledge (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009; McGinty, 2012).

3.5.1 Theoretical assumptions and principles of the glocalised research design

Theoretically, the glocalised research design is grounded in four core assumptions:

- i) It centres indigenous people’s worldviews and knowledge systems at the vantage point of a *dialogical exchange* with other forms of knowledge in the research process as opposed to the universalised Western worldview and knowledge systems.
- ii) It uses locally-based, context-based, and culturally sensitive methods and techniques of data generation in the research process.
- iii) It uses flexible, adaptable, and emergent methods in the research process contingent upon the local specificities and cultural contexts.
- iv) It acknowledges the plurality, differences, and tensions across cultures and knowledge systems. The research design, therefore, quests for a *cultural interface* inclusive of diverse cultures and knowledge systems in meaningful ways.

The glocalised research design and methodological approach employed by this research can be illustrated diagrammatically as shown in figure 5 below:



Figure 5: An illustrative representation of the glocalised methodological approach

3.5.2 Rationale behind the glocalised research design for this thesis

The first reason is related to the nature of the study itself. Given that this ethnographic study primarily explores the encounter between Indigenous and Western education among the Maasai, the design allows me to inquire into that encounter by drawing from both indigenous and western methods of inquiry (Mwadime, 1999). Second, since this study explores two knowledge systems that emanate from different contexts and cultures, the *glocalised research design* is essential for cultural interface and dialogical exchange between two cultures (Nakata, 2007; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009; McGinty, 2012). This is principally because any knowledge system and its methods of inquiry cannot be divorced from its cultural contexts and worldviews (Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). Equally, the methodological approach resonates with theoretical positionings, namely: postcolonial, world system, and social justice theories that inform this research.

Subsequently, weaving together theories and glocalised research design create spaces for the local-global nexus of a new knowledge formation (Dei, 2000; Mapara, 2009). Despite sharing strategies for engaging colonial power, for example, postcolonial theory remains useful to the analyses of the local (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002). Also, in recognition of the inseparability of IK from the broader global systems of knowledge, the methodology embraces flexibility, emergence, and adaptability as essential facets in framing the research. Correspondingly, the process of considering the local-global nexus in the glocalised methodology concurs further with *world system theory* that emphasises the universalisation of particulars and particularisation of universals in a kind of constant dialectical exchange between the knowledge systems (Wallerstein, 2006).

3.6 Phases of Fieldwork

My fieldwork covered eight months from October 2014 to May 2015. In these eight months, six months were spent for the fieldwork in Monduli and the remaining two months were spent for the archival and documentary reviews of primary and secondary sources of data in Dar es Salaam. In overall, my fieldwork involved two phases:

3.6.1 Piloting phase

During a piloting phase, I carried out my fieldwork in Meserani (See Figure 4 above) and at Monduli Juu Primary School in Monduli Juu Ward for one month of October 2014. I used this phase to orient myself to the local environment alongside studying some basics of Maasai culture and the Maa language. Also, I used this piloting phase not only to identify relevant sites for fieldwork but also to train and equip the research assistants with some basics about the conduct of this research. Moreover, I used this phase to test the research tools so they could be modified before commencing the actual fieldwork. This suggests that the piloting phase was perhaps much more a reflection of the effectiveness and workability of the theoretical, design, and methodological approaches adopted for this study before proceeding any further with fieldwork. It is, therefore, worth admitting that the data obtained during this phase constitute a significant part of the thesis.

3.6.2 Fieldwork phase

The actual fieldwork phase took place from November 2014 to April 2015. This phase involved two research sites, namely Engaruka and Eluwai. The moments of data collections in the two sites during the fieldwork phase are described below:

Moments of fieldwork in Engaruka

The ethnographic fieldwork itself was carried out in two stages covering a total of four months alternated with two separate visits to Engaruka between November 2014 and April 2015. The first longer visit covered three months from early November 2014 to the end of January 2015. The second shorter visit covered one month from early March to early April 2015. During the entire period of fieldwork in Engaruka, Alex Meliyo (my research assistant from Meserani) and I were accommodated in a house of Zephaniah Hosea Leindoi, an elder brother of Losotu Leindoi. I assumed that living in traditional Maasai homestead alongside Losotu (our local research assistant), other relatives of an extended family, and their neighbours was essential in building a rapport and establishing a close relationship with various people in the local area. Because of living with our hosts in their homesteads, many people and neighbours from the surrounding localities became acquainted with us, got to know our presence, and the intention of being there.

During the first phase of fieldwork, I was a participant-observer of people's daily life in their natural settings while also generating, recording, and analysing basic ethnographic data with attention to the familial, social, cultural, economic, and political lives. I also spent time walking from one locality to another talking to different people, elders, chiefs,

and IK practitioners like circumcisers both formally and informally. Most importantly, I spent time participating in the familial and community's daily activities like shepherding and local meetings as well as socio-cultural events like circumcision, birth, and wedding rituals taking place in the community. Through such social events, not only did I get to know how the Maasai live, do things, and interact among themselves but also, I grasped their perceptions of the outside world and formal schooling around them.

Likewise, during the second shorter trip that took place between March and April 2015 in Engaruka, among others, three tasks were accomplished. First, I paid a one-week visit per each school as a participant-observer at Engaruka Juu Primary School and Oldonyo Lengai Secondary School spending my time talking to teachers and students about a broad range of topics relevant to this research. Second, I spent one week participating in *olpûl* ceremony taking place in the bush. The participation in *olpûl* remains a memorable experience that this fieldwork offered me while in Engaruka. Third, I used this trip to wind up my fieldwork by accomplishing all tasks that remained unfinished in the first visit as well as bidding farewell to the participants and other community members.

Moments of fieldwork in Eluwai

I spent one month in Eluwai carrying out fieldwork at Noonkodin Secondary School and Eluwai Primary School. Throughout a one-month period in Eluwai, I was a participant and classroom observer of the day-to-day classes and school life experiences of both teachers and students in their natural setting. While living in Eluwai, I could observe their daily routines and a wide range of activities taking place in school. Alongside the participant-observation, I obtained a chance to hold interviews and focus groups with both teachers and students respectively. It was at Noonkodin, for instance, where I explored different tensions, contradictions, and conflicts in relation to intercultural education practice alongside the standardised national school curriculum at the school.

3.6.3 Documentary review phase

This third phase covered two months from the early of April to the end of May 2015. I spent this period in Dar es Salaam where I engaged in analysing archival and documentary sources of some primary and secondary data about the Maasai which are locally available in the hard copies at the University of Dar es Salaam. I further used this period to carry on analysing the preliminary data and developing key themes and narratives.

3.7 Methods of Data Creation and Knowledge Production

This study employed various methods from both the indigenous and ethnographic lines of inquiry for generating data. The indigenous methods of inquiry are locally-based and culturally appropriate techniques that are used to inquire about IK in ways that are more ethical, respectful, and beneficial to the indigenous people (Porsanger, 2004). In contrast, ethnographic methods are useful in understanding the worldviews and ways of life of actual people in the contexts of their everyday lived experiences (Crang & Cook, 2007). Ethnography is also feasible for this study because it involves not only multiple methods and multiple investigators but also multiple theoretical frameworks (Falzon, 2009). The design and methodological approach adopted in this thesis calls for the methods of data generation which are appropriate to the cultural and local contexts of the community under study. Due to this, the research attempted in diverse ways to live up to the glocalised design and methodological approach by ensuring that whatever type of methods employed in the research process was adapted to the local and cultural context of the Maasai. The following methods were used to generate various sorts of data:

3.7.1 *Olpûl* camping

As I shifted to Eluwai in early March 2015 during the second visit, I chose to participate in *olpûl* to experience the realities of IK in ways that could not merely be learnt by questioning and responding to questions. In this regard, I employed *olpûl* as an indigenous method of data creation since the meat-feast ritual facilitates the process of knowledge production, exchange, and transmission among the Maasai. This is consistent, I believe, given my methodological positioning embedded in the glocalised design. The *olpûl* camp method resembles the participant observation in that it involves researcher's observation and participation in the event. Nevertheless, what makes *olpûl* unique and perhaps differentiates it from participant-observation is its experiential character and performative features as well as human interactions with nature that add flavours to the event. Most significantly, the *olpûl* ceremony implies both an event and a process comprising other techniques of data collections such as oral traditions and informal conversations. During the *olpûl* camping, I generated a large amount of data through watching the processes involved in the ritual performance and participating in the event as well as through storytelling, songs, and proverbs that accompany it. The *olpûl* ritual involved eight participants, including two co-researchers, two Maasai elders, and four morans.

3.7.2 Culture-sharing

This method involves an act of culture-sharing between the researcher and the research participants about various cultural experiences and knowledge practices. I applied this method to elicit deeper information from the participants about different aspects of their IK and culture. Culture-sharing is culturally friendly in informing the experiential and lived experiences of both the researcher and the participants (Hart, 2010; Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2012). In this method, the participants and I exchanged ideas, feelings, and experiences about a wide range of issues related to IK practices in our own societies. The culture-sharing method included ten Maasai parents in Meserani and Engaruka. The culture-sharing technique was a useful method of data generation in the following ways: a) The method provided informative and detailed rich data about IK and pastoral culture; the data of which could not be well captured through other methods; b) The method permitted the participants and me to share the views, feelings, experiences, and skills related to IK and cultural practices in our own societies; c) The culture-sharing method not only established equality and trust but also facilitated strong cooperation and close friendship between the researcher and the participants in the research encounter.

3.7.3 Participant-observation

I spent an entire period of fieldwork in Monduli as a participant-observer of the daily life of the Maasai in their naturally occurring settings in three different contexts. First, I participated in the day-to-day life, social events, and activities of the Maasai, including shepherding, cultural rituals, and community meetings where I interacted with the participants to understand their worldviews and ways of life as expressed in their everyday lived experiences. In this way, I engaged myself in what Crang and Cook (2007, p.37) call the “*immersion of the self into the everyday rhythms and routines of the community*”. Similarly, I applied the participant-observation in the school settings where I interacted overtly with teachers and students in classes with the aim of penetrating their inner school life and experiences (Woods, 2005). Nevertheless, in all those different contexts of the participant-observation, I maintained a professional distance that not only allowed me to observe, record, and generate fieldwork data but also to reflect critically on myself (Brewer, 2000; Crang & Cook, 2007; Fetterman, 2010). This participant observer’s dual role is what Brewer (2000) calls “insider vis-à-vis outsider status”.

3.7.4 Interviewing/listening

Interviewing is an open, democratic, two-way, formal, informal conversation, and free-flowing process, and wherein people can be ‘themselves’ and not feel bound by rules (Woods, 2005). During my fieldwork in Monduli, I used both formal and informal interviews to elicit information from the participants who included two local chiefs, one male circumciser, 29 Maasai elders (15 men and 14 women), one NGO official, and five school heads/deputies about a range of topics in question. In interviewing participants, I adopted both semi-structured and unstructured approaches involving a one-to-one interview with open-ended questions to allow the participants to voice their experiences unconstrained by my perspectives (Creswell, 2012). I also applied the biographical interviews to 17 school dropouts (nine morans and eight girls) with the aim of eliciting information about their personal life stories and past school experiences. Fundamental to my interviewing technique was the use of a ‘dialogical approach’, the research process which takes interviewing as a two-way process in which both an interviewer and an interviewee have an equal right to ask and respond to the research questions.

The *two-way approach* the interviewing process has several advantages which are worthy of mention here. The approach of offering the participants an opportunity for additional questions and comments helped to enrich this research in different ways: a) I was able to obtain additional experiences, ideas, and skills from the participants on issues which were relevant to them but could be overlooked or not asked; b) This approach allowed the participants to ask me extra questions on matters which needed further clarifications; c) The approach enabled me to understand the participants’ views, opinions, and ideas regarding the conduct of research as well as their feelings and opinions about me as an outsider researcher; d) The process enabled me to provide further information on some ethical issues which could not be covered by the research assistants during the introduction; e) The two-way interviewing approach established equal power relations between the researcher and the participants through active interaction and collaboration, thereby leading to the co-construction of knowledge in the research encounter.

3.7.5 Focus groups

The focus groups are a key means through which groups of people may discuss their experiences and thoughts about specific topics with the researcher and with each other (Crang & Cook, 2007). I applied focus groups to generate information from 107 Maasai parents, 22 out-of-school morans; eight out-of-school girls, 70 students (boys and girls),

and 31 teachers (20 males and 11 females). Through group discussions, I could gauge the range of opinions, attitudes, and experiences on a set of issues related to indigenous and formal education in the Maasai community. This implies that the focus groups provided forums for discussing the plurality as well as conflicting views and opinions that individuals and groups hold among themselves. Focus groups, as Crang and Cook (2007) argue, can become the ‘spaces of resistance’ in which the research participants collectively attain their social agency and produce knowledge. Focus groups were an effective tool for eliciting information from the participants as they shared their ideas, feelings, and experience concerning IK and Western knowledge in their community. At the end of the session, I gave the participants an opportunity to ask questions and give further comments in respect of different issues raised during the discussion.

3.7.6 Visual methods

An analysis of various cultural objects and artefacts is critical in understanding cultural meanings embodied in material objects found in a community (Crang & Cook, 2007). In Maasailand, fieldwork cannot be complete without taking photos because the Maasai themselves have become the “*people of camera*” mostly fond of taking pictures with their colourful dressings. In this research, I took several photos as much as I could to capture some fieldwork moments and experiences which could be hard to describe vividly in words alone (Crang & Cook, 2007). Being consistent with English saying that, “*A picture is worth a thousand words*”, I have embellished some chapters of this thesis with some photos and visual images that are to do with adding extra flavour to the topics in question. Some images represent events, others represent real moments, and others are about material culture. This is consistent, I feel, with Lister and Wells’ (2001, p.61) argument that “*In practice, it is seldom, if ever, possible to separate the cultures of everyday life from practices of representation, visual or otherwise*”. In this thesis, therefore, the reader will encounter several pictures and visual images which are not necessarily used as data to be analysed and interpreted but are to do more with an alternative representation of some fieldwork events, moments, and experiences standing outside the text.

3.7.7 Documentary, archival, and electronic resources analysis

I analysed both primary and secondary data, including archives, official and non-official documents such as the curricula and policy documents, research reports, and any other relevant writings. These sources of data allowed me to understand the politics behind indigenous and formal education among the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania. The sources

also enabled me to obtain some educational data and key figures that were useful in data presentation. Equally, the analysis of various electronic resources, including websites, web pages, blogs, and online newspaper articles enriched the fieldwork data.

3.8 Sample Selection, Sampling Procedures, and Participants' Recruitment

This section describes briefly how the research assistants, recruitment of the participants, and the language of communication were handled during my fieldwork in Monduli.

3.8.1 An overview of the sample and sampling procedures

Sampling involves the selection of the case or cases for study from the basic unit of study where it is impossible to cover all instances of that unit (Brewer, 2000). In this study, sampling procedures took different stages, including but not limited to the following: The first stage of sampling involved the selection of a broad research site in which Monduli District was purposively selected as a general setting of the study (See subsection 1.8.2 for the general location of the study). The second stage involved the selection of specific sites and participating schools in the district. For this reason, I selected three research sites, including Meserani for piloting; and Engaruka and Eluwai for the actual fieldwork (See section 3.4 for further details). Also, I selected a sample of three primary schools, namely: Monduli Juu Primary School for piloting; Eluwai and Engaruka Primary Schools for the actual fieldwork as well as Noonkodin as a participating secondary school for this research. The third stage of sampling involved the selection of the community, in which case, the Maasai community was selected as a main unit of study. From this unit, I selected various samples of participants who participated in this research.

3.8.2 Participants' categories and inclusion criteria

Since it is impossible to have a complete coverage of all instances of the study unit, a sample is drawn from the universe of units (Brewer, 2000). This applied to this study because the Maasai community as a general unit of study comprises various segments of people from whom the sample was drawn. I used various categories of participants to ensure that the voices of different segments of the population would be heard, visible, and represented in the study. While these participants cannot necessarily be considered as the representative of the community population, they allowed me to answer the research questions of the study. The categories of the research participants and the total number of participants involved in this study for each category are summarised in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Summary of different categories of participants included in the study

N0	Participants' category	Data source	Sub-category/Sex	Number involved
1	Traditional chiefs	Interview	Males	02
			Females	---
2	Traditional circumcisers	Interview	Males	01
			Female	---
3	Maasai elders	Interview/Oral narratives	Males	15
			Females	14
4	Maasai parents	Focus group/Culture-sharing	Males	53
			Females	54
5	Students and pupils	Focus group	Schoolboys	35
			Schoolgirls	35
6	Out-of-school youth	Focus group	Morans	22
			Girls	08
7	School dropouts	Biographical interviews	Males	09
			Females	08
8	School teachers/heads/deputies	Focus groups/ interviews	Male	20
		Interviews	Female	11
9	NGO officials		Male	---
			Female	01
Total				288

The sample population for this research, therefore, comprised various participants who were chosen in relation to certain factors and criteria as described briefly below:

Traditional chiefs

These were involved in this study because they are influential people in upholding cultural traditions in Maasai society. Traditional leaders represent an important symbol and spiritual sacred of the indigenous Maasai culture and society.

Traditional circumcisers

These were included because they are traditional experts with specialised skills in circumcision in the Maasai community. I generated much information about traditional knowledge practices related to traditional circumcision procedures from them.

Maasai elders

These participants were included because they are key actors in the preservation and transmission of knowledge from previous generations to the future ones. It is advised that for indigenous knowledge research, elders need to be included for they have the responsibility of preserving and transmitting knowledge (Lavallée, 2009; Hare, 2011).

Male and female parents

I included Maasai parents because they are key decision makers about educating their children in the formal schools or not. Most parents are also experienced in indigenous education as most informal learning usually take place in their households. I benefited much from the experiences of Maasai parents while in the fieldwork in Monduli.

In-school students

I included Maasai boys and girls who are still in school because they are key actors of both traditional and formal education. These participants provided much information about their experiences, views, and attitudes in relation to their encounter with both indigenous education in their community and formal education in the school settings.

Out-of-school youth

The out-of-school youth included both *morans* and girls who have never been to school. Since this category of participants has not encountered formal education in their lives, they were instrumental in providing much information about their experiences with traditional Maasai education and training in their community.

School dropouts

The school dropouts which included both *morans* and girls who either refused to join secondary education or dropped out of school either forcibly or voluntarily. I included this category of participants to understand the conflicting nature of and factors for their refusal or withdraw from formal schooling. Chapter Five of this thesis, among others, for example, is imbued with the experiences and ideas of this group of participants.

School teachers/heads/deputies

These comprised heads of schools/deputies, academic teachers, and ordinary teachers. These participants were included since they are key educational actors in Maasai society. Alongside providing much information, teachers' working and teaching experiences among the Maasai in their respective schools were highly invaluable. The views, attitudes, and experiences of teachers were equally important in shaping this thesis.

NGO's officials

There are various NGOs that engage themselves in providing education in Maasailand. MWEDO is an example of NGO engaging with providing education for girls that I visited during my fieldwork in Maasailand. I included NGOs officials because I believed that

they are key educational players who could provide much information about their experiences of working and providing formal education in pastoral communities.

3.8.3 Sampling strategies and participants' recruitment

Sampling strategies

Due to the heterogeneous nature of the research participants, various sampling strategies were employed to select the participants in the field for this research.

Criterion (judgemental) sampling strategy

This involves searching for cases or individuals who meet a certain criterion (Patton, 1990; Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006). I applied this strategy to select the participants who were knowledgeable about specific issues related to the topic under study. These included Maasai chiefs, elders, circumcisers, out-of-school youths, school dropouts, heads of schools, and NGOs officials who were subjected to the interviews.

Random purposeful sampling

I employed *purposeful random sampling* to pick up some participants from the large population of students in schools (Patton, 1990; Creswell, 2012). This strategy is consistent with Ary's et al. (2010) argument that purposeful random sampling is used when the potential purposeful sample is too large as it was the case for pupils and students in both primary and secondary schools that participated in this research.

Event sampling

Event sampling involves using routine or special events as the basis for sampling (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2006). During my fieldwork, I applied *event sampling* to attend important socio-cultural events and activities such as the marriage ceremonies, training camps for prospective initiates, and circumcision rituals.

Snowball sampling

Snowball (chain/network) sampling strategy involves building up a sample through a network of participants. This kind of sampling is useful when potential participants are not centrally located but scattered in different sites (Ary et al., 2010). I used this strategy to locate participants such as the school dropouts in areas like Meserani and Engaruka where human settlements were scattered. Also, the strategy was suitable for accessing this category of participants because they possessed similar traits and characteristics, and hence, could easily be traced by others. The strategy, therefore, is useful in accessing different sites or opening difficult corners of access in one place (Brewer, 2000).

Participants' recruitment strategies

I used three strategies to recruit the participants for this research in Maasailand:

The first strategy involved the use of research assistants in recruiting the participants in the home and community settings particularly. This strategy is suitable for the Maasai because access to both the sites and participants in Maasailand is more restricted and it might be impossible to carry out research there without the research assistants. One traditional chief in Engaruka, for example, reiterated that *"I am willing to participate in this interview because I know this young man; he is my relative, and I have no doubt with him for bringing you to me"*. This remark indicates that the research assistants were instrumental in recruiting the participants during my fieldwork in Monduli.

As the second strategy, self-recruitment was employed in the home and the community settings. After staying in Engaruka for a couple of weeks, we built rapport and trust with the participants in such a way that some of them were attracted to participate in research and even self-recruit themselves for interviewing and focus groups. In such situations, several research participants invited us to visit their homes, while others visited at our home and requested to hold some interviews and informal conversations with us.

The third recruitment strategy involved the use of the school heads, especially in the school settings where headteachers recruited the participants like teachers and students. While carrying out fieldwork in schools, I did not involve research assistants because the process there is more formal. Considering that I had the approval and letters of introduction from the relevant authorities, the school heads accorded me with the needed support to accomplish my research, including the recruitment of the participants like teachers and students. The school heads also allowed me to visit classes and any other school facilities, buildings, and places which were relevant to my research project.

3.8.4 Research Assistants and Language of Communication

Research assistants

In this research, the research assistants played four key roles:

- a) They supported me to gain access to the sites and participants
- b) They helped me to recruit participants in the home and community settings
- c) They aided me to gain access to the socio-cultural events in the community
- d) They acted as translators and co-researchers in the research sessions

During my fieldwork, I recruited three research assistants, namely two males, Alex Meliyo and Losotu Leindoi, and one female, Nay Ngimasirwa who assisted me to carry out research in different sites in Monduli. Although my research assistants were not much schooled (except Nay, a Form Four leaver), their literacy levels and communication skills in both Maa and Kiswahili were an invaluable treasure to my research. I began the piloting phase of fieldwork with Alex and Nay in Meserani. But the experience gained when working with them in Meserani, made me opt to use only two male research assistants for the rest of the fieldwork. I discovered, for instance, that many Maasai women were more comfortable to express themselves without a female assistant. Also, after moving to Engaruka, we met Losotu Leindoi who became our host and a local research assistant there. Like Meserani, we realised that most participants, women particularly, were free and more relaxed to express themselves when a research assistant (or translator) was neither a female nor did not originate from their local area. This suggests that although both Alex and Losotu are Maasai, the participants tended to see Alex as an ‘outsider’ because he was not a resident of Engaruka. Due to this, while in Engaruka, Losotu aided in recruiting the research participants while Alex translated the conversations.

Language of communication

The issue of language among the Maasai is quite problematic since most of them do speak Maa as opposed to Kiswahili. While I am mindful that not being fluent in Maa has some drawbacks, including the possibility of conversations being lost in translation; I should admit that I had only mastered the language to the basic level of greetings. This implies that I needed a translator for most research sessions. For this reason, I decided to focus on other issues like facial expressions and body languages of the participants while my research assistants asked them questions. In this context, the data were collected mainly in both Maa and Kiswahili with the aid of the research assistants. My role in the research process was to ask questions in Kiswahili, while the research assistants translated all conversations, including my questions and the participants’ responses from and to Kiswahili and Maa respectively. Contrary to the community settings where conversations were held in both the Maa and Kiswahili languages, in the school settings, all interviews and focus groups’ sessions were chiefly held in Kiswahili. Nonetheless, both Kiswahili and Maa conversations were recorded verbatim using a digital voice recorder.

3.9 Data Analysis, Presentation, and Interpretation

Data analysis in ethnographic research is a continuous process rather than a sequence of discrete stages, and it can be done simultaneously with data collection (Brewer, 2000; Woods, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Fetterman, 2010). But in this research, it was not possible to manage and analyse data while in the field because of the remoteness of the study sites which had no access to power supply (Refer to section 3.4 for further details). Thus, much of the data analysis was conducted after finishing fieldwork. The process of managing and analysing fieldwork data involved various stages as follows:

3.9.1 Preparing and processing data

After generating and collecting raw data in the form of audio recordings of interviews, conversations, focus groups, and handwritten field notes, I processed and converted them into text before they become ready for analysis. This stage involved two processes:

Data transcription

The first stage of data processing involved transcribing verbatim the tape-recorded data from the interviews, focus groups, and conversations with the participants in the field. I transcribed all tape-recorded data verbatim to capture both the words spoken by the interviewer and the participants. In this way, I avoided a potential bias in interpretation that would occur with summarising. While transcribing the tape-recorded data, I typed them directly on Word 2016 processor installed in my personal computer to produce the written accounts. Also, I transcribed all ethnographic data myself without any assistance from other people because I intended to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of the raw data to the required level of ethical standards. Importantly, since I had a large amount of raw data and given that there was no appropriate transcription software for Kiswahili, the transcription itself took three months from June to September 2015. This time is consistent with Fetterman's (2010) argument that transcribing recordings is extremely time-consuming and tedious task in ethnographic research.

Translation of the transcribed data

Once the process of transcription was over, I started the process of translating all transcribed data verbatim from Kiswahili to English because most data recordings were in both Kiswahili and Maa while a thesis was to be written in English. During this process, I translated all transcribed data and field notes from Kiswahili to English directly on Word 2016 processor in my computer. Even though I do not have enough expertise in professional translation, my inherent proficiency in both Kiswahili and English were

sufficient to allow me to translate all data myself. This was crucial to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of fieldwork data. Moreover, I removed all identifiers such as names of places, location, and individuals to avoid divulging the identities of the participants in the field. During this process, I translated all data from Kiswahili to English by typing directly on Word processor in the computer. Like transcription, the translation process took three months from early October to the end of December 2015.

3.9.2 Arranging and organising the data for analysis

After completing the process of transcribing and translating the raw data, I started arranging, organising, and putting the vast body of fieldwork data into a form ready for analysis. This stage involved creating a list of various file folders based on the categories of participants, source and type of data, the date and time taken, and the place where data was generated. Apart from using Word 2016 for organising my data, I also used Evernote software to organise the vast amount of data into manageable units. Equally, various files and folders of raw data organised and stored in Evernote were exported to NVivo 11 software that was later used to facilitate the analysis process. Lastly, all files containing fieldwork data were stored in both OneDrive and Evernote cloud storages so that they could be synced, kept safe, and accessible anywhere using any electronic device.

3.9.3 Familiarising with data

Once processing (transcription and translation) and organising data were finished, I began reading and re-reading the transcribed texts and notes as well as listening repetitively to audiotapes so that I become more familiar with and obtain the general sense of the raw data and materials. Also, when reading and re-reading through the fieldwork data, I was highlighting the texts that contained some key ideas and themes related to the research questions. Equally, while reading and re-reading, I could write notes, memos, and summaries to capture important ideas and thoughts as they occurred. The familiarisation process is what Ary et al. (2010) call “immersing in the data” as an essential preliminary step to developing a coding scheme (See the next subsection for details about coding).

3.9.4 Data coding

Coding involves the process of segmenting and labelling text to form descriptions and broad themes in the data (Creswell, 2012). After processing, organising, and familiarising myself with data, I began coding them to retrieve meaningful materials and analysable chunks of data. According to Ary et al. (2010), coding of items is done to recognise differences and similarities in the data. Given that no computer program can analyse data

for a researcher (cf. Creswell, 2012), I applied both hand-coding and the NVivo 11 software to facilitate the data analysis. Because I had already read and re-read the transcripts and field notes and became familiar with the data, it was high time for me to develop codes in the data. I developed codes based on the underlying concepts, the main ideas in the research questions, and other themes identified when reading through the data. Also, I named some codes using words and phrases that were often mentioned by the participants in the field. Using NVivo 11 software, I created various categories of nodes and sub-nodes that reflected different types of codes that were created manually.

Once creating nodes and sub-nodes on NVivo 11 was over, I began going through all the data to identify text segments such as words, phrases, paragraphs, and sentences and assign them to their respective codes. Since I was working on NVivo 11 software, this process involved highlighting text segments and then linking and assigning them to their appropriate nodes and sub-nodes. Through NVivo 11, I managed to group text segments such as words, phrases, and paragraphs from either the same or different sources of data that provided evidence supporting a particular theme or category. Once all items associated with a particular code were placed together, I started searching for patterns of ideas repeated in various situations and with various participants, by comparing and contrasting them to create categories and identify major themes from the data. These patterns among the categories allowed me to look at the connections among the materials (Crang & Cook, 2007). In this way, similar codes were grouped together and linked to create major categories or themes, and the redundant ones were eliminated.

Finally, I conducted what Fife (2005) calls “the analysis of analysis”, by putting together already analysed bits of information to create sub-themes which were used alongside the major themes in the research report. Then, I constructed the interrelationships between major and minor themes to develop higher levels of analytic meanings for assertions, arguments, and propositions in relation to the research questions. For this reason, various segments of data were re-allocated in relation to the distinct research questions to ensure that quotes and insights given in the text were representatives of broad opinions of the participants, and where not, highlighted as tensions between different participants. Equally, this step involved generating various excerpts of appropriate length from diverse sources of data by allocating them to each theme to provide supporting evidence relating to the encounter between Indigenous and Western education in the written report.

3.9.5 Presenting, reporting, and interpreting the findings

When presenting and reporting the research findings, I built directly out of the analysed research materials as discussed in the previous subsections by configuring and weaving them into chapters, sections, and subsections of the new whole. Also, in presenting the research findings, I employed mostly narrative and thematic approaches augmented by some visual images, some few tables, and figures supporting the arguments or standing out of the text. Various stories and accounts from the participants, for example, have been used to establish themes and create the new knowledge for this thesis. A detailed account of the findings in relation to the research questions and the literature reviewed is presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. Equally, in interpreting the findings, I have offered personal reflections, observations, and new insights revealed from the fieldwork data, their meanings, and implications for this thesis. Apart from grounding my interpretation on the fieldwork data, I also interpreted the findings in the light of the available literature and past studies by showing how they support or contradict them.

3.10 Ethics among the Maasai Pastoralists

The conduct of ethically informed research is the main goal of all social researchers. In this context, considering possible and actual ethical issues is a vital part of any research project (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2006). In this research, the observance of ethical principles and concerns passed through two main stages of ethical dimensions:

The first stage of ethical dimension is related to what Guillemin and Gillam (2004) call ‘procedural ethics’. This stage of ethical dimension involves seeking approval from relevant authorities, including ethics committees, professional boards, and administrative bodies to undertake research involving humans. Thus, first and foremost, I sought a *Research Ethical Approval* from the University of Sussex by completing an online application form and submitting a research proposal for ethical review by the Cross-School Research Ethics Committee (C-REC). The ethical research approval, among others, allowed me to travel for fieldwork in Tanzania. Second, I obtained the research clearance from the University of Dar es Salaam which is mandated to provide research clearances to the researchers on behalf of the Government and Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) in Tanzania. I further obtained a permit from Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) in Arusha Region, District Administrative Secretary (DAS) in Monduli District, District Education Officer (DEO), Ward Executive Officers (WEOs), Village Executive Officers (VEOs), and heads of schools for carrying

out fieldwork in Monduli. All these formal procedures are to do with gaining access to the research sites and participants by passing through various gatekeepers whose permits must be sought before field research begins (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

The second stage of ethical dimension encompasses what Guillemin and Gillam (2004) call “ethics in practice”. This stage of ethical dimension deals with daily ethical issues that arise when carrying out research. Though the conventional principles of ethics in social research are common since they are regarded as a protection of both the researcher and the participants, this research, as Chilisa (2012) argues, was guided by ethical procedures which are informed by the value systems of the participants. In practice, devoting particular attention to the value systems of the participants entails an emphasis on the situated meaning of ethics as understood by the participants themselves.

3.10.1 Informed consent

Seeking informed consent in a community where the traditional practices and oral culture are firmly entrenched like the Maasai may appear to be problematic particularly for novice researchers from Western countries. In attempts to grapple with the challenges of the informed consent in Maasailand, it is advisable to define it in terms of traditional Maasai value systems. As this research shows, understanding what it means to conduct research ethically in Maasailand context necessitates one to consider two things:

Firstly, among the Maasai, informed consent is defined in terms of the collective autonomy of the family and the entire community. This is quite different from a Western culture where the informed consent is defined in terms of individual autonomy with full right to self-determination (Loue, 2002). In the context of the Maasai community, however, the informed consent is both collectively and interpersonally mediated and negotiated since the centre of all decision-making is based on the family and the community as opposed to the individual. When interviewing a young girl or moran in the home setting, for example, apart from seeking an individual consent, I was also required to seek the consent of his or her parents. Equally, while it was possible to ask a direct consent to participate in research from men, for married women, it was necessary to ask consent from their husbands and women themselves. In some cases, a female parent had to be present when her daughter is being interviewed, and occasionally, some husbands decided to be present while their wives were being interviewed at the home premises.

Secondly, in the Maasai community, an oral culture is more deeply entrenched than written culture since a clear majority of people cannot read and write. In such circumstances, using consent forms as applied in a Western context is quite challenging in Maasai society. Although I had initially prepared the consent forms and carried them with me to the fieldwork, my ethical approach was not to use them. I realised that applying consent forms in an entrenched oral tradition like Maasai society appeared superfluous and counterproductive to the very rapport and trust I hoped to build with the research participants in the field. I grasped, for instance, that using consent forms could create fear and suspicion and could also act as an offence to an individual's integrity, particularly when an illiterate participant is asked to sign a form as a confirmation of his or her voluntary participation in research. Thus, I paid greater emphasis on ensuring that the participants and the community members knew my research project and understood what I was doing. To achieve this aim, I took the following practical measures:

First, I sought a verbal (oral) consent of the participants rather than written consent. In every interview, focus group session or participant observation in a socio-cultural event, I made sure that the verbal consent was obtained from the research participants. Second, since most research sessions were held in Maa, I trained the research assistants on crucial issues to be included when briefing the participants such as the overall purposes of research, voluntary participation, as well as possible advantages and disadvantages of their involvement in the research project. Third, in considering the possibility that some ethical issues could be overlooked by the research assistants, at the end of every research session, I made sure that the participants had an opportunity to ask me questions about issues arising from the discussion as well as questions about me and my research in general. This ethical approach, therefore, enabled me not only to reflect on myself as a researcher in the field but also to provide detailed information on some ethical concerns which could not be covered by the research assistants during the introduction.

3.10.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

While confidentiality and anonymity are related and distinct concepts, Wiles et al. (2006) argue that confidential research cannot be conducted since researchers have a duty to report on their findings and they cannot do so if the data they collect is confidential. In Maasai society, the participants understand confidentiality and anonymity differently, thereby contradicting the very essence of these concepts in research. It was discovered that some participants wished to be recognised, identified, and honoured as opposed to

being anonymised in the research findings. In a typical situation, one prominent Chief in Engaruka insisted that the title “chief” and his name should be recorded since such qualities are an essential identity in Maasailand. His remarks deserve quoting here:

We ask you to honour the communities wherein you conduct your research; rather than preparing a report in which the owner of the information becomes a European or someone else from other countries. Not that we become like a crossing bridge, while people whose names are valued in your research are others (A personal interview with a Maasai chief 1, Engaruka, 15/12/2014).

Also, while carrying out focus groups with students at Noonkodin, they asked whether I brought with me a camera device so that I could take their pictures showing the real environments of the school. Some observations can be made from two examples above:

First, the participants associate confidentiality and anonymity with extractive research in that disguising their real identities involves using the participants as a crossing bridge for fulfilling the researcher’s goals without honouring their contributions. This observation concurs with Davies’ (2014) argument that, not all research participants prefer anonymisation since anonymity itself might be ethically unsound if it potentially steals the voices of individuals in the field who wish to be heard. Second, the research participants believed that applying visual images in data analysis and presentation increases the authenticity of the results through portraying extra information about the phenomenon than text alone can do. In such situations, confidentiality and anonymity of the visual data may compromise its very purpose in research if not carefully handled.

Notwithstanding the ethical challenges raised by the participants about confidentiality and anonymity in Maasailand context, I took various steps to anonymise data and participants. Regarding confidentiality, I carried out data transcription, translation, and analysis myself without any help from other people. This ethical approach intended to preclude other people from tracing participants’ responses from fieldwork data. Concerning anonymity, I undertook two possible steps: a) anonymising data where it is essential to do so, and; b) not anonymising data where it is unnecessary to do so. In situations where I felt that certain fieldwork data is potentially sensitive to the participants and the entire community, I anonymised them to mask real identities of individuals (cf. Participants’ stories in Chapter VII). Likewise, in circumstances where the participants requested not to be anonymised like the Maasai chief mentioned above, I respected their wishes. Besides, while information about places, localities, and organisations have not entirely been anonymised per se, attempts have been made to use common names to hide

actual identities in institutions like ‘schools’ particularly. In most cases, I have also anonymised the participants from specific places, localities, and institutions.

3.10.3 Giving back

Giving back is an ethical approach to research premised on the principle that any research enterprise not only should be beneficial to the participants (Weber-Pillwax, 2004) but also non-exploitative to the community (Kovach, 2010; Chilisa, 2012). However, assessing whether the research is exploitative or not is not easy since there are problems surrounding judgements about what exactly constitutes exploitation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Given this awareness, my assessment of the exploitative research was based on the questions asked by the participants in the field about the benefits of my research not only to me as a researcher but also to their community. One Maasai elder, for instance, asked, *“I am not sure how will we benefit from your research and whether it will help us as the Maasai or it will only assist you as the researcher”*. The participants asked such questions because previous researchers used to conduct exploitative research in Maasai society with several pledges that they would later return to them. But since they never kept their promises, the Maasai became fed up with unfulfilled promises.

In reflecting further on this problem, the remarks of one participant deserve quoting:

One female researcher who came here promised to return but a long time has passed without seeing her. Now, given that another person came here but she never returned; how will your research contribute to our traditional lives? (A personal interview with the firestick father, Engaruka, 17/12/2014).

While the questions posed by the participants were critical and challenging, they aided me not only to know the meaning of ‘exploitative research’ among the Maasai pastoralists but also to understand what ‘giving back’ means in the Maasai context. I realised, for instance, that in the Maasai community, exploitative research, among other things, is associated with researcher’s inability to share the findings of his/her research, not returning to thank the participants, not appreciating participants’ contributions, and one’s failure to deliver on his/her promises to the research participants. Correspondingly, as a researcher committed to a reflexive research approach, I came to understand ‘giving back’ in Maasai context as an ongoing relational issue in the research encounter. This observation suggests that in the principle of ‘giving back’, not only should a researcher share the benefits of his/her research with the participants (if any) but also should return to thank them for their contribution to the success of his or her research project.

For this reason, I took various measures to inform my ‘giving back’ ethical practice in Maasailand context. First, I offered the apologies contritely to them on behalf of the previous researchers who had failed to keep their promises. Alongside the apologies made, I assured the participants that upon completion of my research project, I would return to thank them and bring with me the findings so that I share with them. Second, I guaranteed a long-lasting relationship with the participants and assured them that I would be ready to work with them in the struggles for their cultural, economic, and political rights. In attempts to keep my words, I used an appropriate ‘exiting strategy’ when leaving the fieldwork site. As Feldman (2003) notes, a promise of the research report might be an inadequate means of giving back to the participants. When withdrawing physically from the site, therefore, I prepared a farewell party which was attended by the participants, neighbours, relatives, and other members of Engaruka. This farewell party not only cleared doubts from the participants and gave them greater confidence about my pledges, but also enabled us to establish strong connections and enduring relationships.

3.11 Researcher’s Reflexivity (Positionality, and Power Relations)

Taking a reflexive approach to the research process is essential in raising awareness of the impact of both the researcher and the participants on the methodology and methods of knowledge production, data analysis, validation, and interpretation (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Yee & Andrews, 2006; Giampapa, 2011). Different ways through which the positionalities, identities, and authorities of both the researcher and the participants are revealed, negotiated, and managed in the research encounters are crucial to the conduct of reflexive research (Hopkins, 2007). Various positions, identities, and authorities constructed and negotiated by me in the field were informed by my personal background, life history, and experiences in relation to the traditional ways of life in my own Fipa society as well as a wider Tanzanian society. Due to this, before going to the field and during my fieldwork in Monduli, I was cognisant of my own positionalities, identities, and authorities as well as diverse ways in which these issues might affect my interaction with the participants in the research process. I was also mindful of the various positions, roles, and identities that might be ascribed to me by the research participants and how such ascriptions could impact my relationship with them in the field.

For this reason, my multiple identities as a person from the *Fipa* ethnic group, Tanzanian-born, a former secondary school teacher, a doctoral researcher, and a student were manifested in various contexts to different participants. During my fieldwork in Monduli,

for example, I constructed and negotiated subjective positions, identities, roles, and authorities in relation to the changing contexts and multiple participants across time and space. Also, in the home and the community settings, I positioned myself to the participants such as parents, elders, and local leaders as a student rather than a teacher or a doctoral researcher. In emphasising this positionality, one Maasai elder in Engaruka told me, *“You must know that even though you are studying in the UK, we are teachers who will make you pass your studies there”*. All in all, this identity allowed me to conduct research in Maasailand as a student who is learning, while also it gave the research participants enough power since they were positioned as teachers who provided me (a student) with diverse skills, knowledge, and experiences in the research process.

In contrast to the home and the community settings, I constructed different positions, roles, and identities while in the school settings. In the school setting, for instance, I often introduced myself to both teachers and students as a former secondary school teacher but currently a doctoral researcher who is undertaking PhD studies in the United Kingdom. Considering that I was formerly a secondary school teacher, I hoped that maintaining this identity would make students more comfortable to offer their responses much the same as they could do to their teachers in the local schools. To teachers too, I applied this identity to build a relationship which would make teachers see me as their colleague with equal status in some way, but with different authorities resulting from the discrepancy in the levels of educational attainment. In this way, most teachers in schools saw me as someone who could advise them on various issues about career advancement, further training, and professional development to higher levels of the education system.

On the other side, the participants also constructed and negotiated multiple positions, identities, and authorities in relation to me in the field. First, the participants positioned me as an educated person who is directly linked to the privileged higher education institutions in Europe and North America. This positionality was mirrored in the participants’ statements about me as they, for instance, said, *“We, who ended up in Grade Seven become happy once we see educated people like you from the renowned universities in Europe and America”*. Second, the participants positioned me both as an educational expert and a benefactor beyond my role as a researcher in their community. One Maasai Chief in Engaruka, for instance, asked me that *“As an educated person, how do you advise us about educating our children in the formal schools?”*. By this role, therefore, the participants positioned me not only as someone who could be asked for professional

advice about various educational problems in Maasai society but also as a sponsor who could provide financial backing for the formal education of their children in schools.

Also, the participants identified me as an outsider who was in some way an insider as well. As an outsider, the participants saw me as a Swahili person, an urban resident, and someone belonging to the mainstream population in Tanzania. One Maasai woman, for example, uttered that *“In our culture, we do not put on clothes like how you, the Swahili people wear”*. Thus, among the Maasai pastoralists, the Swahili identity is associated with non-Maasai people who wear distinct attire, speak Kiswahili, and at times eat different kinds of foods. The wearing of distinct clothes alongside speaking Kiswahili located me as an outsider with a different status, and often, in a different hierarchy with the Maasai pastoralists who live in rural areas. On the contrary, an insider position occurred when the Maasai identified me as their colleague, a Tanzanian, and an African who is related to them in some ways. The participants, for instance, stated, *“Because you are a Tanzanian and an African; we resemble each other, and you are our relative”*.

Likewise, the gendered nature of Maasai society not only influenced the way I interacted with both men and women but also the way my identities and roles were negotiated and defined in relation to my sex in the field. But my awareness of the patriarchy system that puts women in a subordinate position in the Maasai community made me to be more cautious when interacting with female participants. In that regard, while my positionality as a researcher allowed me to talk to Maasai women, my identity as a male person, meant that I had to observe the community’s traditions, norms, and customs when interacting with them. My identity as a male researcher, for instance, allowed me to participate freely in male’s activities and private spaces like herding, *olpûl* ritual, and male circumcision practices, but at the same time, it restricted me from participating in female’s private spaces and activities like domestic chores, fertility rituals, and initiation rites. Due to this, although I sought the opinions of women and attempted to give them enough voices as much as men, my identity as a male researcher and the patriarchal nature of Maasai society suggest that this thesis is inevitably gender-biased in some ways.

Accordingly, the methodology and methods adopted in this research reflect the ways my positionalities, identities, and authorities were constructed and negotiated in the research process. In interviews, for example, I positioned myself as both an interviewer of and an active listener to the research participants. This research strategy was appropriate for playing down my power in the research encounter. Such methodological approach created

equal power relations between the researcher and the participant in the research process. The authority and agency of the participants in the fieldwork were also manifested in their rejection to participate in the research project, thereby disempowering both the researcher and the research assistants. While conducting fieldwork in Meserani Chini, for example, I experienced such challenge from six Maasai men who initially accepted to be part of the focus group session, but once we arrived at their bomas, they declined to take part in research. The participants declined to partake in my research because earlier they felt that I was a white man from abroad who could pay them much money, while I was not.

Concerning the data analysis and presentation, my methodological approach emphasises giving enough voice to the research participants. But unlike in the fieldwork where the participants' voices were evident and more visible, during the data analysis and presentation stage, I dominated the whole process. This suggests that to a certain extent, my own biases and limited understandings might have led to the misrepresentation of the participants' voices when writing the thesis. Nonetheless, I have critically and impartially offered the narratives which capture the participants' perspectives and give enough voices to them; both the voiced and voiceless. In so doing, I have included the participants' emotions, feelings, moods, sentiments, and experiences as data when telling stories about them in diverse contexts across age, gender, and sex. In many ways, I have included these forms of information to create sympathetic understandings of the circumstances about the participants in the research encounter. In such situations, while I do not always share the views, perspectives, ideas, and thoughts of the research participants, I have attempted as best as I could to offer critical but fairer narratives that they would be glad to hear.

Regarding the thesis' limitations, as a qualitative ethnographic study, this research is limited both in its coverage and scope which are context specific and more dependent on few areas and schools where the fieldwork took place in Monduli. However, the thick descriptions of the context, the research processes, and the participants suggest that its findings and conclusions can be applied to other parts of the country and beyond. Second, based on its focus, the thesis does not provide an extensive range of quantitative data which would have provided a wider picture on issues related to students' access, retention, dropout, performance, and completion rates among the Maasai. While the thesis applied only a few quantitative data to serve its purpose, other researchers interested in such issues may employ quantitative research to obtain relevant data on a large scale.

Also, the research was constrained by the short amount of time for data analysis, including managing, handling, and translating the excessive amount of ethnographic data. The lack of relevant software in the languages used in this research, for instance, complicated the matter further. Finally, while this research project involved both men and women in Maasai society, as a male and an outsider, I would admit that I had no access to all female private spaces, domestic spheres, and socio-cultural activities. My interaction with Maasai women in sensitive topics like female circumcision and infertility ritual, for instance, was restricted, and the data presented here represent a small fraction of what I obtained. I believe that this sensitive topic is worthy of research, but do not feel I have adequate data to comment further. Thus, the data on FC practice in this thesis is anything more than partial, meaning that other analyses on similar issues would be welcome.

3.12 Chapter Conclusion

Methodologically, the approaches applied in this research not only have included traditional methodologies and methods in the research process but also have placed a research undertaking as contextual, locally based, and culturally laden. As Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, and Smith (2017) argue, methodological approaches that are attentive to the particular local contexts should be located within a well-developed cultural, political, and economic analysis of the particular places and spaces in research. Theoretically, sailing through the decolonising conceptual imaginings and theories highlights the need to produce the forms of knowledge that hold the possibility of emancipation and counterhegemonic understandings in research. Epistemologically, the chapter has indicated that integrating diverse forms of knowledge and multiple ways of knowing in research can create an alternative space for a constructive dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems in the production of new knowledge. The thesis, therefore, considers research as a dialogical process involving the co-construction of knowledge between the researcher and the participants in their situated landscape.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION, PASTORAL CULTURE, AND THEIR ARTICULATIONS IN THE MAASAI COMMUNITY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a different reading of traditional knowledge and its articulations in Maasai society. The first section describes the goals and philosophies of indigenous education among the Maasai. The second and third sections explore various aspects of socialisation patterns and the content of indigenous education for both boys and girls in Maasai society. The fourth section explores an *olpûl*-ritual as a mechanism for IK transmission for boys in Maasai society. The fifth section explores various forms of assessment procedures and evaluation of learning outcomes in traditional learning systems among the Maasai. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the disciplinary and punishment procedures used to reinforce learning in Maasai learners in the traditional learning systems. By design, the chapter is more ethnographic, aiming to provide the reader with a broad understanding of indigenous education in Maasai society. The chapter draws heavily upon ethnographic fieldwork data from personal observations, responses from interviews, and conversations with the participants, as well as the secondary data from previous studies and other readings about Maasai society.

4.2 Goals and Philosophies of Traditional Maasai Education

This section provides a cornerstone through which traditional Maasai knowledge is grounded. The first section looks at the goals and aims of traditional Maasai education and the second section looks at the philosophies of education among the Maasai pastoralists. Each of the two sections is discussed as follows:

4.2.1 Goals and aims of traditional Maasai education system

The primary goals of indigenous education among the Maasai have been to: 1) instil in Maasai children a sense of respect for cultural values and traditional practices; 2) maintain a unified, peaceful, and cohesive society; 3) ensure the survival of pastoralism, including pastoral culture and migratory lifestyle; and 4) impart knowledge and skills to the children about various tasks and societal roles prevailing within the pastoral economy. The overall aim of indigenous Maasai education is to prepare individuals who can contribute effectively to the maintenance, well-being, and achievement of the entire society. This aim concurs with Nyerere's (1968, p.1) argument that the purpose of traditional African

education is “to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development”. That purpose, however, contradicts sharply the aim of formal schooling that focuses on individual well-being, maintenance, and personal accomplishment (Aikman, 1994).

4.2.2 Philosophical foundations of indigenous Maasai education

This discussion is grounded in local terms to capture the meaning of ‘education’ as understood by the Maasai themselves in their own language. A consideration of language is crucial here because it engages me in what Peter Rigby calls a “practical ideology” as one cannot arrive at an epistemology purely on conceptual grounds (Rigby, 1992). Given this understanding, in Maa, the word ‘education’ refers to ‘enkitéɣena’ (pl. *nkiteɣena*). Although *enkitéɣena* literally means *education*, the term is an all-encompassing concept, embracing slightly different words but related and interchangeable in their meanings. The term *enkitéɣena*, for instance, is used to mean *teaching*, *instruction*, *information*, *lesson*, and *practice*. Its verb root is ‘aitenén’, which means *educate*, *teach*, *instruct*, *inform*, *enlighten* or *give new knowledge*. From the same verb root, we can obtain a noun derivative “olaitenénani” (pl. *iláiténak*) which means a *teacher*, *instructor*, *informer*, *educator*, and a *knowledgeable person*. Further scrutiny of these related but different words about *education* reveals that the Maa terms *enkitéɣ* (pl. *inkishú*) for a ‘cow’ (pl. *cows/cattle*) and *enkitéɣena* for an ‘education’ share the same word root -kitéɣ.

Based on a philosophical viewpoint, the concept of *enkitéɣena* can be extended to mean an “education of a cow”. In this context, I would designate Maasai philosophy of education as an ‘*enkitéɣena philosophy*’, cherished in the “education of a cow”. As discussed above, *enkitéɣena* is an all-embracing concept replete with a variety of words and meanings. This implies that among the Maasai pastoralists, the concept of *education* is eclectic and holistic in nature. Also, it entails that the Maa concept of *enkitéɣena* embodies the goals, principles, contents, and methods of teaching/learning in education. Whereas *teaching* and *instruction*, for instance, focus on the theoretical process of and the actors (*instructor/learner*) involved in knowledge (*information*) exchange and transaction, *practice* stresses the method of teaching/learning that combines both theory (*teaching/instruction*) and training (*practice*). In the same way, while *information* stands for a type of knowledge gained through *teaching/instruction* and *practice*, *lesson* pays particular attention to *what is taught* or the *content* of a subject matter in question.

In this context, Maasai philosophy of education requires being mindful that education and its meaning revolves around an understanding of a *cow*, a being that is inextricably attached to and interrelated with other beings in a living whole. This concurs the views of one Maasai elder who stressed that *“If a person understands a cow, he will know other beings found in living nature such as plants, wildlife, and water”*. Thus, I would argue that the theory of knowledge among the Maasai is grounded in a holistic epistemology in which knowledge cannot be broken down into categories of nonspiritual and spiritual, rational and irrational, theoretical and practical or material and non-material aspects. This means that for Maasai, multiple ways of knowing and multiple truths exist depending upon one’s experience and interaction with various entities as a whole. The notion of multiple ways of knowing and multiple truths is also mirrored in Maasai proverbs like ‘one head does not consume all knowledge’ [*memut elukunya nabo eng’eno*], and ‘it is only truth that is shared, characters are not’ [*sipat ake eng’ari meng’ari mpukunot*].

4.3 Schooling Processes and Socialisation Patterns for Maasai Girls

Maasai girls are offered instructions which are distinct from boys because of variations in social obligations and responsibilities in the community. Although women, in general, do not form age-sets like men, the types of training and education offered to them in the Maasai community is based on lifecycle stages that mirror men’s age-set hierarchy.



Picture 2: Four Maasai women from girlhood to womanhood phases of their lifecycle

The education offered to Maasai girls passes through the following lifecycle phases:

- a) Infancy and childhood stage (roughly 0-4 years)

- b) Pre-initiation/girlhood stage (roughly from 5-12 years)
- c) Initiation rite stage (roughly from 13-18 years)
- d) Post-initiation/womanhood period (approximately 18+ years)

4.3.1 Childhood [kéráishò] stage (from 0-04 years)

In the Maa language, the term ‘enkérái’ (pl. *inkérà*) is used interchangeably to refer to both a ‘baby’ and a ‘child’ regardless of their sex. But when making a clear distinction between a *baby* and *child*, the words ‘kití’ (pl. *kutíti*) or “kinyí” (pl. *kúnyinyí*) may be affixed after the word “enkérái” (pl. *inkérà*) to form a compound word. This implies that *enkérái kití/kinyí* (pl. *inkérà kutíti/kúnyinyí*) refers to a *baby/infant* (pl. *babies/infants*). For analytical purposes, I have used the babyhood [*enkítishò*] phase of the lifecycle to cover a period from birth to two years (0-2 years) of age. In contrast, I have used the childhood [kéráishò] phase to cover roughly a period of three to four (3-4) years of age.

Babyhood period (0-2 years)

During the babyhood period (from birth to two years), a newly born baby’s world is largely a female one; with a mother having a significant role in nurturing the baby. Soon after birth, two sheep [*ilkipókètà*; sing. *olkipokét*] are slaughtered as a welcoming ceremony for a new-born baby in the world. This was clearly asserted by one elder:

Once a mother gives birth to a new baby; two sheep must be slaughtered. The first sheep [olkipokét] is for women and the second sheep [olkipokét] is for men who however eat its mutton in the bush (Personal conversations with the male Maasai elder 6, Engaruka, Monduli, 05/11/2014).

The welcoming ceremony is held to thank Maasai God [*Enkai*] for a newly-born baby in the world and to introduce it to the entire community. Also, this lamb is slaughtered to cleanse a house [*aipók nkají*] after a woman has given birth to a baby. Lastly, the lamb is used for replacing a mother’s energy and the blood spilt out during the delivery. Following the welcome ceremony, a new-born baby and its mother are sheltered in their house or secluded place [*enkóp mítil*]. Later, the mother and her baby are allowed back into public life during the *shaving ritual*. Also, during this ceremony, the child’s hair is shaved, amulets are put around his/her waist, arms, and neck as a protection against evil. The child’s naming ritual [*embarnoto e nkérái*] gives a lifelong name to a child, which is usually a confirmation of a temporary name (Ndagala, 1982). At this stage, a child starts crawling, toddling or walking. Likewise, the child’s language develops, thereby allowing him or her to utter some Maa words like *páápá* [father] or *yieyíô/nínì* [mother].

Childhood phase (from about 2+ to 4 years)

After two years, a Maasai child enters childhood which covers a period from about two to four (2+-4) years. During this time, Maasai children are provided by their mothers with some teaching and training related to the home environment. Such kind of education and training solely aims to ensure both physical and social development of a child. At this stage, most instructions are given to children in the home setting, with women and older female siblings taking a pivotal role in training their growing children. Around the age of 3 to 4 years, when a child has begun walking upright, and his/her language is well developed, a child starts listening to lullabies sung by their mothers and elder siblings (Talle, 2003). According to the participants, at this stage, Maasai children are also at the threshold of being taught issues related to the proper eating habits, various ways of greeting their seniors, and how to tend calves near and around the home environment.

Overall, up to the age of four, children continue to affiliate with their mothers, elder siblings, and other children as their closest physical and social contacts. Also, at this point, the childhood phase marks no gender differentiation between boys and girls in respect of the socialisation patterns and traditional education. According to Talle (2003), during their early childhood, Maasai children are also not subjected to any physical forms of punishment by their caregivers. Nevertheless, at the end of four years old, Maasai children start playing different games oriented towards opposite sexes; with boys playing herding-oriented games like mimicking bulls' fighting and girls playing domestic-oriented games like cooking food and taking care of babies. This was also evident during my stay in Engaruka where I observed boys and girls at this age regularly playing various games.

4.3.2 Girlhood [títóishò] stage (05-13 years)

The girlhood phase covers a lifespan from pre-initiation to the pubescent period. This stage of the lifecycle is subdivided into the *early girlhood* phase which covers a period of 5 to 9 years, and the late girlhood phase which covers a period from 10 years to puberty. The suitable Maa terms for girls in their early girlhood phase are “intóyie kúnyinyí” (sing. *entitō kinyi*) for a “young/little girl” and ‘inkiyiotín’ (sing. *enkíyíó*) for the young or junior girls. In their late girlhood period, senior Maasai girls before puberty are called 'intóyie' (sing. *entitō*) in the Maa language. A key distinction existing between the two groups is based primarily on the maturity level, the complexity of training and knowledge offered, and the heaviness of domestic tasks that the two age-groups can perform.

Traditional education and training for girls during their early girlhood phase

The junior girls are taught the proper ways of greetings based on seniority, gender, and sex differences as a part of the broader social studies. On the first day of my fieldwork in Meserani, for example, I was surprised by the strange greetings from the young Maasai children who nodded their heads to greet us. This type of greeting later became a part of the daily life throughout our stay in Maasailand. The participants remarked that:

Regardless of their sexes, all children are required to greet their superiors by bowing heads as a sign of respect, obedience, and submission. Also, young girls learn about the basics of livestock care and ecology like identification of herbs and simple treatment of both human and livestock diseases (A focus group with female parents, Group A, Meserani, 19/10/2010).

During my fieldwork in Engaruka, for instance, I witnessed the young Maasai girls being charged with feeding the calves around the home environment. Equally, young girls learn practically some basics in home economics when performing simple domestic tasks like cleaning household dishes, fetching water, and collecting firewood (Talle, 2003).

Traditional education and training during the senior girlhood phase

From the age of 10 to 14 years, girls are equipped with intermediate knowledge of *home economics*, which is mainly related to the management of domestic activities. In the home economics, senior girls are taught by their mothers and elder sisters various skills related to domestic activities and home management in general. Also, senior girls are equipped with knowledge and skills in animal husbandry, so they assist their mothers in managing cattle when are brought back home. One female elder in Engaruka insisted that,

A Maasai girl must ensure that she separates the calves from their mothers every evening so that cows can be milked in the morning of the next day. This is mainly because without separating the calves from their mothers; it will be difficult to milk cows in the following day (Personal conversations with the female elder 7 and 8, Engaruka, 29/11/2014).

Due to this, it was a regular thing for me to see senior girls opening the cattle corral in the morning to let the livestock out and close it when the cattle are back in the evening. During my fieldwork, I also observed senior girls regularly assisting their mothers with milking cows and goats, weaning calves, identifying animal diseases, bringing some herbs from the bush, and helping to treat the young animals. Moreover, furnishing senior girls with knowledge about the manufacturing of simple cultural artefacts and jewellery essential for their future adulthood lives as mothers was found to be common in Engaruka.

Correspondingly, senior girls are taught the intermediate skills on *gender, family, and social life*, with most issues being linked to the familial relationship, social life, and

traditional attire and dressing style(s) [*inkíshopó*]. According to the female participants, at this stage, senior girls are trained on gender and social life issues so they know how to relate to other members of the community such as elders and morans. Also, in the family and social life, senior girls are taught about reception and welcoming skills for guests and visitors. It is a normal thing for a guest to be met with a warm welcome when he/she visits Maasailand. In addition, senior girls learn basic skills in sex and relationship issues so they know to relate to morans in the night social gatherings called “esóto”. Finally, during my long stay in Maasailand, I witnessed senior girls performing traditional dances [*inkiguraritin*; sing. *enkíguran*] and singing [*isinkoliotín*; sing. *osinkólīō*] with morans in various social and cultural events like weddings, initiation, and circumcision rituals.

Milk-drinking [inkípót] ritual

Milk drinking is a cultural ritual in which the senior Maasai girls select and publicly announce their ‘boyfriends’ [*isánjá*; sing. *ɔsánjá*] usually three, among the morans (Talle, 2007). In this ritual, senior girls provide their boyfriends with milk, and clearly perform the expectations and obligations of a future married life (Talle, 2007). One female elder, for instance, stressed that the milk-drinking ritual may be used to weigh the ability and the maturity level of a girl before entering an initiation rite. This indicates that the milking ritual, embodies the interactive, intersubjective, and experiential implications in traditional Maasai education due to its emphasis on the practical performance.

4.3.3 Circumcision [ɛmúrátà] phase (from 14 to 16 years)

This stage is viewed as a liminal and preparatory phase in which a girl is primed for womanhood and marital life in a near future (Pesambili, 2013). This suggests that circumcision is a crucial step of change in status in which a girl is at the threshold to adulthood life. But today, some families are not obliged to circumcise their daughters, and there are contradictory views about FC among the Maasai. Also, female circumcision is illegal, and under Tanzanian laws, individuals practising it can be liable for imprisonment if found guilty. Thus, many participants were hesitant to talk much about FC practice in their society. Despite the contradictory views in Maasai society, circumcision ritual remains a major step in the transition of girls from childhood to womanhood life career as future mothers. Among the Maasai, therefore, FC is the most painful operation ritual that transforms a girl from the childhood to adulthood status.

The Maasai perform *clitoridectomy* type of circumcision involving the removal of a clitoris and labia minora (Talle, 2007). The circumcision operation is usually carried out

by a female circumciser [*enkámúrátani*] who is an expert in female circumcision. Immediately after circumcision, a newly circumcised girl is named ‘*esípóliò*’ (pl. *isípóliò*) which means a female initiate who is still in seclusion but not yet married. Based on Maasai cultural traditions, the newly female initiate must be dressed in traditional black attire and should allow her hair on the head to grow during the seclusion period (Knowles, 1993). At the end of the recuperation period, the female initiate abandons a special black attire and has her hair on the head shaved by her mother before marriage. Following the initiate’s shaving of hair and her time as *esípóliò*, she begins to wear normal adult female attire. At this stage, the female initiate’s status changes and she is called ‘*esiankíkí*’ (pl. *isiankikín*) which means a ‘young woman’ in English.



Picture 3: Female circumcision is the most painful operation ritual for a Maasai girl

Traditional training and instructions for girls during the circumcision phase

The traditional instructions given to Maasai girls during this period focus more on the advanced levels of knowledge domains. Unlike boys, at this stage, Maasai girls are given intensive training and instructions for preparing them into adulthood, womanhood, and marital life (Talle, 1988; Bonini, 2006). Apart from advancing the basics of knowledge taught during the pre-initiation phase, at this level, the initiates learn practically several issues about the circumcision rituals, social relationship and marital life, reproductive health, family life care, and artistic knowledge with the aim of qualifying them for the adulthood and marital life. One female elder, for instance, disclosed that:

At the initiation ritual, Maasai girls are instructed on how to shoulder full family and domestic obligations in marriage such as preparing food for the

household, conducting general cleanliness and hygiene, constructing and plastering houses, and looking after the young children (A personal interview with the female Maasai elder 10, Engaruka, 30/11/2014).

In *family and marital life*, a prospective bride is taught about respect for her husband because it is an important thing that a Maasai girl should have before marriage, and without it, no man can dare to marry her. According to the female Maasai parents,

Before getting married to her husband, a girl should exhibit a proper behaviour that shows respect for her parents, brothers, and her siblings. Also, the girl must continue to respect both her spouse and her parents-in-law as she used to do to her biological ones (A focus group with female Maasai parents, Group C, Engaruka, 25/10/2014).

Besides an emphasis on respect as shown in the remarks above, the female elders also remarked that when girls are initiated, they are trained on traditional economic issues related to milk management, bartering, and marketing. With increased penetration of the cash economy in Maasailand, for instance, the initiates are trained on how to market and sell their products at the local markets. Such instructions aim to inculcate in young women the spirit of self-reliance and personal responsibility as wives in the near future. Moreover, the young women are taught *maternal and reproductive health* to equip them with basic knowledge on pregnancy issues, childbirth, postpartum care, and parenting strategies. Such lessons pass on the spirit of love and care for girls as future mothers.

4.3.4 Womanhood [entómónónīshō] lifecycle phase (18+ years)

Following the circumcision phase of the lifecycle, a young woman is expected to be getting married and become a wife/mother. The post-initiation phase comprises three groups of women: young women, middle-aged (senior women), and elderly women.

Junior womanhood period (from 18 to 35 years)

The junior womanhood status covers the entire period of a woman's lifecycle, from the post-circumcision shaving ritual to about 35 years. The junior women can be divided into two subcategories: the first category consists of the circumcised young women [*isiankikīn*; sing. *esiankiki*] aged between 18 and 25 years who are not married yet and the newly married but have not had children yet; and the second category comprises married women [*intómónók*; sing. *entómónónī*] aged between 26 and 35 years who may have had children. I have clustered the two groups under one category since both groups are still in the embryonic stages of a womanhood, but with a slight distinction.

During this phase, the junior women and expectant mothers receive further training in advanced levels of knowledge domains in Maasai culture, economics, animal husbandry,

as well as human and animal health. Similarly, women undergo rigorous training in reproductive health and postpartum care, hygiene, traditional parenthood system, and parenting strategies. This stage of the lifecycle is regarded as a foundational phase since most young women use it to get married, give birth to children for the first time, and establish their own families (Knowles, 1993). It is also during this period when the young women involve themselves a great deal in handicraft works using the skills developed during their senior girlhood period. In recent years, these business-related occupations have become increasingly popular among the Maasai women who manufacture and sell various beadwork products at local markets to supplement their incomes.

Middle-aged (senior) womanhood phase (from 36 to 64 years)

The middle-aged phase of womanhood lifecycle occurs when women have had several children and have firmly established their families. As Knowles (1993) shows, during this period, many women become deeply swamped with rituals about their matured children as they progress through different stages of life. This phase can be subdivided into two groups. The first group involves senior women [*inkitúaa*k; sing. *enkitók*] who are still active in child-rearing, and their lifespan may crudely be estimated at the age of 36 to 50. The second group includes senior women who are no longer active in child-rearing and may cover a period from 51 to 64 years. The Maa term for this category of senior women is “*inkitúaa*k *natudúŋe*” (sing. *enkitók natudúŋe*) meaning “women” past menopause.

At their middle-aged phase, Maasai women are experienced in traditional education and pastoral culture. This suggests that these women are in a good position to impart traditional knowledge to the young women and their daughters. At this phase, senior women play a fundamental role as guides and teachers of other women in earlier phases of life. Despite playing their roles as guides and trainers, one female elder in Meserani maintained that during their middle-aged phase, women undergo advanced training in traditional midwifery covering issues related to traditional methods of delivery, antenatal, perinatal, and postnatal care. Other issues include gaining knowledge of the identification and use of the traditional herbs for perinatal and postnatal periods, traditional diets used during the pregnancy phase, as well as postpartum breastfeeding. Also, other women receive training on female circumcision, so they specialise in traditional surgery.

Elderly-aged (retired) women (from 65+ years)

This phase of womanhood crudely covers a period from about 65 of age and above. Under this phase, women act as role models and instructors of lower levels of womanhood. The

Maa term for this group is “intasáti” (sing. *entásât*) meaning “old women” of a grandmother age. According to the participants, during this period, women act as teachers who impart advanced knowledge about reproductive health, midwifery, history, Maasai culture, and religion to the earlier groups of womanhood. Since most elderly women are highly experienced in IK, they also play an active role in midwifery for junior women during the child delivery process. Equally, some women specialise themselves in female circumcision and traditional healing. Importantly, at this age, the elderly women remain active in traditional meetings, ritual blessings, and ceremonies (Knowles, 1993).

4.4 Traditional Training and Socialisation Patterns for Maasai Boys

Through the *age-set system* of social organisation and other socio-cultural institutions, among the pastoral Maasai, IK is passed on from one generation to another. The traditional education offered to Maasai boys passes through the following phases:

- a) Infancy/childhood stage (roughly from 0-4 years)
- b) Boyhood stage (roughly from 5-15 years)
- c) Moranhood stage (roughly from 16-34 years)
- d) Post-moranhood stage (roughly from 35 years and above)

4.4.1 Childhood [kéráishò] stage (from 0-04 years)

As discussed earlier (see subsection 4.3.1), there is no gender distinction in the earliest stage of childhood. For that reason, issues discussed on babyhood and childhood stage for girls apply to boys as well. Boys and girls from birth to four years of age are treated equally as young children. The Maa term ‘inkérà’ (sing. ‘enkérái’), for instance, implies both male and female children. But from the age of five, gender differentiation starts taking place and young boys begin to be named as “inkayîôk” (sing. *enkayíóni*).

4.4.2 Boyhood [áyíókishò] stage (from 05-15 years)

The boyhood phase is an important period that lays down a basis for the provision of traditional education in Maasai society. The type of education offered to boys during this period can be comparable to the primary and secondary levels of the formal school system. The boyhood phase covers a period from five years of age to pubescent period (about 15 years). The phase can be subdivided into two groups: *junior* and *senior* boys. Junior boys [*inkayîôk*; sing. *enkayíóni*] are grouped under the early boyhood [*enkíyókòrè*] phase spanning a period from five to nine years of age. Senior boys [*ilayîôk*; sing. *oláyíóni*] are clustered under the late boyhood [*áyíókishò*] phase covering a period from 10 years to adolescence. For clarity purposes, each group is discussed separately below:

Early boyhood stage (05-09 years)

At the age of five, junior boys are involved in herding solely younger livestock such as calves and lambs near the home environment under the tutelage of their elder sisters and mothers. But when they reach the age of about seven to nine years, junior boys start escorting senior boys or morans for cattle grazing to distant places. According to the participants, the basics in traditional animal husbandry and livestock management equip junior Maasai boys with knowledge and skills in the unrelenting care of cattle throughout their future lifetime. Similarly, young boys advance their knowledge related to social studies mainly traditional greetings and salutation issues which they started learning in their childhood phase. The male elders interviewed were of the view that the early boyhood phase is useful for imparting principles of moral conduct to junior boys in their community. The basics offered in traditional greeting and salutation, therefore, act as the basis for “respect” [*enkányit*], a concept that embodies Maasai’s *moral philosophy*.

Late boyhood phase (from 10 to 15 years)

The late boyhood phase covers a whole prepubescent period from about ten years to puberty. During this phase, Maasai boys begin grazing the livestock, taking them to distant pastures, and spending several hours with neither food [*apukoó*] nor drinks [*arón*]. At this stage, senior boys learn both theoretically and practically the intermediate level of knowledge on animal husbandry and ecology in their respective areas. In *traditional animal husbandry* [*ɔrámatèi*], senior boys acquire skills on the spot such as recognising symptoms of the disease and other possible hazards from thieves or wild animals. Also, senior boys gain knowledge on the livestock identification to help them identify any missing livestock in their charge. In livestock identification, for instance, I observed how senior Maasai boys could identify the livestock based on the characteristics, coat colour of an animal, and various marks [*isírat*; sing. *ɔsiratá*] like earmarks and brand-marks.

In *traditional environment (ecology)*, senior boys learn knowledge and skills allowing them to master the grazing fields and pasture environment. The senior boys, for instance, gain skills on physical features, pasture layout, locations of water sources, grassland typologies, and forage species and their variations. They also learn issues of seasonal ranges, weather conditions, and disease prone areas environment (Ronoh, 2010). Previous studies established that the pastoral Maasai gain a reservoir of environmental knowledge that enables them to classify hundreds of rangeland plants using traditional methods of classification (Homewood & Rodgers, 2004; Bonini, 2006; Goldman, 2006). Until the

boyhood period is finished, both young and senior boys continue to be regarded as members of their respective families alone, with a minimal link to the community affinity (Dangala, 1982). During their boyhood, therefore, boys are still looked at as individuals who have the strong ties to their families as opposed to the wider community.

The late boyhood phase is accomplished by two main rituals: the pre-circumcision [*enkípáátá*] and circumcision [*emúrátà*] rituals as follows:

Pre-circumcision ritual [*enkípáátá*]

At the end of the late boyhood phase, a pre-circumcision ceremony [*enkípáátá*] is held for senior boys to prepare them for circumcision. As an induction and preparatory ritual, the firestick elders [*ilpírónito*] and other senior elders advise, train, and assist senior boys in performing various rituals ahead of them. During the *enkípáátá* ritual, each senior boy is given a strip of skin from the ritual ox as a proof of their maturity and required to partake in the community's responsibilities and organisational hierarchy.



Picture 4: Before circumcision, Maasai boys should be able to drain the blood from a bull's main artery

The role of *enkípáátá* ritual in preparing senior boys for circumcision in Maasai society cannot be overlooked. Commenting on the *enkípáátá* ritual, one Maasai elder stated,

Enkípáátá is crucial in our society because a boy's maturity and readiness for undergoing circumcision are measured by his ability to exhibit some expected behaviours. Before circumcising a boy, for instance, we must ensure that not only can he tend large herds of stock but also can travel alone at night to distant places. We must also ensure that a senior boy can carry heavy

spears and endure long hours in the bush without eating or drinking (A personal interview with the male Maasai elder 6, Engaruka, 05/11/2014).

Alongside the abilities identified by Maasai elder above, the participants also stated that during the *enkípáátá* ritual, a senior boy should be able to hold a bull's legs or horns, and then drain blood from its main artery for food or medicine. Once *enkípáátá* is finished, boys return to their homes and from there on, they are ready for circumcision.

Boys' circumcision [emúrátà] ritual (from 16+ years)

Different from other preceding rituals, this rite of passage involves the most painful operation. The act of shedding blood during the operation symbolises three aspects: first, the unity between the living and the dead; second, one's courage essential for community defence; and, lastly, one's maturity for the transition from childhood to adulthood. The circumcision procedure for senior boys marks their transitional phase from the boyhood to the moranhood phase of their lives. Contrary to Maasai girls who after circumcision attain womanhood (adulthood) status necessary for marriage ritual (Knowles, 1993; Pesambili, 2012), the circumcision practice for boys does not imply a direct transition from boyhood to adulthood life. Instead, for Maasai boys, the procedure symbolises the opening of a series of complex processes and rigorous training embellished by several rituals and ceremonies for the attainment of complete adulthood (Dangala, 1982).

The circumcision operation is done by a traditional male surgeon [*ɔlamurátàni*; pl. *ilamuráták*) who is remunerated for his service by either a goat, a sheep or money. Before circumcision, the prospective male initiates undergo some training to prepare them for painful surgery. This training is done in different ways: first, training the prospective male initiates on physical strength and endurance begins two weeks before the circumcision day; and second, through traditional dances and songs, boys are urged to endure pain during the operation. Due to this, a night before the circumcision day, morans spend their night dancing and singing about resilience, bravery, and courage to inspire the young Maasai men who wish to undergo circumcision on the morning of the next day.



Picture 5: Boys' circumcision is the most painful operation ritual among the Maasai



Picture 6: Two prospective male initiates being escorted by morans with a slow motion during the circumcision ritual at Engaruka in December 2014

On the circumcision day, the prospective initiates wake up early in the morning and bathe themselves with cold water which helps to lessen pain feelings during the operation. In

one of the circumcision rituals I participated in Engaruka, I observed the prospective initiates from the initiation camps being escorted by morans who encircled them in a group while singing and walking in slow motion to the homestead yard (See Picture 6 above). The Maasai believe that a slow motion helps boys not to succumb to high blood pressure in their bodies. After arriving at the boma, a boy sat on a cow-hide with his legs being spread in the front. On the back, the boy was supported by his aide who clasped him firmly by his hands so that he could not flinch or shake while being circumcised.



Picture 7: Boys who endured a painful operation are rewarded with various gifts

Before carrying out surgery, a boy must observe two taboos: first, he should not cry; and second, he should not flinch his body or blink his eyelids during the operation. If the boy cries, flinches or blinks his eyelids, he will have violated the taboo, and so his circumcision may be worthless. Such a person is considered ‘coward’ [ɔlkaisiodí] as a label for individuals who cried, flinched or blinked their eyelids during the circumcision procedure. In one of the circumcision rituals that I participated in Engaruka, for instance, I observed that once preparations were over, the circumciser held a penis of the initiate, smeared its glans (glandes) using a traditional lubricant, and eventually performed the surgery. The operation itself took a short time lasting for about one to two minutes.



Picture 8: The newly male initiates [isípòliò] are identified by the black attire they wear throughout the recovery period

Given that both initiates endured the pain and successfully underwent the operation, they were rewarded various gifts by their parents, relatives, friends, and neighbours during the circumcision ceremony which took place in the evening of the same day. Following the circumcision ritual, the newly initiate enters a healing period to recover from his wounds. At this point, the new male initiate is called ‘osípòliò’ (pl. *isípòliò*). These new male initiates are identified by the black attire they wear throughout the recovery period. They also have their faces smeared with black and white ochre. After recovery, the male initiate acquires the status of a “junior moran” in the moranhood age-grade hierarchy.

As has been shown in this section, the circumcision practice is a crucial step in creating and preparing a moranhood age-group in the Maasai community. This is a vital educational process that opens rigorous procedures in the transformation of a boy from childhood to adulthood status. That is why before undergoing circumcision, a Maasai boy is trained on how to endure pains during the operation. Due to this, bravery and courage

become among the paramount measures used for building and equipping a senior boy with a good base of traditional training and education before becoming a full moran.

4.4.3 Moranhood [múrránó] stage from 15 to 35 years

Following the circumcision ritual and the completion of a convalescent period, the new male initiates [isípóliò] join the moranhood phase as *junior morans*. The moranhood period is considered as the heart of the age-grade system since it is from this stage where the formation of age-sets and age-groups becomes formally instituted and institutionalised in Maasai society. The classification of the moranhood phase for this thesis covers the whole post-circumcision period (about 15 to 35 years) to the retirement period when morans upgrade to the junior elderhood status. For boys, this stage is accompanied by several rituals, marking the gradual removal of a liminal state and finally, the transition of individual age-groups into other senior age-grades (Knowles, 1993).

The moranhood age-grade is divided into two main age-groups: the junior (left-handed) and senior (right-handed) morans. In Maa, the term “ǎlbarnóti” (pl. *ilbarnót*) represents a “junior warrior”, while “olóshórói” (pl. *ilóshóro*) represents a “senior warrior”. But both junior and senior *morans* are jointly known as “ilmúrran” (sing. *ǎlmurraní*).



Picture 9: Junior and senior morans pictured with their colourful dressings

Junior moranhood phase

The junior moranhood age-group contains individuals who undergo circumcision when the second round of seven years' cycle is opened. Following the end of a healing period,

the newly initiates (isípóliò) upgrade to the status of junior moranhood some months later (Knowles, 1993). When upgrading to the moranhood age-group, the initiate should exhibit some expected behaviours, including their adherence to the age-group taboos [inturújá; sing. enturúj] and active participation into the meat feasts [ilpûl]. Achievement into these processes enables one to enjoy the benefits and privileges accrued to the moranhood age-group. According to Dangala (1982), morans' privileges include carrying long steel-white spears made of black wood handles [enjatanarok]; carrying shields as a sign of bravery and heroism; full sex life with the uncircumcised senior girls; participating in community meetings; and holding traditional dances in social gatherings.



Picture 10: A junior Maasai moran positioned at the olpûl camping site in Engaruka

While some of the benefits are useful, I would argue that other privileges like the rights to sex of the morans with the uncircumcised girls are based on gender inequality as it always favours men rather than women. This is consistent with Raymond's (2015) argument that a culture monopolised by men, together with sexual relations reinforces the domination of men over women in Maasai society. Traditionally, the sexual relationship between the morans and the uncircumcised girls has been regulated through a social institution called *esóto* [a night social gathering for morans and girls]. But during my fieldwork, many participants, including both men and women supported the abandonment of *esóto* practice in their society. The participants, for instance, remarked that,

We now believe that our traditional practices like esóto can be abandoned due to the presence of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/ AIDS which are dangerous to human beings. Since esóto involves a large gathering of morans

and girls, infections can occur because sexual affairs among them are inevitable. We can see that changes have begun taking place because today people do not see the importance of engaging morans and girls in esóto (A focus group with male parents, Group E, Engaruka, 02/11/2014).

The abandonment of *esóto* practice was also supported by female parents who stated that the practice is unsuitable to continue being practised. Like men, Maasai women in Engaruka commented that, “*We do not see the importance of the esóto practice because that could lead to pregnancies among our girls and the infection of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS to our children*”. But many people in Maasailand believed that formal education have contributed much in influencing people to abandon such kinds of practices. This is primarily because some young Maasai boys and girls attending formal schools have been reluctant to participate in night social gatherings like the past.

Senior moranhood phase

The senior age-group of morans comprises a group of young men who undergo circumcision when the first round of the new cycle of seven years is opened. Unlike junior morans who do not possess full power, senior morans possess greater authority and enough freedom in exerting their influence in society. Thus, junior morans perform most of their tasks and duties under the tutelage of senior morans. At the end of 15 years, senior morans hand over their power to junior morans and enter the junior elderhood status.



Picture 11: A senior moran pictured at the olpûl camping site in Engaruka

4.4.4 Traditional education and training during the moranhood [múrránó] phase

The traditional instructions given during the moranhood phase aim at exposing the newly recruited morans to extensive knowledge and rigorous training for self-determination and traditional social institutions. The teachings also aim at maintaining Maasai socio-political structures, traditional cultural ethos, and values based on the age-set system as well as understanding their roles as men and adults in the community. To this basis, the traditional skills and knowledge imparted during the boyhood phase are broadened to focus more on complex and advanced domains of knowledge, with new issues and themes being added to accommodate a broad range of abilities. During the moranhood phase, the skills provided to morans focus on a wide variety of issues as discussed below:

Traditional livestock husbandry deals mainly with the management and care of cattle for immediate, and future human uses. In traditional animal husbandry, Maasai morans expand their skills on livestock management, herding and grazing, animal selection and breeding, animal slaughtering, animal handling and care. In animal management, for instance, *morans* acquire advanced skills in livestock security, cattle identification, livestock branding strategies, and application of different ways of cattle branding using temporary and permanent markers. Commenting on the traditional techniques used by the pastoral Maasai to manage and identify cattle, one male elder remarked that:

We train morans on how to identify any missing animals so that they can manage large herds of livestock while in the grazing fields. We usually teach morans not to count the livestock using numbers such as 1, 2, 3, 4 and so forth because it may be difficult to remember and trace a missing animal using numbers. Thus, we teach them how to you identify cattle based on their colours, permanent brands on their skins, or genealogy and family tree (Personal conversations with the male elder 1, Meserani, 08/10/2014).

Also, in cattle breeding, *morans* are trained on animal species, livestock genetics, species selection, animal mating, animal mounting, and reproduction timing. Equally, studying livestock care and handling involves skills about taking care of gestating animals, handling the delivery process, and taking care of newborn animals. According to Ronoh (2010), animal husbandry discipline imparts to morans the values of commitment and attachment to livestock production as a distinctly Maasai economic occupation.

Traditional ecology involves an extended study covering a vast range of themes and issues essential for the survival of both humans and livestock. Issues covered in traditional ecology comprise geographical and land features, natural resources management, environment conservation, grassland and pasture management, weather forecasting,

seasonal identification, wildlife and vegetation, animal nutrition, and medicinal plants. As Homewood and Rodgers (2004) argue, morans' familiarisation with the environment is useful in stock management and decision making on migration with livestock to distant areas. In climate and seasons subject, the morans gain skills in weather prediction using the traditional means such as rainfall forecast, moon shapes, and the constellation of stars in the sky. As a result, during the rainy season, the Maasai graze their livestock in the lowlands, and during the dry season, they drive their livestock to the highlands.

The *traditional health* field of study which deals with the well-being of both humans and animals covers an extensive range of issues in human health, traditional veterinary, and nutrition. In animal health, morans gain extensive knowledge relating to different types of animal diseases, disease symptoms, disease vectors, disease-prone areas and seasons, diagnostic skills, preventive measures, and their treatment. In human health, morans gain skills on the nature and types of human diseases, symptoms, diagnostic skills, precautionary measures, medication and treatment. When asked about how do they manage to treat both human and livestock diseases using herbal medicines without the knowledge of formal schooling, the morans maintained that:

Our traditional knowledge about human and livestock diseases and herbal medicines originates from the bush and the grazing fields. As we continue herding, we spend several years exploring thick forests, thorny bushes, grasses, trees, rivers, hills, and mountains available in our local environment. Through this way, we manage to learn how to identify different species of medicinal plants and how they can be used to treat both humans and livestock diseases (A focus group with the morans, Group A, Meserani, 05/10/2014).

Alongside their knowledge of diseases and medicinal plants, the morans also stated that while in the bush, they learn how to prescribe and prepare different types of herbal concoctions using roots, barks of plants, and the tree leaves. During my attendance at the *olpûl* ritual (see section 4.5 for further details) in Engaruka, I witnessed how the morans were preparing the soup using a concoction of herbs and meat. This suggests that the morans are also trained on advanced skills in nutrition so that they know how to prepare a traditional diet using animal blood, milk, meat, and herbal medicines.

In *traditional defence and security*, morans are equipped with techniques necessary for defending people, livestock, and territory against enemies such as cattle rustlers and wild animals. In traditional defence and safety, morans are equipped with defence strategies, warfare strategies, fighting tactics, uses of traditional weapons, protection and immunisation strategies, as well as traditional snooping, and spying strategies. In the

opinions of the participants, “*If the thieves come to steal cattle or the lions attack people and livestock, it is a primary duty of the morans to deal with such foes*”. This implies that the morans are equipped with defence and security skills because they are like the army responsible for protecting their territory, livestock, and human beings. As Ronoh (2010) maintains, the willingness and commitment to defend the Maasai community, livestock, and land are the two core values developed through defence and security studies.

In *cultural and religious studies*, morans attain knowledge on various aspects of Maasai culture, including rituals, sacrifice and offering practices, religious beliefs, traditional attire, and performance arts. On the performance arts, for instance, morans learn topics concerning the traditional lyrical poems/songs, dancing patterns, singing styles, and oratorical skills (Bonini, 2006). During my stay in Maasailand, I attended various socio-cultural events and occasions in which the morans in cooperation with girls used to entertain people. When performing their dances, the morans and girls used to stand in semi-circles while singing bravery songs and jumping up and down in front of the audience. Equally, in traditional history, the morans cover issues about the origin, ancestry, family lineage, oral histories, legends, and traditions about the Maasai community over time as a way of preserving their cherished culture and identity.

The *political and legal studies* discipline covers both political and traditional law about Maasai society. In traditional politics, morans are imparted with skills on governance systems and institutions, leadership systems, and sociopolitical institutions like the age-set system. In traditional law, morans are trained on customary laws, land laws, law procedures, and proceedings, as well as conflict management and prevention. Also, in studying *social life*, morans gain skills on sexual health, gender relations, social relations, as well as family and marital life. In sexual health, morans gain skills on sexuality, sexual strength, and sexual health improvements. Similarly, in family life, morans are equipped with parenting styles and duties as well as marital roles essential for adult life. In social relations, morans learn topics about interpersonal relationships, social cohesion, mutual assistance, neighbourhood, and comradeship (Ronoh, 2010). The traditional social life imparts to morans the attitudes of sharing, collectivism, and social accountabilities.

The *economic studies* discipline deals with the accumulation, production, management, and exchange of stock wealth. This discipline equips morans with core skills in stock accumulation, livestock productivity, risk management, herd expansion and growth, and maintenance of livestock. In wealth accumulation subject, for instance, morans are trained

on different mechanisms of stock accumulation, expansion, and development of livestock wealth. According to the participants, in the past, through traditional economic studies, the morans were taught different techniques of wealth accumulation through cattle rustling and raids in neighbouring communities. Nonetheless, currently, the practice is no longer active, and with the proliferation of local livestock markets across Maasailand, the morans develop and learn skills of livestock exchange, transaction, and marketing.

4.4.5 Traditional rituals and ceremonies performed during the moranhood stage

Various rituals accompany the elevation of the morans from the moranhood age-grade to the elderhood age-grade, with the main ones being the shaving ceremony [*eúnótó*; pl. *iunót*] and junior elders' ceremony [*olng'eshér*]. Other minor rituals like the milk-drinking ceremony [*enkánj é khlē* or *aók khlē*] and the meat-eating ceremony [*enkánj oó nkírí*] occur in-between the above two main rituals. In Spencer's (1988) observation, the milk-drinking ritual is a family affair while the meat-eating ceremony is performed in larger groups. The combination of these rituals and ceremonies culminates in the formation of 'personhood' towards being a complete 'Maasai' (Spencer, 1993). These rituals further end up with the creation of a new age-set of individuals within the age-grade organisation hierarchy. A detailed information about other minor rituals are discussed elsewhere (See, for instance, Ndagala, 1982; Spencer, 1988; Talle, 1988; Knowles, 1993).

Eúnótó ceremony (Installation ritual for morans)

The term 'eunotó' literally means planting, installation or a ceremonial home for morans. Based on its literal meaning, *eunotó* stands for both a process of and a ceremonial home for installing morans as they begin formal procedures for the transition from the moranhood phase to the elderhood age-grade. The *eunotó* ceremony does two main things: firstly, it partially promotes the junior morans to the senior moranhood age-grade; and secondly, it opens the formal processes for the promotion of the senior morans to the elderhood age-grade. Since the Tanzanian government abandoned warrior villages [pl. *imanyát*; sing. *emányátá*], the Maasai form temporary camps some few weeks before the *eunotó* ceremony. The *Ilkisongo* Maasai in Tanzania hold their *eunotó* at Mukulat near Musa on the eastern slopes of Monduli Mountain (Ndagala, 1982). The *eunotó* ceremony is carried out in a chosen camp that contains a total of 49 houses, with the 49th house being the *oloibóni*'s household called *osinkira* in the Maa language (Spencer, 1988).

Before the *eunotó* ceremony, three important leaders will have been appointed. Such leaders include *olaigúénani*, an age-set life-long leader who is revered by a specially-

chosen cow. The second one is *oloború enkeené* (cutter of thongs), an age-set ceremonial leader with a knotted leather strip who unifies the age-set. The last one is called *olotunó* who ushers morans into junior elderhood by bearing all his age set's sins. During the *eunotó* ritual two distinct activities are done: first, the horns of an ox are sized by the morans and knocked down with bare hands; and second, a ceremonial fire is rekindled on the back of the ox in which the morans are required to take a portion of meat out before it is wholly burned. Upon the completion of *eunotó*, the outgoing morans return to their homes though food taboos remain until they perform the milk-drinking and meat-eating rituals some months later (Knowles, 1993). Correspondingly, the incoming senior warriors do not acquire full seniority until the outgoing senior *morans* give up their moranhood responsibilities through the *olng'eshér* ceremony (Ndagala, 1982).

Junior elders' ceremony (olng'eshér)

An *olng'eshér* ritual which takes place when most individuals are around the age of 35 is a final graduation ceremony marking a complete transition of senior morans to the junior elderhood status. This rite of passage is conducted once in every fifteen years, when junior morans are ripe enough to take up the senior moranhood duties (Spencer, 1993). The initiation rite into elderhood is usually held at *Endonyo Loo' Imoruak* Hill of the elders located in Sanya Juu, Siha District. At the *olng'eshér* ritual, the post-*eunotó* morans officially assume the complete powers as senior morans, while the former ones retire into the junior elderhood status (Dangala, 1982). During a preparatory meeting, an age-set ceremonial leader [*oloo' súrutýá*] chosen by the *olpirón* in consultation with the *olaigúénàni* (pl. *ilaiguenák*) is blessed by the *oloibóni*. This is the one who leads all his age-set members into their graduation from moranhood to junior elderhood status.

The *olng'eshér* ritual is accompanied by several events and activities, including slaughtering bulls and constructing a ceremonial camp. The *olng'eshér* accomplishes four things: First, the pre-selected name is pronounced on the new age-set and that name should be kept for life. Second, all new age-set members are blessed by being given branches of a tree named 'oltet' as a blessing that their cattle not only should have plenty of grass in all seasons, but also should always be in milk (Dangala, 1982). Third, the ritual removes all moranhood taboos such as restrictions on food, sex, smoking, and hair shaving. This allows the new elders to eat meat handled by women and to bless their children once are circumcised. At the end of the ceremony, prayers are conducted to the

new age-set and advice given to the new elders. After this ceremony, a man assumes full responsibility for his own family and may move away from his father's homestead.

4.4.6 Post-moranhood stage (roughly from 35+)

The post-moranhood stage is a period in which Maasai men have been elevated from the moranhood age-group to the elderhood age-grade. Post-moranhood is used here as a structuring concept for a wider age-set that comprises various age-grades within it. In the age-grade hierarchy of the Maasai pastoralists, the post-moranhood period is represented by two terms: 'elderhood' and 'manhood'. The term "mórúáo" stands for *elderhood*, while "léwáishò" stands for *manhood*. The term "olmórûô" (pl. *ilmórùàk*), for instance, is used synonymously to refer to both an 'elder' and a 'man'. This entails that for Maasai pastoralists, *elderhood* does not necessarily mean one's state of being in an old age, but it refers to the state of *manhood*. For analytical purposes, the post-moranhood stage is divided into three groups: junior elders, senior elders, and retired elders as follows:

Junior elderhood phase (from 35-45 years)

The junior elderhood [*ilkairish*; sing. *olkairishí*] age-group encompasses a group of young men roughly aged about 35 years to 45. Traditionally, junior elderhood is a period when men are required to undergo the marriage ritual. This is a practical phase, and hence, the junior elders are supposed to live by and experience what they learnt in the previous phases. However, further training in Maasai culture, traditional governance systems, traditional economics, animal husbandry, human and animal health are usually provided to junior elders by the senior age-sets. Also, the junior elders are in preparation for taking over the elderhood power and authority from the senior elders upon their retirement. In that regard, this is a foundational phase for most junior elders use this chance to marry (if they are not) and establish their own families. According to Knowles (1993), it is during this time also when the young men engage in accumulating livestock by means of buying and selling cattle or acquiring their allotted cattle from their mothers and relatives.

Middle-aged (senior) elderhood phase (from about 46 to 74 years)

The senior elderhood phase comprises the middle-aged men past junior elderhood whose ages may range between 46 and 74 years old. The senior elders can be subdivided into two age groups: the *senior elders* and *older senior elders*. The ordinary senior elders aged between approximately 46 and 60 years are identified in Maa as 'ilpayianí' (sing. *olpayián*) which literally means past junior elderhood (middle-aged) men to elderly men. In the Maasai community, the older senior elders [*ilpayianí kitùààk*; sing. *olpayián kitòk*]

comprise elders aged between 61 to 74 years and who are relatively older than the ordinary senior elders within the same or alternate age-group. The senior elderhood period is considered as a consolidation phase because at this stage, Maasai men have already married and have several children. Likewise, this is a time when men become the managers of herds and heads of households, with their efforts being concentrated more on livestock exchange and transactions with other Maasai (Knowles, 1993).



Picture 12: On the left side is a senior Maasai elder during his middle-aged phase

Senior elders act as *ruling elders* who hold substantial authority within the gerontocratic governance system of the Maasai much the same as senior morans who are in authority under the moranhood age-grade (Spencer, 2003). As ruling elders, the senior elders are responsible for making decisions, arbitrating, and settling disputes between homesteads, clans, and communities (Knowles, 1993). The senior elders also play a central role as guides, trainers, and instructors of the lower age-groups. The senior elderhood status enables the elders to execute a considerable power over the senior morans through the “firestick fatherhood” institution called “olpirón” (pl. *ilpíronitò*). As firestick fathers [*ilpíronitò*], senior elders instruct and preside over all traditional rituals concerning senior morans. Also, during this period, the senior elders constitute the decision-making body for the locality and must fulfil the supervisory roles (Klumpp, 1987) in passing general verdicts on residential location, herd movement, and grazing (Hodgson, 2001).

Retired elderhood phase (roughly from 75+ years)

This post-moranhoo lifecycle encompasses the ‘retired elders’ who are approximately aged 75 and above. The proper Maa term for elders of this phase of the lifecycle is ‘iltásàt’ (sing. *oltásàt*) which stands for “very old men of grandfather age”. The term stems its meaning from the adjectival Maa word root ‘tásat’ (pl. *tasátī*) which literally means “withered, disabled, or weakly” (Knowles, 1993). In the light of this meaning, the elderly age-group consists of individuals who are less or no longer active in community matters, but are regarded as wise people in Maasai society. Despite this, during this period some elderly Maasai men who are relative strong, continue to play a key role in traditional rituals, sacrifice, and sacred practices. Likewise, due to their advanced experience in IK, the retired elders use their expertise to offer most advanced domains of knowledge in history, Maasai culture, and religious studies to the other junior age-groups.



Picture 13: On the left side is a Maasai elder during his retired elderhood status

4.5 Olpûl-Ritual as a Mechanism for IK Transmission in Maasai Society

This story is a response to a week spent attending *olpûl* in Engaruka. The title of the story is taken from a Maa concept, ‘olpûl’ (pl. *ilpûli*), literally means “meat-eating place” which shows the symbolic-interaction between humans and nature, and which I have categorised as a form of *ceremony*. The story is situated in this section to serve as a practical example of how Maasai boys and morans learn, enact, and acquire traditional knowledge as we saw in section 4.4. The story, therefore, seeks to offer an alternative understanding of IK

by calling into question both epistemological and methodological approaches to knowledge production, exchange, and transmission in Maasai society.

4.5.1 Experiencing *olpûl*-ceremony

During the second round of my fieldwork in Engaruka, I attended the *olpûl* ritual, carried out by the Maasai at a secluded place in the bush. As two co-researchers, two elders, and four morans, walked me through the bush landscape for a week, *olpûl* camping offered me more experiential moments for stories to spring up. A confluence of stories emerged here; stories of the past and of the present as well as stories of the *olpûl* ceremony itself, of place, and information about them. The convergence of these stories, the experiences, and information enacted and exchanged during the *olpûl* ritual in the bush, I categorise as traditional knowledge. This story began to unfold gently in Chapter One, but it had to pass through a series of mountainous terrains before it emerged suddenly from a long period of dormancy to conflate with this new moment and experience in Engaruka.



Picture 14: Lighting a fire involves a soft stick and a flat wood with a carved notch

Outside this structure, there is a special cooking area, where cooking vessels, pans, and utensils are kept. Also, outside the *olpûl* site, a tall big tree is seen with some marks showing the length of time spent during the *olpûl* ritual. For each day used at the *olpûl* site, a mark should be made in the bark of the tree with a machete by a designated person. Due to this, when participating in the *olpûl* ritual, I observed one participant marking the bark of the tree every evening of the day before we left the camping site for home. This observation is consistent with Goldman (2006) contention that since the *olpûl* sites are

repeatedly used by several groups every year, the trees with multiple markings across their bark, reflect the history of human use of the ‘wild’ area over the years.



Picture 15: Marks on the bark of the tree reflect human interactions with nature over the years

4.5.2 *Olpûl* preparations, animal slaughtering procedures, and meat processing

Olpûl ceremony involves several activities and events taking place simultaneously and at times not. In the first stage, the participants prepared all necessary items, including knives, pans, herbs, water, firewood, and grasses needed in performing the ceremony. In the second stage, the participants started butchering a goat with several procedures being involved. First, the limbs of the goat were firmly tied with a rope to restrain its physical movement. Second, a slaughter person inserted a sharp knife into the neck of the restrained animal behind the jaw bone and below the first neck bone. This killed the goat as the major blood vessels were cut transversely across the throat, nearer to the head, thereby letting the blood to flow. Then, the participants skinned the animal, and finally eviscerated the internal organs of the carcass. In the process of emptying the internal organs, I witnessed the participants opening the carcass by cutting directly in the centre of the abdomen to disembowel organs like viscera, thoracic content, and kidneys.



Picture 16: Participants eviscerating the internal organs of the animal at the olpûl site



Picture 17: Before having a meal, the soup must be boiled and meat roasted over the fire

Once butchering the animal is completed, the next step involves lighting fire. During the *olpûl* ritual, I observed the Maasai participants lighting fire by using two pieces of wood, one being a soft stick and the other being a flat wood with a carved notch fitting the stick. While at *olpûl*, I watched the participants lighting fire by twirling and rubbing the soft stick onto the carved notch of the flat wood. Because of such friction, some smokes were produced after few seconds. Then, other participants quickly took the dried grasses or twigs, and mixed them with embers in the fireplace where they instantly caught fire.

Following the lighting of the fire, some *olpûl* participants began boiling soup onto a pan by mixing the carcass' internal organs like intestines, liver, and kidneys with medicinal

herbs. Other portions of fresh carcass such as limbs, thighs, and lungs were roasted over a fire. Once processing the animal meat was finished, the next step was to drink soup and eat roasted meat. But even before boiling the soup, I was surprised by the way the participants could drink raw blood just immediately after slaughtering the animal. This was a fascinating tradition for me since I had never witnessed it before. Drinking and eating medicinal soups reinforce strength, bravery, and courage to the *olpûl* attendees (Talle, 1988). Likewise, not only does the soup enhance food digestion and fight against cholesterol but also it protects the human body against illness (Goldman, 2006).

4.5.3 Moments of *olpûl* ceremony

Olpûl ritual is usually accompanied by several moments, activities, and events. Each moment, activity or event of the day constitutes my experience about the ceremony and the experiences of the participants themselves. While at the *olpûl* camp, I observed not only how the ritual is performed, but also how IK transmission takes place in Maasai society. Also, apart from eating meat and drinking soup, we spent most of our time praying, conversing, and listening to various stories while at the *olpûl* site. Equally, some stories that emerged during our conversations are about the *olpûl* ritual itself, whereas others are about Maasai society and culture configured for both past and present.



Picture 18: Participants eating roasted meat while sharing stories with each other

After participating in several activities, events, and processes as discussed above, it was now time for learning things differently. In the noon of the first day, I am asking a senior elder about the *olpûl* practice and its meaning for Maasai. In reply, the elder said:

*You know, *olpûl* is a tradition with a long history in Maasai society. The *olpûl* ritual is sacred since it bears both spiritual and symbolic connotations. Spiritually, *olpûl* serves as a means through which humans communicate with *Enkai* (God) to ask for blessings, prosperity, forgiveness, and healings. Symbolically, the *olpûl* ritual divorces participants from the community and links them with nature during their entire stay at the camp (Personal conversations with the Maasai elder 14, *olpûl* site, Engaruka, 24/03/2015).*

As our talks continued, I realised that associating the term “sacred” to the *olpûl* ritual has caught my attention, but I speculated the elder did not notice. Yet, I could hear a senior moran echoing that due to its sacred nature, *olpûl* is imbued with strict taboos. People from home who are not associated with the *olpûl* ritual, for instance, are barred from entering the camping site. Moran’s remark echoes Rigby’s (1985) observation that throughout the extended periods of *olpûl*, the theme is the separation from the community of the main participants. Likewise, while in *olpûl*, the participants are not allowed to eat any kinds of foods not related to the ritual. Again, I can sense the echoes of both spiritual and symbolic meanings of the *olpûl* ritual emerging from such kinds of taboos.



*Picture 19: A researcher in a joint picture with some participants at the *olpûl* site*

Looking like a person who is more confident about what he says, another Maasai elder describes that morans are like the army in their society whose primary duty is to defend people and livestock from enemies. In this spirit, the elder says that “*Since these tasks and duties require someone who is strong and healthy, an *olpûl* ritual serves this purpose. By gorging themselves on massive quantities of meat, raw blood, and medicinal soup, morans build their bodies and strengthens their health*”. The elder’s remarks agree with

Goldman's (2006) contention that being strong and energetic for morans is crucial since they are charged with moving the cattle over long distances during the dry season in search of water and pasture. There is a symbolic meaning to be found up here, in the *olpûl* ritual. The act of butchering animals, processing the carcass, and gorging meat and medicinal soup, not only builds bodies and strengthen the health of individuals, but also offers an avenue for training and learning. Here are comments from the participants:

Olpûl is akin to a class or a laboratory in the formal school as we use this ritual to train morans several things both theoretically and practically. At the olpûl site, we practically teach morans how to butcher animals, process meat, carve different portions of the carcass, cook soup, and roast meat over a fire. Also, we train them to identify, prepare, and mix various types of herbs with soup (Conversations with the participants, olpûl site, Engaruka; 24/03/2015).



Picture 20: An olpûl ritual is like a classroom or laboratory involving practical training

Besides acting as a classroom or laboratory as mentioned above, the participants noted that *olpûl* camp is more than learning venues found in schools since it also an important age-set gathering for introducing the newly circumcised morans to their age-mates. This suggests that a Maasai boy cannot become a proper moran unless he attends the *olpûl* ritual in the bush. Due to this, participation and interaction at the meat feast camp is of crucial significance to the shaping of male identity in Maasai society (Talle, 1988).

On the other day, we carried on holding talks, but I could sense wretchedness and notice unhappiness in the face of one of the senior Maasai elders participating in the *olpûl* ceremony. I quickly jumped at the opportunity and asked him why he looked sadly unlike the previous day when he was so happy? The elder says,

*I am unhappy because when I recall what we used to do in the past, I see that many undesirable changes have brought about huge problems in our society. The beautiful tradition of *olpûl* which used to assist the poor, the disabled, and orphans to live well in our society without difficulty seems disappearing. Now, the needy, the disabled, elders, and orphans are suffering a lot because the community cannot support them as we used to do in the past (Conversations with the Maasai elder 15, *olpûl* site, Engaruka, 24/03/2015).*

The elder's remarks above, offer a different way of thinking about the location of *olpûl* ritual as embedded not only in its physical contexts like the bush, the forest or along the riverside but also, in its non-physical dimension located in its social landscape. As the elder's sentiments above indicate, the non-physical dimension of the *olpûl* ritual has started causing sufferings to the poor, the disabled, elders, and orphans as the ritual itself is on the verge of extinction in Maasai society. According to the participants, if the *olpûl* ritual disappears, the poor, the disabled, elders, and orphans will suffer much because,

*When morans attend the *olpûl* camp in the bush, those coming from well-to-do families and have donated cows and goats for the ritual have to include their colleagues who are orphans or poor and have not contributed anything. Thus, the *olpûl* ritual aims to teach morans practically how to support each other not only during their moranhood but also throughout their life (Conversations with the participants, *olpûl* site, Engaruka, 23/03/2015).*

While at the *olpûl* site, morans learn practically how to share each other's knowledge, stories, skills, and experiences (Goldman, 2006). Besides sharing, the practice of supporting one another at the camp and after decamping the site forms an important part of a non-physical dimension of the ritual. Through its non-physical context, *olpûl* instils in morans and adults the ideals of love, solidarity, unity, friendship, and comradeship regarded as essential ingredients for supporting the needy, the disabled, and orphans in society. This offers a new way to understand IK not only as located in its physical context in which it is enacted, embodied, and practised but also located in a social landscape embedded in the service of the poor, the disabled, and orphans in the community.

As I listened to the participants' stories, I came to grasp that the needy, the disabled, the elderly people, and orphans are currently suffering because the *olpûl* ritual which has been used to reinforce useful cultural values and ideals for supporting them is on the brink of extinction, as it is not enacted, not performed, and not practised like the past. The gradual disappearance of the *olpûl* ritual directs our attention to how formal schooling is possibly implicated in this process by the disruption it creates in Maasai society. Many people worry not only about the unwanted changes but also about the impacts of formal schooling on IK practices in their community. According to one Maasai elder,

An olupul ritual is currently disappearing because the school has removed our children from the family and community environments where the ritual is practised, performed, and passed on to the younger generation. Today, Maasai children, young boys, and morans are busy attending formal schools. Hence, morans do not frequently attend olupul where they can learn the values of caring, sharing, and supporting each other as age-mates in the community (Personal conversations with the Maasai elder 12, Engaruka, 18/12/2014).

As the elder's remarks above show, through taking Maasai children away from their families and communities as the main sites for the transmission of *olpul*, formal schooling creates a dislocation leading to the gradual extinction of the ritual. This indicates that as many Maasai children are attending school, at the same time, they are not getting time to attend, perform, and practise *olpul* where they can learn most useful ideals and values conveyed in the ritual. I would, therefore, argue that unlike the past, the ritual cannot be passed on from the older generation to the younger one because Maasai students who are supposed to practice it are busy with little or no time at all to attend it. This implies that changing in the patterns of interaction between Maasai adults and children associated with an increased participation of the latter in formal schooling has created fractures in both the physical and non-physical dimensions of IK that ensured its survival.



Picture 21: Some participants pictured while returning home after the olupul ritual

In addition to dislocating Maasai children from their home and community environments, formal schooling also makes them neglectful of observing IK practices in their society. Some male parents, for instance, were of the view that the non-attendance in IK practices,

including the *olpûl* ritual, makes their children unable to listen and take up their traditions.

The remarks given by one firestick father in Engaruka deserves a mention here:

Due to formal schooling, our young children have been neglecting our IK practices while also ceasing to comply with cultural values and customs of our community. Nowadays, once morans join formal schools, they no longer want to participate in cultural practices like olpûl and esóto nor carry with them the traditional tools such as maces, swords, and spears (Personal conversations with Chief 1 (firestick father), Engaruka, 15/12/2014).

One impact of the neglect caused by formal schooling against IK transmission in Maasai society can perhaps be seen in the conversations I had with one moran in Engaruka. After meeting a moran who was at the time attending a local secondary school, I asked him various questions about some cultural traditions, but he could not answer them correctly. Such moran failed to identify even his age-group. This is a part of my talks with him:

Joseph: Have you ever been circumcised?

Moran: Yes, I was circumcised in January 2013.

Joseph: Which age-group do you belong to?

Moran: I belong to the *kor'yangá* age-group.

Joseph: Perhaps, what is the age-group currently in authority?

Moran: The age-group which is currently in power is called the *landiis* age-group.

Joseph: What about the so-called nyangûro? What is that age-group?

Moran: I belong to the *nyangûro* age-group as well. We, who have undergone circumcision since 2013 and others who are still being circumcised belong to the *nyangûro* age-group.

As shown in the above conversations, we find that the contexts and alien environments in which this moran has been socialised make him unable to identify even his age-group. This observation offers a possible explanation of why Maasai children attending school are ill-informed of their own cultural practices and traditional knowledge. This suggests that both physical and non-physical dimensions are the most important contexts for the practice of IK, including the *olpûl* ritual. Since IK is situated in physical and non-physical contexts, a person must attend the field to know how to enact, perform, and practise it.

4.6 Assessment Procedures and Evaluation of Learning Outcomes

This section casts light on the assessment procedures and evaluation of the learning outcomes in traditional Maasai education. The first subsection expounds different forms of assessment strategies used to assess the learning outcomes in traditional education. The second subsection looks at the evaluation of the learning outcomes in general and how that is implicated in traditional training and learning systems among the Maasai.

4.6.1 Assessment procedures in traditional Maasai training systems

The process of assessment and evaluation of the learning outcomes in the traditional learning system among the Maasai is not based on written examinations as in the formal education system. Under this section, we shall look briefly at different strategies used by the Maasai to assess whether learning has taken place. In general, the assessment of learning outcomes in the Maasai community can be classified into two types:

Formative assessment (Everyday assessment)

The Maasai apply formative assessment to assess the learning outcomes of learners on daily living and regular productive activities. The formative type of assessment involves monitoring the daily behaviour of learners closely as they continue to live and take part in the day-to-day production activities. In this way, learners who perform well are rewarded for their efforts, and those who perform poorly are punished for their poor performance. Also, the formative assessment is usually conducted immediately after instructions and training so that the instructors or trainers get a good grip on the extent to which learners have understood the lesson. In the opinions of one Maasai elder:

After training, boys are assigned to practice what they have learnt. Maasai boys, for example, are assigned to name cows and call each one by its name, milk a cow or slaughter a bull. They may also be directed to construct livestock shelter, mark cattle by engraving a sign on the head, ear or the leg as a way of getting to know at which extent they have understood a lesson (Personal interviews with the male Maasai elder 8, Engaruka, 29/11/2014).

As shown in the above quote, once instructions are over, trainers may decide to determine the degree to which the learners have understood the lesson. Like other indigenous people, the Maasai do not have paper exams as in formal education since measuring competency indirectly through various forms of objective tests may not address whether that person can put that knowledge into practice (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Due to this, the observational strategy in the form of watching-verbal assessment is mostly used by the Maasai pastoralists to assess the learning activities of their learners in their society.

Summative assessment

In the summative assessment, the Maasai instructors measure the level of proficiency and knowledge mastery of their learners at the end of training before transitioning from one age-grade to another. During my fieldwork, for instance, I observed the way Maasai boys were assigned to perform certain tasks during their induction so as to assess whether they would be fit to undergo circumcision. Also, the participants noted that:

A Maasai parent and his son can enter a cowshed to inspect livestock. Then, he may direct his son to inspect all cattle to determine if they are fine. If a boy fails to identify a diseased animal, for example, he will be encouraged to practise more until he knows better (A group discussion with the male Maasai parents, Group C, Meserani, 20/10/2014).

But it should be noted that the summative assessment applies to both age-groups, including young children, morans, and elders when transforming to senior grades.

4.6.2 Evaluation of learning outcomes in traditional Maasai education

The Maasai evaluate learning outcomes mainly in terms of the applicability of the knowledge and skills developed in the productive work and everyday life. The learning outcomes are also measured in terms of an individual's adherence to social norms and cultural values in day-to-day life. Similarly, the learning outcomes are measured based on an individual's success in life, survival abilities, and contribution to the well-being of the household and the whole society. One male elder (elder 9) in Engaruka, for instance, insisted that *"however clever a moran may be, he will be evaluated as a successful person through counting the number of cows he has added since he married and established his own family or boma"*. This suggests that for Maasai pastoralists, the learning outcomes are a question of life-and-death and are primarily assessed based on a real-life context.

4.7 Disciplinary and Punishment Procedures in the Maasai Community

This section offers insights on disciplinary and punishment procedures used in traditional learning system among the Maasai. The first subsection examines various strategies employed by the Maasai to impart discipline to its learners. The second subsection discusses diverse forms of punishment that are practised in Maasai society. In this way, the section casts light on various disciplinary and punishment procedures used to enforce learning, peace, and social integrity in the community. Getting a grip on disciplinary and punishment issues, therefore, orients the reader to how individuals' actions and behaviours are controlled and regulated using traditional education in Maasai society.

4.7.1 Discipline mechanisms and disciplinary procedures in Maasai Society

The Maasai pastoralists start instilling discipline in their learners for both sexes from a young age. The inculcation of discipline to the Maasai individuals is a long-life process which continues until their adulthood and throughout their lifespan. The Maasai use various measures to enforce discipline in their community. These measures include:

Warnings and oral rebukes

Warnings and oral rebukes are widely applied as the means of ensuring learning and maintaining proper discipline and good order in the Maasai community, particularly to the young children. In the participants' views, *"if a child commits any violence or undisciplined behaviour, warnings and oral rebukes are employed as a primary means of regulating such vices"*. Likewise, warnings and oral rebukes are to do with the way the adults deliver long harangues, diatribes, and advice about indiscipline and immorality to children and junior morans. All in all, adults and elders make use of harangues and diatribes to enforce learning and certain behaviours to the young children.

Taboos (and prohibitions)

The Maasai community is replete with various taboos used for reinforcing appropriate behaviours and knowledge acquired by individuals in society. Taboos and prohibitions are also used to inculcate discipline among the community members and are, hence, expected to be observed by every person in Maasai society. If a person breaks a particular taboo, one may be liable for some consequences, including punishment. For Maasai pastoralists, some taboos are to do with dietary restrictions and social restrictions, while others are to do with sexual restraints (cf. Talle, 1988; Spencer, 1993). In Maasai society, taboos are vital not only because they control immoral behaviours such as jealousy, selfishness, and arrogance, but also because they govern individuals towards appropriate behaviours such as discipline, respect, and tolerance in their community. Taboos and prohibitions, therefore, play a vital role in minimising tensions and regulating relationships within the age-set, between age-groups, and between sexes.

Cursing [ɔldəkét]

A curse is a ritual sanction that an individual may spell out openly towards another in front of the eyewitnesses. The pastoral Maasai believe in the power of the curse which leads to bad omens and misfortunes to individuals who offend others (Talle, 1988). In the participants' opinions, the most powerful curse that can cause severe disasters to people is the one imposed by seniors on juniors since these groupings are well-defined within the age-set system. Regarding this observation, one male parent uttered that:

If I get somewhere and find a man is absent, his wife will take care of me in the same way she cares for her husband. This is because in case his wife rejects to care for me, it is a severe offence, and I may pronounce a curse on her (A focus group with the male parents, Group A, Meserani, 06/10/2014).

However, the general principle is that a curse ought to be morally justifiable to be efficient and that it should be inflicted on an individual as a final option where other means have failed (Talle, 1988). Due to this, many people fear curses because they believe that it can lead to both social and metaphysical consequences in their lives. The belief in cursing, therefore, helps to resolve conflicts and bring peace and order in Maasai society.

Witchcraft (sorcery)

Although slightly different from cursing, witchcraft (sorcery) is also a deliberate way of harming other people using a magic power. As a practice, witchcraft involves a process of preparing some herbal medicine using poisonous roots and leaves of the tree by concocting it with other ingredients. Unlike cursing which is spelt out overtly, a wizard who intends to harm another person does it covertly. According to the participants, in other cases, however, the traditional chiefs can openly apply a magic solution to individuals such as rabble-rousers, thieves, burglars, and robbers who are not ready to surrender to the traditional authorities. In the opinions of the participants:

If a person is a troublemaker in our society, elders may say that we have warned him but have refused to be controlled. In such situation, a clan chief may decide to apply a magic pot. This magic pot is disastrous for it kills people. Once a person is put on the magic pot, all relatives in their clan may perish (A focus group with the male parents, Group B, Meserani, 06/10/2014).

As shown in the above excerpt, the magic pot is used for killing purposes. If someone, for instance, has robbed someone of their assets or livestock, they may be subjected to death through the magic pot. But like cursing, breaking a magic pot must bear moral justification for it to be effective. The participants were of the view that if a magic pot is inflicted on a person who has not committed a mistake, it cannot cause harm to him/her. This means that the belief in wizardly and witchcraft reinforces discipline and social order in the Maasai community. Most importantly, the belief in wizardry makes individuals fearful of being harmed by people who are alleged to be witches or sorcerers.

4.7.2 Punishment procedures and administration in traditional Maasai education

Discipline and punishment are related and influence each other because the latter suggests that an individual gets punished because of exhibiting indiscipline and misbehaviour which are the outcomes of the former. Both discipline and punishment are widely used in Maasai society as motivators to stimulate learning and controlling individuals' actions and behaviours. While the Maasai pastoralists have different forms of punishments, their

application and administration are largely determined by several factors, including the nature and intensity of the problem, age, sex, and age-group of a wrongdoer.

Corporal punishment (Caning/beating)

Corporal punishment is a kind of punishment commonly employed by the Maasai to control individuals' indiscipline and misbehaviours in their community. This type of punishment is usually administered to boys and girls aged between four and fifteen years. As such, Maasai children who are instructed by their seniors on good manners and appropriate behaviours, but continue to misbehave, can be caned by any adult person. Perhaps what deserves special mention here is the application and administration of corporal punishment to the moranhood age-group in the Maasai community. Although the use of corporal punishment against morans has recently been declining, the morans continue to be caned using sticks. If a certain moran, for example, is too stubborn and recalcitrant in that it is not possible to control him by other means, he can be beaten.

Nevertheless, administering corporal punishment to the moranhood age-group is not a straightforward process since some traditional rules must be observed: First, when caning a moran who has wronged, the punishment should not be administered in the presence of women and girls. The participants reiterated that administering corporal punishment to morans in front of girls and women would make him embarrassed, and most morans would not like that to happen. Second, it is only senior elders who can administer corporal punishment to morans, not junior elders or women. Third, morans regularly tend to beat each other if any of their colleagues commits a mistake. I witnessed this event in Meserani where morans caned their age-mate who committed the mistake and warned him not to repeat. Finally, the principle of collective punishment is usually applied to morans in that the entire age-group gets punished for the mistakes committed by one moran. Regarding the collective type of punishment, for instance, one Maasai elder remarked:

If a moran beats women or insults elders, for instance, such mistakes will be considered as belonging to all age-group members. Thus, all age-mates in his age-grade should be punished because of the mistake committed by their age-mate (Personal conversations with the male elder 1, Meserani, 08/10/2014).

As shown in the extract above, collective punishment is usually administered to the morans to inculcate sharing instincts and egalitarian ethos among them. Through collective punishment, all morans are responsible for ensuring that members in their age-group are observing fundamental moranhood ideals, including discipline and respect.

Fine (Fine payment)

The payment of a fine is considered as a high order sort of punishment typically administered to male and female adults of all age-groups, excluding children and junior morans. To a large degree, the intensity of a fine inflicted on an offender is determined by the nature of a case in question. Different types of cases (disputes) varying from minor offences like insults, abuses, and beating; to intermediate ones like theft, robbery, and adultery; and to the major ones such as manslaughter and murder exist in the Maasai community (Dangala, 1982; Talle, 1988; Knowles, 1993). In this way, individuals who commit minor offences like insulting or beating elders and women are charged with light fines while those who commit major crimes like killing are liable for hefty fines.

However, the administration of major offences like murder is a complex process replete with a series of procedures. In most cases, all cases involving murder, have fixed fines of 49 cows for a man and 25 cows for a woman. Elders' meetings [*inkiguenát*] are crucial here because they are the forum through which major disputes are resolved peacefully in ways that may not threaten the integrity of the community (Knowles, 1993). This is mainly because the Maasai do not prefer to send their cases to the court since they have their own traditional ways of settling and resolving conflicts through peaceful means. Due to this, manslaughter and murder cases are seldom reported to the Police or sent to the court of law but sent to the elders' meetings that constitute an impartial body for running the traditional governance affairs and maintaining justice in society (Nganga, 2013).

4.8 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the traditional system of schooling and socialisation patterns among the Maasai is gendered and age-based following the hierarchical lifecycle stages known as the "age-set system". Being gendered and age-based, the types of training and patterns of socialisation that both Maasai boys and girls receive in their community differ based on age and sex. The chapter has revealed that traditional education for women revolves around the domestic and non-domestic environments concerned mostly with a broad range of issues in home management, reproductive health, animal husbandry, and pastoral culture. On the contrary, traditional education and training for Maasai men and boys revolve primarily around the bush environment while covering a broad range of topics in animal husbandry, ecology, economics, defence and security, social studies, culture, economics, history, and traditional governance system. These findings, therefore, suggest that the age and sex determine the nature of subject content and type of

instructions offered to both boys and girls based on their variations in production activities in the pastoral economy as well as traditional social obligations in the community.

Accordingly, the traditional Maasai education is imbedded in the lived experiences of the young children and adults as they continue to interact with their local environments and engage with their day-to-day subsistence activities. This suggests that the traditional processes for learning among the Maasai are not static, but they evolve and adapt to changing circumstances over time as a way of ensuring the survival of the community. Equally, to ensure the future existence of their community, the socialisation patterns in various levels of human lifecycle stages among the Maasai are marked by the performance of different traditional rituals such as the birth, circumcision, and marriage ceremonies. Some of these rituals which involve both men and women are a necessary part of the educational processes playing a pivotal role not only in the transformation of an individual from the childhood to adulthood status but also in culminating into the formation of one's 'personhood' towards being a complete 'Maasai.' The findings, therefore, suggest that the traditional practices of Maasai culture and socialisation patterns necessitate and are necessitated by a complex education system with an evolving and an adaptive capacity to ensure the survival and the future existence of the community.

Lastly, the chapter has offered the new ways to understand Maasai IK not only as located in its physical contexts like the bush and the forest but also as situated in its non-physical dimension embedded in a social landscape. Drawing attention to the physical context, offers a possible understanding of IK as experiential, embodied, and performative in nature. The physical dimension of IK suggests that for transmission of knowledge to take place, a person must attend the field whether in the bush or in the kitchen to experience, enact, perform, and practise it. In contrast, the non-physical dimension of IK pays attention to its interactive, intersubjective, and social locatedness. The non-physical dimension conceptualises IK not only as enacted, performed, and practised in its geographical context, but also as located in the good of and the service for the poor, the disabled, the elders, and orphans in the community. The chapter's findings, therefore, suggest that IK cannot be viewed as a set of old traditions, skills, and experiences that can merely be learnt and passed on, but it involves bodily enactments and daily experiential practices that are lived and embodied in both physical and socio-cultural contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MAASAI'S ENCOUNTER WITH FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CONTEXTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses mainly on the extent to which the Maasai youths and their traditional education have encountered formal education within the school contexts. In addressing this encounter, the chapter examines not only the practices and processes of formal education in the school contexts but also the experiences of Maasai students and their perceptions of what they find when they use formal schools in their local areas. This, in turn, implies an emphasis on how the local schools in Maasailand run and operate, how teaching and learning take place in schools, and how the Maasai students engage with formal education in the school contexts. Also, the chapter looks at how the NGO-based school in Monduli has attempted to offer intercultural education by designing co-curricular programmes in its efforts to localise the school system in Maasailand. In that regard, this part of the chapter illuminates the extent to which the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge among the Maasai is encumbered by tensions, contradictions, and paradoxes that manifest themselves in different ways. The chapter draws heavily on participant and classroom observations, focus groups, and informal conversations with teachers and students in the selected local schools in Monduli.

5.2 Practices and Processes of Formal Education in the School Settings

This section examines the practices and processes of formal schooling in the selected formal schools in Monduli. The section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection provides background information, enrolment trends, as well as daily schedules and activities taking place at the selected schools. The second subsection looks at the processes of formal schooling in relation to how the schools operate and the way teaching and learning take place in schools. This section, therefore, brings to light not only the schooling processes but also the operations and running of the formal schools.

5.2.1 Background information, daily operations, and activities at the selected schools

This subsection provides an overview and enrolment trend at the three selected schools where fieldwork took place in Monduli. The subsection also looks at the daily routines and activities taking place in these three schools, namely Monduli Juu and Eluwai which are day schools as well as Engaruka Juu which is both a day and boarding school.

Monduli Juu primary day school: An overview

Monduli Juu Primary School is found in Monduli Juu Administrative Ward comprising four small villages of Emairete, Enguiki, Eluwai, and Mfereji (Harvey, 2013). This primary school is found in Emairete village situated 9 kilometres away from Monduli town. The school comprises 509 students, with 337 boys and 253 girls. Also, the school has 14 teachers, with only one male and 13 females. The presence of many female teachers at Monduli Juu primary school might be attributed to its proximity to Monduli town. Emairete village where the school is situated, for instance, is well served by regular commuter transport every day which makes it possible for female teachers living in Monduli town to travel from their homes to school and the vice versa. The school is characterised by few and dilapidated classroom buildings, limited office spaces for teachers, few teachers' houses, and an insufficient number of desks for students. The trend of students' enrolment for the whole school is shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Pupils' Enrolment Trend at Monduli Juu Primary School by 2015

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
I	65	63	128
II	51	50	101
III	46	36	82
IV	47	33	80
V	52	30	82
VI	42	22	64
VII	34	19	53
Grand Total	337	253	590

Background to Eluwai primary day school: An overview

The school is found in Eluwai village which is located within the administrative Ward of Monduli Juu. The school is also situated close to Noonkodin, a not-for-profit private secondary school in Eluwai (See section 5:4 for details about Noonkodin school). Unlike Emairete where Monduli Juu primary school is situated, Eluwai primary school remains relatively isolated with no easy access to and from the area, particularly during the rainy season. The school infrastructures observed at Eluwai were characterised by dilapidated buildings, worn out concrete classroom floors, damaged doors and windows, as well as inadequate desks for students and insufficient houses for teachers. In the case of teachers' housings, for instance, the headteacher of the school noted that “*Due to inadequate houses*

for teachers, we are obliged to accommodate between two and three teachers in one housing facility". Equally, the school comprises 420 students, with 246 boys and 174 girls. The school also contains nine teachers, with seven males and two females. The trend of enrolment for each class for the whole school is shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Pupils' Enrolment Trend at Eluwai Primary School by 2015

Grade	Boys	Girls	Total
I	26	36	62
II	38	33	71
III	43	31	74
IV	34	24	58
V	32	20	52
VI	37	17	54
VII	36	13	49
Grand Total	246	174	420

School daily operations and activities at Monduli Juu and Eluwai primary schools

At both Monduli Juu and Eluwai primary schools, Maasai pupils just go to school to attend classes, perform regular school activities, and return to their homes. Given the existence of a long distance from home to schools, Maasai pupils usually wake up early in the morning, put on their uniforms, and start their journey to school. Depending on the distance and location of human settlements from the school, some Maasai students walk between one and three hours to reach the school. The students are supposed to have reached school at 7:00 am when the prefects in cooperation with the teacher in duty take a roll call to count those students who arrived in school on time. The students who arrive 15 minutes after 7:00 am are considered as latecomers subjected to punishments.

After arriving at school, the students carry out school cleanliness around the school compounds and surroundings up to 7:50 am. Then the bell rings and all students are required to go to the assembly ground where they receive some instructions from school prefects and teachers before entering the classrooms. After that, the Maasai students enter the classrooms ready for lessons which always start at 8:00 am and end at 4:30 pm every day. Between this time, the Maasai students have a 30 minutes short break from 10:30 to 11:00 and two hours long break for lunch from 12:30 pm to 2:30 pm every weekday. During a long break, the Maasai students who are closer to their homes particularly at Monduli Juu primary school go home for lunch whereas those who are far from their

homes remain in school. While in school, the students participate in several activities, including both curricular and co-curricular tasks such as religion, sports, and games.

Engaruka Juu primary school (a day and boarding school)

Engaruka Juu primary school traces its origin back from the colonial period when the Lutheran missionaries opened it in 1939. The school started that year with only 23 schoolchildren from herders and hunters' communities. By 1949, the school changed into a boarding school to make the herders and hunters allow their children to remain in a boarding school while their parents are on the move in their economic activities. After the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the school was nationalised by the government in 1969 to eliminate religious divisions and segregations, and make Tanzanian children of all faiths to study without adhering to particular religious beliefs (The headteacher, 2015, pers. comm. 7 March). Currently, the school acts both as a day and boarding school serving both students who come from their homes and those who live in school as boarders. Also, the school has 15 teachers with eight males and seven females. Equally, Engaruka Juu primary school consists of 1041 students, with 579 boys and 462 girls. The enrolment trend of pupils at Engaruka Juu primary school is shown in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Pupils' Enrolment Trend at Engaruka Juu Primary School by March 2015

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
I	168	130	298
II	96	86	182
III	76	70	146
IV	94	73	167
V	71	45	116
VI	47	32	79
VII	27	26	53
Grand Total	579	462	1041

Unlike the previous schools, Engaruka Juu provides breakfast and lunch for both day and boarding students for all weekdays. But in the evening, only the boarders are provided with dinner without the day pupils. This programme of providing foods to pupils is partly funded by the World Food Programme (WFP) and partly by Tanzania's Central government through the Monduli District Council. The main aim of providing school meals are a) to improve the health of students b) increasing school attendance for day pupils c) raising the level of academic performance in school (Headteacher, 2015, pers. comm. 7th March). Since this school is located in rural areas, the daily routines and school activities mirror those of Monduli Juu and Eluwai primary schools as has been discussed

above. Nevertheless, after the evening meal, boarding pupils usually conduct their private study, do their homework, and then go to bed at around 10:00 pm every day. Also, during the weekends, boarding pupils at Engaruka Juu primary school carry out major cleaning activities, including laundry and cleanliness of the school surroundings.

5.2.2 Schooling processes, student-teacher relationship, and classroom interaction

This subsection looks at the processes of formal schooling, student teacher-relationship, and classroom interaction as observed in the local schools where the fieldwork took place in Monduli. In that way, the subsection sheds light on how both teachers and students negotiate not only their teaching/learning spaces but also their interactions in the classroom contexts. The two areas of schooling processes were observed:

Teaching and learning process in the school settings

This research revealed that teachers in Maasailand schools apply mostly teacher-centred approaches when delivering lessons in the classroom. This is opposed to the learner-centred and participatory methods of teaching/learning used by the Maasai in their community and which tended to be hardly practised by teachers in schools. In one classroom I attended at Engaruka Juu primary school, for example, a teacher was delivering a lesson to Standard Three pupils on Defence and Security at Family Level topic. In this lesson, the teacher started by reminding the students of the previous lesson they learnt yesterday and then introduced the concept of defence and security to them. The teacher went on delivering a lesson by talking most of the time while pupils were listening to him. At the end of the lesson, he allowed pupils to ask questions if they had any. Since the pupils said that they had no questions, the teacher ordered them to take their exercise books so that they could copy the notes he was writing on the board.

When asked why they preferred the teacher-centred approach of teaching as opposed to the learner-centred method as prescribed in the curriculum, teachers commented that:

Some classes contain many pupils in such a way that it is impossible to apply any other approach rather than teacher-centred. So, depending on the size of the class, sometimes, we use learner-centred, participatory, and collaborative methods to impart knowledge to pupils. But in a situation where the class comprises many students, it becomes difficult to apply the learner-centred approach because you can spend all 80-minutes-period without reaching far in terms of the school syllabus (A group discussion with teachers, Group D, Engaruka Juu Primary School, Monduli, 03/03/2015).

We have a limited amount of time to teach our pupils per year. We are obliged to follow the teacher-centred approach, so we finish our syllabus on time. Thus, the teacher-centred method enables us to guide and teach our pupils

according to the content prescribed in the syllabuses (A group discussion with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, Monduli, 27/10/2014).

Apart from applying teacher-centred approaches to teaching, it was also observed that most teachers in Maasailand schools do not consider local and cultural resources from the surrounding environments to deliver their lessons to the students. In Defence and Security topic we have seen above, for instance, if the teacher could invite a Maasai elder (as a guest speaker) to talk to pupils on defence and security issues using relevant examples from the local environment, the lesson could easily be understood by them. Using a Maasai elder in such context could be a useful teaching resource given that the Maasai community is renowned for its advanced system of traditional training which imparts various skills to children (morans) on defence and security. However, most non-Maasai teachers with no basic knowledge, skills, and experiences with Maasai culture tended to consider local-cultural resources as having nothing to contribute to their teaching roles.

Moreover, the classroom observations conducted in the local schools revealed that rote learning characterises the learning approach used by Maasai pupils as they are required to memorise what the teacher instructed them. This involved a thorough reading of the materials copied by the pupils in their exercise books so that they can pass both the classroom tests and school examinations. According to the students interviewed,

If you do not copy the notes written by the teacher on the board, you cannot pass an assignment, a test or examination. We usually write notes in our exercise books so that we cram and memorise what we were taught by teachers in the classroom (A group discussion with Maasai boys, Group C, Eluwai Primary School, Monduli, 26/01/2015).

Some teachers are very harsh. When a teacher provides an assignment and a student writes something contrary to what they teach, they punish him/her. Thus, we must read through the notes and memorise them in order to perform well the assignments, tests, and examinations given by teachers (FGD with Maasai girls, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, Monduli, 29/10/2014).

In that regard, when they join formal schools, Maasai children are regarded as ‘tabula rasa’ with no prior learning about their social, cultural, and physical environments. Instead, after joining formal schools, Maasai children leave all knowledge and skills learnt in their community since teachers in schools consider them as irrelevant for their schooling. This is especially true because in the opinions of teachers,

The Maasai are still poor because they own large herds of cattle, but they cannot sell them to improve their living. This is due to the lack of formal education that would enlighten and make them see the world differently. We believe that formal education has a role to play in modernising the Maasai

so that they can stop living a primitive and traditional life (A focus group with teachers, Group B, Eluwai Primary School, Monduli, 09/02/2015).

When the Maasai pupils join school, they do not know anything about formal education. You find most of them being unable even to speak Kiswahili. What they usually have in their minds is just traditional and primitive issues such as shepherding livestock in the bush, carrying daggers and spears, fighting each other, smearing their faces with red ochre, and braiding hairs they have learnt in their community. Thus, as teachers, we have an unenviable task of educating Maasai children so that they acquire knowledge about modern things (A focus group with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu, 27/10/2014).

As a quote above shows, most non-Maasai teachers working in Maasailand identify themselves with dominant and modern Tanzania's culture, while the Maasai are regarded as traditional, primitive, and inferior. For this reason, some teachers believe that the Maasai community needs modernisation and development, a process which means adopting the values and ways of life of the mainstream Tanzanian population.

Teacher-student relationship and interaction in the classroom settings

Classroom observation revealed that the interaction between teachers and students tends to more authoritative as the former exerts strict control over the latter in the classroom contexts. It was observed, for instance, teachers in schools apply various strategies such as corporal punishments, threats, and intimidations to maintain discipline and order in the classroom. Some teachers in the local schools believe that,

Maasai students are cruel and stubborn particularly when they become circumcised. Without beating them, it is difficult to control them in the classroom. A teacher should apply corporal punishment to make students more disciplined, humble, and attentive when delivering a lesson (A focus group with teachers, Group D, Engaruka Juu, Monduli, 05/03/2015).

As teachers, sometimes we are obliged to apply canes to make Maasai pupils attentive and disciplined in the classroom. You know, if you are not strict you can find that you are teaching in the classroom while pupils are murmuring or making noises. At times, a teacher can carry a stick with him/her not necessarily to beat or intimidate students but to make them learn and listen to the teacher attentively (A group discussion with teachers, Eluwai Primary School, Group C, Monduli, 13/02/2015)

In contrast, using threats and intimidations in the classroom tended to make Maasai students passive and silent in the classroom context without interacting freely with their instructors. While in the focus group, students believed,

We are afraid of some teachers who like to beat us in the classroom. When a teacher asks a question, and you fail to answer it, he/she rebukes or beats you. That makes us scared, timid, and nervous when answering questions (A focus group with school girls, Group C, Eluwai, Monduli, 19/01/2015).

Some teachers come into the classroom with sticks and long rulers. When the teachers ask a question and students answer incorrectly, he/she hits you with a stick or a ruler. Other teachers use books to hit us on our heads (A focus groups with Maasai boys, Group E, Engaruka Juu, 04/03/2015).

My observations of Vocational Skills lesson on Tribal Dances topic for Standard Two pupils at Monduli Juu primary school, for instance, provides an example of poor teacher-student relationship and interaction in the classroom settings. In this lesson, a teacher entered the classroom carrying with her four pieces of chalks, two textbooks, two pictures of Maasai dancing groups as teaching/learning resources, and two sticks. During the lesson, the classroom interaction was minimal, and the teacher found herself talking most of the time without active responses from the pupils. When the teacher used her stick to point some pupils to contribute to the lesson or asked them some questions about the topic in question, they kept quiet, became fearful, and others even trembled.

From classroom observations, it was evident that the relationship and interaction between teachers and students were rigid, unfriendly, and unwelcome for students' learning as most of them tended to fear teachers in the classroom. This made teachers more active in talking too much on their own while receiving passive responses from students in the classroom. This is particularly the case because, in the classroom characterised by threats and intimidations, the degree of freedom which the students must respond and initiate talk in the classroom is severely limited. Previous studies in other postcolonial countries reported similar findings that students did not see the school as a learning place which is welcoming and supportive but as a site which is characterised by threats and intimidations from teachers (Molteno et al., 2000; Harber, 2004; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2013).

Moreover, poor interaction between teachers and students in the classroom is attributed mainly to the language of communication used in primary school. Most Maasai pupils tended to have much used to a Maa, their tribal language which they frequently speak at home and in their community. However, once they enrol in the formal school, they begin using Kiswahili for all communications in school. According to teachers,

Most Maasai children do not know to speak Kiswahili because they have accustomed themselves to a Maa language they regularly use at home. We, non-Maasai teachers get so much trouble to teach them particularly Standard One, Two, Three, and Four. When Maasai children join Standard One, sometimes we hire translators to assist us in teaching pupils in the classroom (A focus group with teachers, Group B, Eluwai, Monduli, 09/02/2015).

Maasai children give us much trouble in the classroom. When they join the school, they cannot speak Kiswahili at all. That is why some pupils in the

lower classes neither ask nor answer questions asked by teachers. But we usually go with them slowly until they know and master Kiswahili (A personal interview with an academic teacher, Monduli Juu, 27/10/2014).

In this way, using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction apart from limiting students' interaction with teachers in the classroom situation, relegates the Maa language while at the same time promoting Kiswahili, the dominant language in Tanzania. I would, therefore, argue that using Kiswahili as a language of instruction not mastered well by Maasai children in school not only limits spaces for thinking in their own language but also for their participation in the classroom's teaching and learning as active learners.

5.2.3 Section conclusion

This section has highlighted the major features of schooling processes and obstacles that affect the practice of formal education in Maasailand. The findings showed that apart from dilapidated school buildings, limited resources, and scarcity of teaching/learning facilities, issues related to inappropriate teaching and learning approaches, as well as poor teacher-student interaction, also act as barriers to pupils' academic success in schools. The findings, for instance, have indicated that the teaching and learning process in school is characterised by teacher-centred methods that disregard not only the prior knowledge of learners but also the local and cultural resources from the surrounding environment. Likewise, the section has highlighted the existence of a poor relationship and limited interaction between teachers and students in the classroom contexts which affects student's learning. The teacher-student interaction, for instance, tended to be more authoritative as the teacher applies various strategies such as corporal punishments, threats, and intimidations to maintain discipline and order in the classroom. Coupled with poor mastery of Kiswahili as a language of instruction, therefore, the engagement of pupils as active learners in the classroom is severely limited due to the fear of teachers.

5.3 Maasai Students' Experiences with Formal Education in School Contexts

Employing postcolonial, world system, and social justice theories, this section offers insights into the Maasai students' experiences with and their perception of formal education in the school contexts. The subsection unearths some critical matters about what takes place in schools and the way the Maasai students engage with formal education in their local schools. In this way, the subsection illuminates how the Maasai students participate and perceive their experiences with formal education in the local schools in Maasailand. The Maasai students' experiences with and their perceptions of formal

education in the school contexts are looked at under various subsections which highlight key themes covering different aspects of schooling as discussed below:

5.3.1 School life as tough and challenging

In some schools where the fieldwork took place, Maasai pupils described their life in school as hard and arduous. Many pupils, for instance, highlighted five main problems, including the lack of support from their parents; the lack of essential services in schools like water, meals, and poor latrines; long distance to and from home and school; insufficient teaching/learning resources; and the inadequate and dilapidated school buildings which impact negatively on their schooling experiences. Yet, Maasai students' failure to access most of the educational resources mentioned above, indicates that they suffer from distributive injustice (Fraser, 2005; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Considering that these concerns are common experiences of students in many rural schools across the country as reported in earlier studies (See, for instance, Ruto, Ongwenyi & Mugo, 2009; Idris, 2011; Hartwig, 2013), I shall analyse only three challenges that featured prominently in the discussions and are peculiar to most schools found in Maasailand.

Concerning the lack of parents' support, Maasai students reported that life in the local schools is onerous because their parents and caregivers are not ready to provide them with the basic school needs. In their own words, Maasai students voiced that:

When we ask money for contributing to the school mid-day meals or for buying notebooks, pens or pencils, our fathers say they do not have money. So, once we lack the basic school needs, our life in school becomes tough and challenging (A focus group with girls, Group A, Engaruka Juu, 29/10/2015).

Some of our parents are not willing to support our education. For instance, when the school uniforms are worn out, and you ask your parents to buy you the new ones, they refuse and say if you want to continue with schooling buy on your own (A focus group with schoolboys, Group D, Eluwai, 26/01/2015).

We experience tough and hard life in school since we lack the support from our parents. Sometimes, we struggle ourselves to find money for buying the basic needs of the school and carry on schooling. Without our own efforts, some of the pupils you see here would have left school already, given that some of our parents prefer us to leave school and begin attending the grazing field (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Monduli Juu, 28/10/2015).

As shown in the quotes above, the reluctance to support the education of their children suggests that some Maasai parents still have no confidence in formal schooling with its ability to offer valued knowledge and skills that can allow them to undertake various roles in the community (Kaunga, 2005). This is mainly because currently, formal education lacks the necessary flexibility to accommodate pastoralist children who can contribute

their labour for their household's survival, making it difficult for pastoralists to combine uninterrupted school attendance with mobile pastoralism (Dyer, 2012; Raymond, 2015).



Picture 22: Maasai students pictured while in the classroom at one school in Monduli

In a similar vein, teachers mentioned the lack of community's support as the 'greatest barrier' hampering the academic progress in schools as most Maasai parents cannot even dare to buy school items like notebooks, pencils, and pens for their children. While conducting fieldwork in schools, I observed several Maasai students wearing dirty and worn out school uniforms. When asked about this problem, teachers pointed out that:

Although the Maasai pastoralists own large herds of cattle, educating their children is a daunting task since most parents are not ready to sell cattle for providing them with basic school needs like school uniforms and stationeries, including pencils, pens, rulers, and exercise books (A focus group with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, Monduli, 27/10/2014).

These findings agree with Bishop's (2007) anthropological study in Engare Naibor, Monduli, which observed that Maasai parents were unwilling to sell the livestock to pay for school fees, food, and other school expenses for their children. Also, in their study of educational marginalisation for pastoralists in Kenya, Ruto, Ongwenyi, and Mugo (2009) observed a similar situation that many pastoralist parents were unconvinced to invest in formal education because they saw it as an uneconomically viable investment. This means that while poverty can be a restraint to some pastoralists (Krätli, 2000), most Maasai parents fear to sell their livestock for their children's education because of its uncertainty in the outcomes and in guaranteeing future employment opportunities to the graduates.

The second concern that featured eminently in Maasai students' discussions is associated with the long distance that most pupils must walk to and from school every day. Since Maasai bomas are sparsely scattered, the location of several day-schools in Maasailand is far off from the human settlements. With the dispersed nature of the residential settlements in pastoralist areas, Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) equally observed that Maasai children often have to travel long distances to and from school on foot. In the opinions of the participants, some pupils ought to walk on foot between one to three hours to reach the school every day. Regarding this issue, the Maasai students stated that:

Sometimes, we walk long distances on dangerous routes and vulnerable environment. We, who come from distant places, occasionally meet wild animals like lions and leopards during the rainy seasons while along the way to school. If you are alone, you can even be attacked and killed by a wild animal (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group D, Eluwai, 29/01/2015).

Some of us who come from distant places are obliged to walk many hours to reach the school. We usually wake up early in the morning around 4:30 am or 5:00 am depending on one's distance, so we do not miss a morning roll call. At times, you arrive at school while being so exhaustive. In the evening too, we have another long walking journey from the school to home (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group B, Monduli Juu, 29/10/2014).

Alongside the vulnerabilities shown above, long distances to and from school may also present severe risks to safety and sexual attacks on girls in pastoral societies (Krätli, 2000; Oxfam, 2005). This was also evident in teachers' comments that "*We also have the problems of long-distance and the vulnerable environment in Eluwai as many places abound with wild animals*". The teachers, for instance, provided an example of one pupil who was attacked by a buffalo in 2014 while on his way to school. Following the buffalo's attack, currently, the boy has no hairs at all on the back of his head. Due to this, I would argue that the problem of long-distance affects regular school attendance and academic performance of students in schools because most of them regularly miss classes.

Concerning the school meals, most Maasai students were worried about the lack of school meals as this affects their academic progress significantly in school. According to the Maasai students interviewed, most pupils from far off places have to walk long distances to and from school without food and stay until evening when they get back home. The students' remarks are worthy of quoting here,

No meal is provided at our school. We, who come from distant places, usually stay in school for several hours without eating anything. This is because we cannot go back home for lunch during the mid-day break which lasts for only two hours. Thus, this situation makes our life in school tough, painful, and challenging (A focus group with girls, Group C, Eluwai, 19/01/2015).

If the government could agree to provide lunch in school, that would be much better for us. But currently, no food is provided in this school. We, who come from distant places suffer much as we stay the whole day studying without putting anything in our mouths. This is not acceptable (A focus group with boys, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, 28/10/2015).

In their extensive library study, Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) reported similar findings that most pastoralist children in East and Horn of Africa walk long distances and arrive at schools without eating anything in the morning. While in fieldwork in Monduli, I observed many students from distant places remaining in school during the mid-day break to wait for the afternoon classes which normally begin at 2:30 P.M. Previous studies reported that staying in schools without mid-day meals for pastoralist children contributes to the short-term hunger, with detrimental effects to their concentration on studies, students' health, and school performance (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005).

The students' views were also shared by teachers who reported that the World Food Programme (WFP) used to finance the day-school meals for their students in the previous years. But the WFP support for the mid-day school meals ended in 2014. While the WFP programmes have nearly always been successful at increasing initial school enrolment and attendance, Carr-Hill and Peart's (2005) study revealed that in many countries, such programmes are unsustainable and have been abandoned due to the crucial operations of storage, preparation, and distribution that cause extraordinary difficulties during their implementation in the local schools. Although the cost of food is to be borne by parents, the supply of meals in schools among the Maasai has been difficult because:

Maasai parents dislike so much contributing food for their children in school. They want the school to cultivate crops and feed their children, so they stop to raise some contributions. Even when the support of maize is given, the Maasai parents are not prepared to cover the cost of grinding corn (A personal interview with the academic teacher, Monduli Juu, 27/10/2014).

When we ask Maasai parents to contribute some money so their children can be provided with lunch (day meal) at school, they do not agree to pay. Other parents believe that we are liars since the government has said formal education for primary school is free. But the capitation fund we receive from the government is not enough to cater for all essential needs of the school (A focus group with teachers, Group B, Eluwai, 09/02/2015).

This study revealed that while the lack of the school meals affects most children from distant places who suffer short-term hunger, the Maasai parents have been reluctant to contribute food for their children. At Monduli Juu Primary School, for instance, it was observed that teachers had asked Maasai parents to contribute some money for the mid-day meals during the exams period, but only 90 students had paid for meals' contribution

from amongst 600 pupils. Previous studies in pastoralist areas showed that the schools which provide meals are usually successful in increasing school attendance, but the success vanishes as soon as the meal provision is interrupted (Krätli, 2000), thereby making some parents to withdraw their children from school (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Considering the positive influence of the school-feeding on students' health, attendance, and performance, and given the long distances that many Maasai children walk to and remain in school without eating, it is suggested here that much has to be done by the authorities to ensure the proper supply of foods to meet the children's dietary needs.

5.3.2 Kiswahili as too hard, but English as the biggest headache

In Tanzania, tribal languages, including Maa are never used in formal education because of the government efforts to eliminate tribalism and bring about national unity. Using Kiswahili and English as the languages of education at both primary and secondary schools respectively, however, seems to disadvantage Maasai children who use a Maa frequently in their everyday communication at home and in their community. As we shall see below, this research unveiled how Maasai students experience communication problems with Kiswahili at the primary level and English at the secondary level.

For the primary school pupils, Kiswahili which is used as a medium of instruction at the primary level is arduous and gruelling because the language has many words and jargons that are too hard for them to understand. In the views of the school pupils:

When we join the primary school, we do not know Kiswahili at all. We get much trouble because we cannot speak Kiswahili. We learn to speak Kiswahili after joining a formal school. Thus, it becomes hard for us to understand the lessons taught by teachers once we join Grade One (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group D, Eluwai Primary School, 22/01/2015).

Kiswahili is very difficult because the language has many jargons and vocabularies that are too hard to understand. The language is quite different from our mother tongue. That is why we experience difficulties once we join formal schools. But now, we have at least mastered it (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, 28/10/2014).

The students' remarks echo those of teachers who pointed out that,

Since many Maasai children spend much time using Maa in their community, it makes them totally incompetent in Kiswahili. This challenge not only makes it difficult for non-Maasai teachers to teach Maasai pupils in the classroom but also reduces students' participation in classroom lessons significantly since most of them cannot discern what is taught (A group discussion with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu, 27/10/2014).

The classroom observations revealed that most pupils lacked the necessary skills to communicate effectively in Kiswahili which is the medium of education at the primary level in Tanzania. While holding some focus groups with pupils in the upper classes (Grade V, VI, VII) at Eluwai primary school, for example, most of them could not communicate in Kiswahili. Instead, they had to pass their ideas using their mother tongue through their colleagues who, in turn, translated them into Kiswahili for me.

To tackle the problem of communication with Maasai pupils in the school, teachers' main strategy has involved excluding the Maa language from both the schooling process and the classroom discourse. From the classroom observations at one primary school, for instance, it was discovered that the class leaders were assigned a task of noting down the names of pupils who speak Maa in the classroom, instead of Kiswahili. While at the school, I witnessed the class leaders bringing to the teachers the names of wrongdoers speaking Maa in classes for punishment. From this observation, I wondered how the Kiswahili hegemony dominates the schooling process in Tanzania in such a way that, drawing upon the words of Santos (2004), it constantly discredits and trivialises all other forms of knowledge that inform counter-hegemonic practices. In such circumstances, not only can we notice how traditional Maasai knowledge gets vanquished in the Tanzanian schooling process, but also how the Maa language gets annihilated as it is even not permitted to be spoken by Maasai children in the school setting, at the least.

In contrast, when asked about their experiences with the subjects they consider as challenging, the secondary students remarked that English is the hardest subject for them. Commenting on the difficultness of English in school, students commented that:

For most of us, English is the biggest headache. We do not know what to say but rest assured, English is an unspeakable horror. A teacher may deliver a lesson very well, but we fail to catch on due to English. Hence, sometimes, we perform poorly in the exams due to this problem (A focus group with the Maasai girls, Group A, Noonkodin, Monduli, 28/01/2015).

Using English as a medium of instruction in school makes us fail to perform well our tests and examinations. This is because we do not get well most of the subjects taught by teachers in the classroom. But when a teacher mixes English and Kiswahili during the lesson, it becomes much better for most of us. At least, we understand what is being taught as opposed to using English continuously without codeswitching throughout the lesson (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Noonkodin, Monduli, 23/01/2014).

These remarks correspond to the stories told by the school dropouts, including morans and girls who left their secondary education citing among others, the language of

instruction as the main reason. When asked why they decided to exit secondary school and return home, some of the school dropouts interviewed commented that:

I left school because there was a problem with language. It was too hard for me to understand the lessons taught by teachers because all lessons in secondary education are taught in English except Kiswahili. After seeing that, I said let me go back to carry on with herding activity at home since it is the only school I can manage well (A biographical interview with Korinko, a moran and a school dropout, Meserani, 15/10/2014).

Using English as a medium of instruction in school complicated the matter further and made me to withdraw from secondary school as I did not get well most of the subjects taught by teachers in the classroom. I felt like wasting time studying things that I do not understand (A biographical interview with Debora, a Maasai girl and a school dropout, Meserani, 17/10/2014).

These findings corroborate previous studies which revealed that in Tanzania's secondary schools, students' poor understanding of English contributes greatly not only to their low scores in the language itself and other subjects but also to their overall poor performance in the exams (Brock-Utne, 2000; Hartwig, 2013). Pryor and Ampiah's (2003) study in Ghana, also reported similar results that the students' understanding of English was bad as most of them could not speak more than a few basic phrases. Given this observation, most Maasai students believe that using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at the secondary level of schooling would make them understand the lessons well than today. The views of Maasai students about using Kiswahili as the language of education at both the primary and secondary levels of formal schooling are also supported by the research findings from previous studies in Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007; Marwa, 2014).

5.3.3 School subjects as irrelevant to Maasai culture and local environment

Concerning the school subjects taught in schools and their relationship with traditional knowledge, the primary pupils were aware of the lack of direct connection with what they learn at school and their culture, but they preferred to be taught other practical subjects like Personality Development and Sports particularly to schools like Eluwai which do not teach such subjects. In the views of the participants,

Some subjects taught in primary school are useful, but others are irrelevant to our environment. For example, in Vocational Skills subject we are taught issues concerning crop cultivation, poultry, and fishing. Some of these issues have no direct connection to the things we learn in our community. We are wondering how will we apply this knowledge to our local environment as pastoralists (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group D, Eluwai, 22/01/2015).

Here at school, we learn various types of subjects such as Civics, History, Geography, Kiswahili, English, Mathematics, and General Science. We believe that some of these subjects will help us in life. However, other topics

in these subjects are inappropriate to our local environment and pastoral culture. The government can also introduce some subjects related to pastoralism so that we study how to improve traditional livestock keeping (A focus group with schoolboys, Group F, Engaruka Juu, Monduli, 04/03/2015).

For the secondary level students, some subjects taught in school are irrelevant to both their pastoral culture and traditional lives. According to them,

The type of education currently provided in our society is worthless since we learn some subjects that are irrelevant to our lives and culture. We are wondering, for instance, why do we learn some issues related to chemicals in Chemistry, things which are not locally applicable to our local environment (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group A, Noonkodin, 21/01/2015).

The excerpts above concur with Phillips and Bhavnagri (2002) study which indicated that the formal schools equip Maasai children with skills like electrification and automotive mechanics which are never used by them once they complete their formal schooling.

The remarks by Maasai students who are still in school also corroborate the stories of out-of-school morans and girls like Nalangu and Naisenya who dropped out of school because of, among other reasons, the inappropriateness of the subjects taught in schools. When asked his opinions about the relationship between the secondary school subjects and lessons offered under the traditional training in their community, Meshaki said:

The school subjects were entirely different from what we used to learn in our community. That is why I left school after realising that even if I get schooled, how will I live without knowing how to herd the livestock properly? (A biographical interview with Nalangu, a moran and a secondary school dropout, Engaruka, Monduli, 16/11/2014).

For Naisenya, her experience with formal education was a bad one since she was forced to quit secondary school prematurely after realising that she was studying irrelevant and worthless things that could not help her as a future Maasai woman. Naisenya said:

I withdrew from school because we used to study unimportant things as most subjects taught in the school could not help me to conform to my cultural traditions and customs (A biographical interview with Naisenya, a Maasai girl and secondary school dropout, Meserani Juu, Monduli, 17/10/2014).

As the findings have indicated, the students' concerns about the relevance of the subjects taught in the formal schools support the argument by postcolonial scholars that in several ex-colonies what is taught in schools is often unrelated to the environment, experiences, culture, and lives of the learners (Molteno et al., 2000; Taylor, 2005; Shizha, 2006). The lack of educational relevance in Tanzania remains unresolved because the secondary school curricular not only continue to mirror the colonial education systems but also do

not consider the local environment, traditional knowledge, experiences, and culture of learners, including the pastoral children (Semali, 1994; Semali & Stambach, 1997).

5.3.4 School as a site of cultural tensions

Among the Maasai students, a school is a place where a cultural tension is created, nurtured, and played out. The study by Cole (2008) in Kenya revealed that this cultural tension takes place because traditional and formal education systems cannot currently co-exist as each type of education simultaneously demands too much from Maasai students and prevent their participation in both. On the one hand, the cultural tension facing Maasai students emanates from the need to fulfil the requirements and expectations of the traditional life in the home and community settings, and those of the school, on the other hand. The cultural tension that both Maasai boys and girls experience when they encounter formal schools manifests itself in different ways as elaborated below:

For Maasai boys, traditional training requires them to attend the grazing field regularly as a part of learning and fulfilling the requirements of the family and communal labour. At the same time, they should go to school every day and do all homework and assignments given by teachers. In focus groups, Maasai boys, for instance, reported that,

At times, we wake up early in the morning so that we attend school, but when preparing ourselves for journeying to school, our fathers order us to go to herding rather than going to school. This makes us unable to attend school (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group D, Eluwai, 29/01/2015).

Some of our parents do not like us to study because they believe that we are supposed to look after cattle in the grazing fields as opposed to attending school. Several times, we are faced with a dilemma because we need to do both going to school and shepherding the livestock concurrently (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Monduli Juu, Monduli, 28/10/2014).

As shown above, such situation makes students nervous as it becomes hard to decline their parents' requests, while also they face another difficult moment from teachers because of their non-attendance at school. One obvious outcome of this tension is absenteeism from school among the boys attending the grazing fields. When conducting fieldwork at Eluwai School which had about 420 pupils, for instance, teachers showed me an attendance register with only 200 students who attended school on that day.

Also, for Maasai boys, there is another pressure caused by the need to comply with the moranhood ethos and training for those students expecting to undergo circumcision or have recently undergone the practice. At the same time, the Maasai boys are required to

abide by the principles and ethos of the formal schools, which conflict largely with the traditional ones. According to the male students in primary schools,

When Maasai boys enter moranhood, others no longer like to attend school. They are thrilled to be with their age-mates all the time, going to the bush, driving livestock to distant places, and eating meat in the bush. Some of our colleagues decided to quit school for moranhood training (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group C, Eluwai, Monduli, 26/01/2015).

After circumcision, we consider ourselves as adults. In our community, we tend to be free as elders allow us to do most things ourselves without any strict control. But when we come to school, things are quite difficult as we are put under the control of prefects and teachers. This becomes a problem, and some Maasai boys who are not tolerant find themselves leaving school permanently and start engaging with moranhood training in our community (A group discussion with Maasai boys, Group E, Engaruka Juu, 04/03/2015).



Picture 23: While in the upper classes of the primary level, Maasai boys ought to attend shepherding regularly and join moranhood training

The students' remarks correspond to the stories told by out-of-school morans who reported that they dropped out of school because of the harsh school environment coupled with the secondary school's strict rules and regulations as opposed to those found in the Maasai community. Meshaki, one of the secondary school dropouts, for instance, commented that "At home, the community, and the grazing fields, we are used to becoming more independent while also playing and eating different things with our peers". His remark was further supported by teachers at Monduli Juu primary school who commented that "Morans usually fail to cope with the secondary school's environment because its rules and regulations are strict than those of the primary school level."

As the findings show, after circumcision, a tension emerges among the Maasai boys, due to the change of attitude towards schooling that lower down their morale of studying. This is partly because they become firmly attached to the traditional customs they acquire in their society. In the views of teachers at Eluwai, “*Morans prefer to govern themselves and do not want to be under the control of teachers*”. Due to this, teachers reported that the morans see female teachers as nothing who could not punish and teach them anything. Given that the morans are not easily amenable to their wishes, teachers upheld that,

We are obliged to put ourselves on a different face to control them. This is because once they undergo circumcision, the Maasai boys become more rude and stubborn. During this period, they learn many traditions and customs from their community which spoil them (A group discussion with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu Primary School, 27/10/2014).

Teachers’ remark agrees with Ronoh’s (2010) study which revealed that, after circumcision, many Maasai boys preferred joining the moranhood system to school because they did not want to be taught and be punished by female teachers. This suggests that there is a strong cultural tension which is felt by both teachers and students in the school settings. The way and how punishments are administered in the schools, for instance, tended to contradict sharply the traditional forms of punishment practised by the pastoral Maasai. This situation creates frequent conflicts and misunderstandings between teachers and morans in school (Refer to section 4.7 for details). From the social justice perspective, administering corporal punishment at odds with traditional practices implies the misrecognition of educational processes (Tikly & Barrett, 2011) which contributes to students’ absenteeism, nonattendance, and dropping out of school (Harber, 2004).

Like boys, Maasai girls are required to fulfil the requirements of the day-to-day household tasks and community obligations as a part of learning and socialisation process, while also satisfying the necessities of the school. Girls, for instance, stated that,

Other days, you wake up early in the morning and prepare yourself ready for going to school. Then your parents order you not to attend. Thus, instead of going to school, we are obliged to remain home to assist our mums with domestic duties because they cannot perform all tasks alone. For example, we assist our mums in performing heavy domestic duties like fetching water to distant places using donkeys and firewood collections when we have not gone to school (A focus group with girls, Group C, Eluwai, 19/01/2015).

If it happens that we manage to attend school on the weekdays, we assist our mothers with domestic activities in the evening once we are back home from school. After getting back home, we assist our mothers in cooking, milking cows, and cleaning the dishes. Thus, if we were given homework in school,

sometimes we fail to do it because of being preoccupied with domestic tasks (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group B, Monduli Juu, 29/10/2014).

The students' remarks were also supported by teachers who cited domestic activities as a substantial problem disturbing Maasai girls so much. In the opinion of teachers,

Once Maasai girls are back home, they spend more time on domestic chores and do not get extra time for studying. Even if a teacher has assigned the pupils with some assignments or homework, most of them fail to do them. If you tell the pupils to collect yesterday's homework in the morning, you find them doing those assignments at the very same moment (A group discussion with teachers, Group A, Monduli Juu, Monduli, 27/10/2014).

As shown above, balancing between home and school-related activities is a daunting task for the Maasai girls who find themselves failing to do their homework and assignments because of domestic chores they are preoccupied with at home. Apart from being preoccupied with the home workload, Maasai girls also fail to attend school regularly. Previous studies conducted in Maasailand reported similar results that high demand for domestic labour contributes greatly to irregular school attendance, school dropout, and poor performance among the Maasai girls in schools (Oxfam, 2005; Raymond, 2015).

Another cultural tension that Maasai girls experience while in school involves early marriage which remains an unresolved challenge in Maasai society. In the views of Maasai girls, if parents see that their daughter is determined to carry on studying, they order her to quit school and get married because they have already taken some dowries. Parents are obliged to arrange the marriage of their girls at a young age in exchange for cattle because the Maasai are polygamous, thereby leading to a relative shortage of women (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). The participants noted that when a girl rejects to exit school, her parents apply other mechanisms, including depriving her of the financial backing. Commenting on their experience with early marriage, Maasai girls said:

In Maasailand, when a girl begins school, she is already provided with a spouse in the village. Now, once she goes back to the village, her fiancé persuades her that leave school and let us get married so that we continue living together (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group B, Noonkodin Secondary School, Monduli, 30/01/2015).

Some of our parents do not prefer to educate a girl child. They like to marry us even before we complete school so that they receive the bride-price. If you reject to marry a husband chosen by your parents, they beat or chase you from home. So, early and forced marriage is still a major problem in our society (A group discussion with girls, Group E, Engaruka Juu, 06/03/2015).

The students' ideas above were also shared by teachers who gave an example of a girl who left school after being engaged to a man while in Grade II. Teachers realised later

that her father has already received cows and after reaching Grade VII, parents took their daughter off school. This suggests that sending girls to school is not seen as a good investment for Maasai parents as they believe that their daughters are expected to move with the benefits to a different household after marriage (Krätli, 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Equally, most parents are reluctant to educate girls beyond the primary level because of the 'fear of the unknown' in that secondary education might spoil and make them obliged to marry outside Maasai society without the consent of their parents.



Picture 24: While in their upper classes of the primary level, Maasai girls are prone to domestic chores and early marriages

Table 3 (refer to subsection 5.2.1, pp.124 for more details), for instance, provides a vivid picture of how early marriage is a severe problem in Eluwai, Monduli. Note the decrease in the number of girls from lower classes to the upper classes at Eluwai primary school. As Table 3 shows, the number of girls in the upper classes, namely Grade V=20, VI=17, and VII=13 is lower as compared to the lower classes, namely Grade I=36; II=33; III=31; IV=24. This suggests that the completion rate of Maasai girls is low because after reaching Grade VII, they are likely to drop out of school and get married earlier, unlike boys who tend to complete school. According to the teachers interviewed, most Maasai parents find that they accumulate more wealth through marrying their daughters than sending them to school, something which is considered as an unnecessary loss.

Finally, the fieldwork data revealed the existence of a strong cultural tension related to the traditional gender construction between boys and girls that affect their interaction in

school. This applies because in their community, Maasai boys and girls receive distinct kinds of education from different persons and in different places, depending on gender and age, but when they join formal schools, all pupils are given the same instructions in a single classroom and from the same teacher. For Maasai boys, once they undergo circumcision and become morans, for instance, they must avoid eating food before women/girls and can neither be punished by women nor be punished in front of women and girls. Nonetheless, when they join formal schools, both boys and girls are considered as equals and get treated in the same way without any distinctions. This situation seems to trouble Maasai boys (morans) in the formal schools who commented that,

In our community, once we get circumcised, we become adults. But here in school, teachers treat us like children without any respect. For example, as morans, we do not like to be beaten indiscriminately while girls are witnessing. But when we are in school, teachers cane us arbitrarily in front of girls (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group D, Eluwai, 29/01/2015).

We have no any problem in relation to studying with girls. But what troubles us in school is the way teachers treat both boys and girls in the same category. This is quite different from how we get treated in our families and community. Scolding a moran or caning him before girls as practised in school, for example, is a huge embarrassment. This tendency makes some morans even decide to withdraw from schooling if the situation becomes worse (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Noonkodini, Monduli, 23/01/2015).

For girls, their concerns about gender relations in school tended to be different from that of boys. Some Maasai girls were of the view that their traditional construction of gender relations affected them in some ways like preventing them from actively taking part in the classroom lessons, debates, and discussions. According to Maasai girls,

Sometimes, we find ourselves feeling nervous and fearful of interacting with boys in the classroom because our culture prevents us from doing certain things before them. So, a teacher can ask you a question, but you feel shy to answer it due to the presence of boys (A focus group discussion with Maasai girls, Group D, Eluwai Primary School, Monduli, 19/01/2015).

Some morans are rude and fierce. They usually make us more fearful because if you err them, they can beat you. Due to our culture, mixing boys and girls in group discussions is quite difficult because women are discouraged to talk in the presence of men. That is why even when we are in the classroom, we are afraid of talking and interacting more freely with boys (A focus group with Maasai girls, Group B, Monduli Juu, 29/10/2014).

Classroom observations revealed a similar trend as Maasai boys tended to be more active in the classroom lessons, while most girls tended to be nervous, shy, and fearful. This distinction was also observed in the way both boys and girls preferred to sit with individuals of the same sex on the desk in the classroom. Outside the classroom too, it

was observed that both boys and girls tended to socialise in separate groups as they do at home and in their community, with each group being more affiliated to the same sex. Boys in the upper classes and who have undergone circumcision, for instance, were observed being socially affiliated to those boys who belonged to their age-groups. In a similar vein, Maasai girls in the upper classes tended to socialise more with their age-mates as opposed to young girls in the lower classes among their schooling peers.

5.3.5 School as a site of fear, intimidation, and suffering

The last theme that emerged from the experiences of Maasai students in the formal schools is related to the fear, intimidation, and suffering. This theme corroborates postcolonial theory which sees a school as an authoritarian and a violent institution originating from European colonisation with the purpose of controlling indigenous people for the benefit of the colonial powers (Loomba, 1998; London, 2002; Harber, 2004). In this thesis, Maasai students concurred with the postcolonial writings by viewing a school as a place where oppression, intimidation, and authoritarianism are exercised and propagated, instead of the students' autonomy and freedom. As London (2002) argues, such issues are still taking place because, in many formerly colonised countries, a school is a place where the colonial forms and practices have persisted and fundamentally remained the same. As a response to this experience, Maasai students had this to say:

The corporal punishments that teachers inflict on us are severe and intolerable. When we attend the school late, teachers beat us several strokes. They cannot consider that some pupils come from distant places where they ought to walk several hours to reach the school. So, now you can realise how much we suffer (A focus group with girls, Group D, Eluwai, 22/01/2015).

Here in our school, teachers are very harsh and fierce. When the school, for instance, is opened on Monday, and a student goes to school on Friday, one is to be punished. Physical punishments that are given to pupils include uprooting large tree stumps during the morning session while other students are studying in the classrooms. In the afternoon, the punishment is changed, and students are commanded to collect firewood in the bush (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Monduli Juu, 28/10/2014).

If a student goes to school late, teachers do not listen to him/her. If one is heard complaining, teachers intimidate, beat, and tell him/her that they do not want to hear such kind of nonsense. Thus, as students, we lack freedom and the learning environment here at school is more intimidating and oppressive (A focus group with girls, Group F, Engaruka Juu, Monduli, 06/03/2015).

The students' excerpts above, agree with Pryor and Ampiah's (2003) study in Ghana which established that teachers used to cane students for their failure to answer questions as well as their lateness in school. Besides caning, Maasai students also condemned other

forms of punishment such as push-ups and frog jumps which are not given to them as physical exercises, but as forms of punishment. Due to this, the continued application of corporal punishment in Tanzania defends the point from postcolonial scholars that schools in ex-colonial countries continue to mirror the colonial characteristics as extremely authoritarian, coercive, and violent institutions (Molteno et al., 2000; Harber, 2008). Based on the research findings presented here, I would argue that although laws in Tanzania legalise corporal punishment and most teachers apply canes to discipline the wrongdoers, the practice itself is disliked by and unpopular with the students.

The effect of corporal punishment exercised by teachers in school was also evident from the stories told by some morans and girls who left the formal school because of an excessive caning. When asked about their reasons which made them leave school, some school dropouts, including morans and girls shared their experiences as follows:

One of the reasons which made me drop out of school was a persistent corporal punishment involving the excessive use of strokes by teachers. When you commit a minor mistake, teachers strike you a countless number of strokes. I felt that corporal punishment was not a proper way of disciplining pupils, but inflicting unnecessary pains and suffering on them (A biographical interview with Kapalei and a school dropout, Engaruka Juu, 21/11/2014).

There was a severe corporal punishment in school as teachers used to beat us too much not on the hands, but on the buttocks, and bad enough by male teachers. This made me exit school after asking myself, why should I not get married to a husband rather than experiencing the sufferings in school like this? (A biographical interview with Liloe, a Maasai girl and a secondary school dropout, Meserani Juu, Monduli, 17/10/2014).

The experiences shared by the school dropouts interviewed indicate that while some students tend to remain silent and carry on schooling, others like Kapalei and Liloe who could not endure the sufferings resort to dropping out of school. This suggests that in many former colonies, the institutionalised discipline and control practices primarily involve corporal punishment in the form of caning with pupils' rights, needs, emotions, and feelings being readily ignored or suppressed (Molteno et al., 2000; Harber, 2002).

5.3.6 Section conclusion

This section has highlighted Maasai students' experiences and life in school as tough and challenging not only because of lacking support for their basic school needs from their parents but also because of lacking midday meals in schools and the long distance they walk to and from school every day. These three concerns tended to affect students' health, school attendance, and the academic performance in school significantly. Also, the

Maasai students find themselves in a difficult situation in school since they use Maa at home, but when entering primary school, they must master Kiswahili, and when they continue further with secondary education level, they should learn English. This tendency creates a severe communication problem which, in turn, limits the interaction between students and teachers in the classroom contexts. Equally, the results showed that some of the subjects the Maasai students learn in schools are irrelevant to their life and pastoral culture as they cannot be applicable to their local environment. Due to this, some students tended to drop out of school and return home where they joined traditional education and training due to their discontentment with what was being taught in the formal school.

Moreover, the Maasai students perceive the school not only as the place where fear, intimidation, and suffering are produced and exercised but also as the site where cultural tensions are created, nurtured, and played out. The experiences of students in schools, for instance, tended to be dominated by fear, intimidation, and suffering because of excessive use of corporal punishments by teachers. For this reason, the Maasai students perceive the school as a violent and authoritarian institution that reinforces hegemonic practices that deter their autonomy and freedom. Equally, students' experiences in the school are also characterised by cultural tensions which make them face difficulties in fulfilling the requirements and expectations of the traditional life in the home and community settings, and those of the school. This section, therefore, has highlighted the Maasai students' experiences with and perceptions of formal education in school as largely bad, negative, and worrying as opposed to what they experience at home and in their community.

5.4 Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education: An Example of Intercultural Education at Noonkodin Secondary School, Eluwai

This section looks at the encounter between formal schooling and IK course designed as an intercultural education model, with the aim of preserving traditional knowledge and Maasai culture at Noonkodin school. In addressing this encounter, the section explores how Noonkodin struggles to maintain the balance between the dominant Western knowledge and the traditional Maasai knowledge and pastoral culture at the school. In turn, this implies an emphasis on various forms of tensions, conflicts, and contradictions that face the school against its efforts to provide counterhegemonic Maasai education. The section is a response to a month spent generating data at Noonkodin Secondary School through classroom observations and the recording of everyday life of students and teachers in their naturally occurring settings (Brewer, 2000; Delamont, 2002). Similarly,

I held interviews with teachers and focus groups with students alongside some informal conversations with both participants. I employed these diverse methods so that I could look at the ways that Noonkodin was trying to offer a different educational experience alongside the national school curriculum albeit being faced with practical challenges.

5.4.1 Background information

The creation of Noonkodin School goes back to 1999 when the married couple, Emma Burford (a Briton) and Lesikar Ole Ngila (a Maasai) founded an Aang Serian NGO. Registered as a non-profit cultural association by Tanzania's National Arts Council (TNAC), the Aang Serian opened a community college in 1999. The college began with 40 part-time adult students who were housed in a small rented office in Arusha, Tanzania (Burford & Ngila, 2006). The college provided post-primary education for the aim of protecting and promoting IK. In line with the said goals, the founders developed a course in IK and Globalisation in 2001, focusing on four areas: Culture, History, Environment, and Health. The college also delivered conventional subjects such as English, Kiswahili, Traditional Music and Dance, Basic Literacy, Computer and Media Studies.



Picture 25: Some buildings of Noonkodin Secondary School, Eluwai, Monduli

In 2002, the traditional leaders in Eluwai donated a plot of land where the Aang Serian founders planned to open a “community college” as a rural campus branch of the Aang Serian college. This college was expected to offer IK curriculum alongside the vocational subjects such as Ethnobotany, Sustainable Agriculture, Bee-keeping, and Livestock Management. Likewise, the school planned to offer basic literacy and numeracy courses

as well as classes in English and Swahili languages (Burford & Ngila, 2006). However, through consultations with the Maasai elders in Eluwai, the Aang Serian founders opened a ‘secondary school’ instead of a community college as envisioned before. The founders realised that a village secondary school focusing on IK approach, and offering a structured co-curricular programme alongside the national curriculum, would be the best option for Maasai students than a community college in the town (Burford & Ngila, 2006).

5.4.2 Description of the programme

Situated in the remote area of Eluwai in Monduli, Noonkodin School officially opened in 2005 with 36 students. Later, the school expanded its infrastructure and currently, there are four classrooms, two dormitories, a laboratory, kitchen, two staff houses, and a computer room/library. Today, the school has a total of 239 students, with 99 boys and 139 girls (See Table 5), alongside fifteen teachers, with eleven males and four females. Regarding the curriculum, Noonkodin began in 2005 by implementing a “co-curricular programme”, which later developed into an “intercultural education programme” (Burford & Ngila, 2006). This approach allowed the school to deliver Tanzania’s secondary level curriculum, alongside IK programme (Burford et al., 2012). The IK course at Noonkodin involves a structured but non-examined co-curricular programme in which students, among others, learn their history, ethnobotany, oral literature, and traditional cultures of their respective ethnic groups (Burford et al., 2012).

Table 5: Students' Enrolment at Noonkodin Secondary School by 2015

Form	Boys	Girls	Total
I	16	34	50
II	38	39	77
III	31	38	69
IV	14	29	43
Grand Total	99	140	239

In the founders’ views, the programme would bridge the gap between Indigenous and Western knowledge, worldviews, and pedagogies by offering learners a chance to carry on their secondary education, while preserving their own culture (Burford et al., 2012). Importantly, the IK course at Noonkodin covers four main courses: a) Foundation module; b) Environment and society; c) Culture domain analysis; d) integrated health care; e) Ethnobiology research methods. Regarding the teaching methodology, Noonkodin adopted a ‘Unity in Diversity Approach’ (UDA), the intercultural education model that uses an ‘interactive study circle’ teaching methods through collective learning

and mutual respect across diverse cultures. This new approach aimed not to train youth for the white-collar jobs in urban areas, but to assist them to find new ways to make village life more sustainable and self-fulfilling (Pilgrim, Samson & Pretty, 2010).

5.4.3 Noonkodin's Intercultural education: Tensions, conflicts, and contradictions

This subsection explores various tensions, conflicts, and contradictions that face the school as it strives to offer IK course within the hegemonic backdrop of Western education structures. In this way, the subsection looks at how the provision of the IK course at Noonkodin has been characterised by contested discourses, practical challenges in teaching the course, incompatible, contradictory, and conflicting goals, as well as difficulties in balancing between the traditional and modern life in the school.

Intercultural education model at Noonkodin as a practice of contested discourses

As we shall see in the discussion below, the innovation of the IK curriculum at Noonkodin School runs through the complex interplay of contested discourses, involving privatisation, communitisation, indigenisation, and externalisation (Figure 8 below).

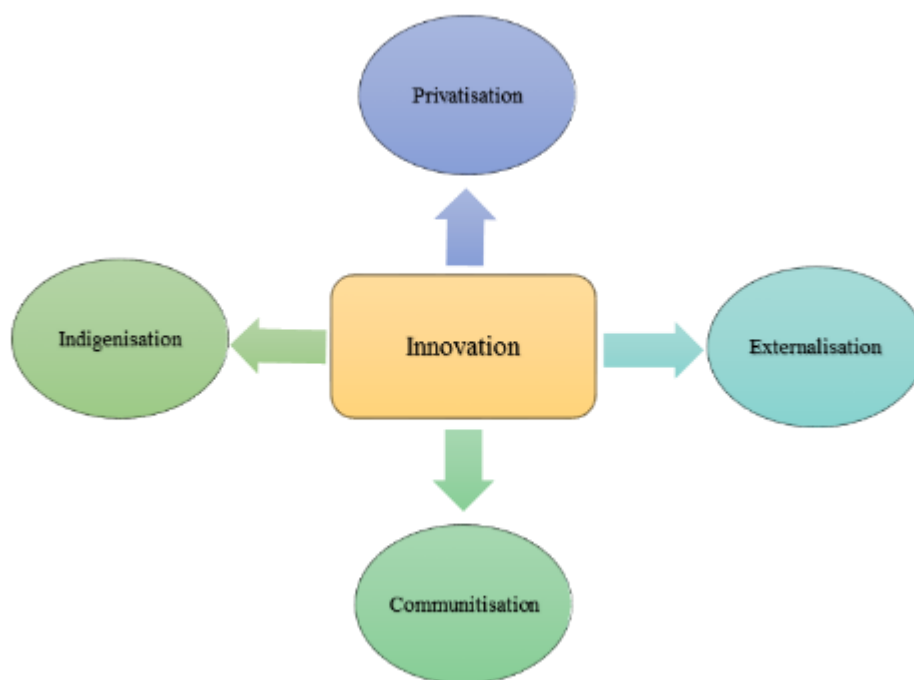


Figure 6: An illustration of contested discourses for intercultural education at Noonkodin

After introducing myself as a researcher and handing over a clearance letter from the Education Department in Monduli District, to the Headteacher, we held some talks about my research project. As we continued with conversations, I told the Headteacher that I was interested in IK and formal education system among the Maasai. I picked this school

since I have heard that it offers IK curriculum as a ‘special programme’ alongside the national curriculum. Being in a grinning face, the Headmaster swiftly replies,

If you are interested in IK, here you are. You will learn a great deal of stuff about traditional knowledge. We introduced the IK course because Noonkodin is a ‘community school’, specifically designed to serve the Maasai pastoralists. Thus, our school is proud of being the only school in Monduli District and Tanzania in general that offers the IK curriculum (A personal interview with the Head of School, Noonkodin, 12/01/2015).

The Headmaster’s response is no wonder as it repeats the statement on the school website which reads that “Noonkodin is unique! It is the only school in Tanzania that teaches a special programme of Indigenous Knowledge.....”.

Amid our conversation, I am attracted by a phrase ‘community school’, or perhaps rewording it as ‘communitised school’ fits better. From this new wording, we can see a shift from a private school to the community school or to put it more simply, a move from ‘privatisation’ to ‘communitisation’. I like the latter wording since it signifies a process, rather than a product. I believe the Headmaster uses the phrase ‘community school’ in the same sense of integrating the school with the community, thereby making it of, by, and, for the community. In turn, this indicates that Noonkodin is a school that offers a ‘communitive’ education. By *communitive*, I stand for a type of education that is fundamentally counterhegemonic or merely not colonial whether you like. In many ways, the owners of the school believe that the IK programme at Noonkodin not only establishes a strong connection between the school and the local community but also makes Maasai parents feel that are engaged with providing formal education for their children.

When I asked, why they decided to introduce the IK programme at Noonkodin Secondary School in Eluwai, the Head of School noted that:

We are trying to indigenise the school curriculum and make it more relevant to the local environment and Maasai culture. Also, this school is partially pushed by UK donors who prefer the inclusion of the IK course in the school curriculum so that Maasai society does not lose their traditional knowledge (A personal interview with the Headteacher, Noonkodin, 12/01/2015).

I find a resemblance of the double processes between ‘indigenisation’ and ‘externalisation’ here. Though I perhaps prefer the term ‘localisation’ to ‘indigenisation’ since the former implies more about the process of ‘adaptation’ than the latter. In this spirit, I agree with Bainton’s (2007) argument that indigenisation, if understood as signifying a process of making indigenous, suggests an impossibility towards an illusion.

This shows that we might attempt in many ways to make a curriculum more locally relevant, but we cannot make it indigenous; it remains a colonial institution.

As shown in Headmaster's remarks, we can also see the echoes of 'externalisation' taking shape in the inception of IK curriculum at Noonkodin. This is evident in the way the Serian UK, a British NGO which sponsors the school introduced the IK programme, prepared the syllabus document, and provided funds for the course aimed to offer a sort of education appropriate to Maasai culture. Both the idea and the funding of the IK programme, therefore, originated from the external sources. Due to this, the externalisation of IK project at Noonkodin Secondary School, apart from limiting Maasai agency in educational innovation, has made its implementation more susceptible to critical practical challenges. This is consistent with the world system theorists' critique that the externally induced educational innovations and reforms in periphery countries in Africa have failed to effect structural change in the education system because of the workings of an international economic order (Clayton, 1998; Anorve, 2009).

Moreover, the school is currently experiencing the influx of many non-Maasai students from other parts of the country. Such influx has rendered the existing infrastructure inadequate to accommodate the biggest number of students wanting a low-cost education at the school. Today, Noonkodin which began in 2005 as a private, but a not-for-profit community school offering low tuition fees to low-income Maasai students is now transforming into a for-profit private school. The Deputy Head deserves quoting here:

Due to the rapid growth in the number of students at Noonkodin school, the existing classrooms and students' housings are insufficient. Given this situation, next year (2016), we must increase tuition fees to get funds for constructing additional classrooms and dormitories for students (A personal interview with the Deputy Head, Noonkodin School, 19/01/2015).

In many ways, the Noonkodin's counter-shift from the not-for-profit to for-profit school undercuts the very essence of its own making. The upshot of this change is that the Noonkodin school will no longer cater to the poor nor give room for the unique IK curriculum. This change, therefore, suggests an antithesis of the school's hitherto counter-hegemonic response from the communitised school to the privatised school.

Teaching of IK course at the school as a process encumbered by difficulties

After reporting for fieldwork during my second round, I spent the first week getting oriented to the school environment and culture, interacting with teachers and students, and attending classes as a participant observer. I attended several classes from Form One

up to Form Four, but I found myself finishing an entire week without experiencing IK classes. After realising that there have been no IK lessons held, I asked the school management about the IK classes and told them that, apart from taking part in other mainstream classes, I wished to attend IK classes as well. During this time, the Head of School who had previously welcomed me on the day I reported for the introduction was on one-month off duty for travel. Due to this, I was now in contacts with other officials such as the Deputy Head of School and the Academic Teacher about this issue.

According to the Deputy Head of Noonkodin, IK was a crucial course when the school began in 2005, but in later years,

The school started experiencing some difficulties in handling it. This is mainly because, at present, the school has no permanent teacher who can teach the subject since we usually hire part-time teachers. Thus, the school has only one teacher who teaches both IK and Agriculture to Forms One and Three students (A personal interview with the Deputy, Noonkodin, 19/01/2015).

Nonetheless, it was revealed that various international researchers from the West visit the school regularly to carry out ethnobotanical research which allows them to interact with students in practical sessions. The students, for instance, reported that:

Two special part-time tutors visit Noonkodin school when researchers from Europe and America come to conduct their investigation here. During this time, we usually carry out practical sessions and receive special instructions about identification and uses of medicinal plants from traditional Maasai experts (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group A, Noonkodin, 21/03/2015).

Thus, although the founders of the school envisaged to include IK as a part of the school curriculum and designed a special building (See Picture 26 below for further details) for delivering the course, the fieldwork research revealed that there was no any structured teaching of the programme as it happens to other conventional subjects. This suggests that the IK classes at Noonkodin school are usually held whenever international researchers from the West visit the school to carry out their research projects, and once the projects are finished, such instructors depart too. These visits take place at Noonkodin perhaps because the school is funded by Western donors who attempt their best to link the researchers from the West to the school. These findings support the world system theorists' contention that the educational assistance projects mounted by the international NGOs are hegemonic ventures for engineering consent in periphery nations in a variety of inequitable and exploitative relationships (Clayton, 1998; Anorve, 2009).



Picture 26: A building resembling a traditional Maasai house at Noonkodin was intended to be used for offering IK classes

Correspondingly, classroom observations conducted at Noonkodin which boasts itself on its website as the only school that offers IK as a special programme revealed that teachers' instructions in classes do not consider IK resources from the local surroundings. While at the school, for instance, I attended the Biology lesson on Growth in Flowering Plants as a subtopic. Given the plentiful flowering plants outside the school, I expected the students to learn more practically by identifying the flowering plants outside the classroom as part of the syllabus. But this hope could not be met as teachers maintained that,

We fail to engage our students with practical activities in their local environments because of the limited time we have. Also, doing several practical activities other than the laboratory experiments would undercut our ability to complete the school syllabuses in time (A focus group discussion with teachers, Group A, Noonkodin School, 04/02/2015).

The teachers' remark echoes Aikman's (2011) observation that the failure to localise their teaching and capture the realities of lives in the local environments in Tanzania's formal schools is hampered by teachers' lack of capacity and the inflexibility of the centralised curriculum to do this. From postcolonial viewpoint, failure to integrate appropriate amounts of Maasai IK in the school programmes can be attributed to the dominance of the discourse promoting a Western-style education (Phillips & Bhavnagri, 2002).

IK course as a programme featured by conflicting, contradictory, and ambivalent goals

Although the owners of Noonkodin School introduced the IK course to make education more relevant to and meaningful for Maasai culture, the school's focus still tends towards academic achievements as opposed to the actual goals of the programme. This was evident in my conversations with the Deputy Head of School as described below,

Joseph: Why does the school not offer IK classes to Forms Two and Four students?

Deputy: Forms Two and Four students do not take IK course because they have Mock and National Exams. As you know, the course is a supplementary subject. That is why we teach it to Forms One and Three students who have no pressure on external exams (A personal conversations with the Deputy Head, Noonkodin, 19/01/2015).

As shown in the remarks above, the IK programme at Noonkodin school is an optional course taught only to Forms One and Three students, while Forms Two and Four students are left to take the subjects contained in the centralised national curriculum. This was also evident in my group discussion with students who commented that,

At this school, we have the course called Indigenous Knowledge. But as the Form Four students, we are not taught it because we must study the subjects contained in the national curriculum so that we can prepare ourselves for National Examinations (A focus group discussion with Maasai boys, Group B, Noonkodin Secondary School, 23/01/2015).

Indigenous Knowledge is an optional course at this school. That is why it is usually taught to other classes especially Forms One and Three students who do not have the National Exams. So, we have the Indigenous Knowledge programme at this school, but only Forms One and Three students take the course (A group discussion with girls, Group A, Noonkodin, 28/01/2015).

As the extracts above show, IK at Noonkodin remains an optional course which is not given much emphasis as a special programme by both the school management and teachers. Some teachers interviewed even questioned its availability in their school and insisted that their focus was on preparing Maasai students for the final national examinations. Teachers at Noonkodin school, for instance, commented that:

The IK course is nice but teaching it has been difficult for us because the programme is neither recognised in the curriculum nor examined when students sit for their secondary education. Thus, we are obliged to prepare our students for both internal and external exams rather than teaching the course which is not included in the national curriculum (A group discussion with teachers, Group B, Noonkodin Secondary School, 06/02/2015).

As the remark above indicates, it is unlikely whether Noonkodin teachers believe that including IK as a special course at the school would add value to their educational tasks and teaching roles which are judged by students' performance in examinations. As the

fieldwork data above have shown, given the non-recognition of the IK course in Tanzania's secondary level curriculum, the school's attention has now shifted towards students' success in the mainstream examinations and academic performance as opposed to teaching the IK curriculum as envisaged by the founders of the school. Due to this, the internal and external exams put both teachers and Maasai students under high pressure to apply rote learning strategies so that the latter can pass their tests and examinations.

Balancing between traditional and modern life in school as difficult and problematic

My one-month stay at Noonkodin allowed me to observe how both staff and students were managing their lives between traditional life as the Maasai and expectations of the modern life propagated by formal education at the school. The fieldwork data revealed a strong tension between traditional and modern ways of life at Noonkodin, which was witnessed by the way both the staff and students managed their lives between home/community life and Western school life in a problematic way. One aspect of this tension manifested itself in the wearing of uniforms for students and modern clothes for staff as opposed to traditional clothes that they use to wear in their community. The school uniforms for students at Noonkodin School, for instance, consists of a khaki trouser/skirt, a green shirt, and a blue sweater for both boys and girls. The wearing of uniforms at Noonkodin conforms with Tanzania's education policy that stresses students' uniformity to equalise the status and hide any identity differences among them.

Although school uniforms have been considered as an attempt to change the Maasai culture (Cole, 2008), students at Noonkodin exhibited both positive and negative responses towards the outfit. In their views, for instance, some participants noted:

A school uniform is not a bad thing, but a positive thing that helps to eliminate individual differences among the students. By wearing uniform outfits, all students are considered as equals. So, we have no problems with the school uniforms (A focus group with school girls, Group B, Noonkodin, 30/01/2015).

On the other hand, some students were of the view that formal education has affected the dressing style of the Maasai community negatively, thereby making some girls to wear some outfits that are unacceptable to their culture. According to the participants,

Nowadays, some Maasai school girls wear trousers, and others wear miniskirts and tight clothes. They have imitated these different styles of dressing after getting used to wearing uniforms and modern clothes in schools. This is contrary to our culture that requires women and girls to wear clothes that cover all parts of their bodies. We believe this change is detrimental to our culture as it makes school girls wear disrespectful clothes (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group A, Noonkodin School, 21/01/2015).

Importantly, it was discovered that the school staff and students at Noonkodin attempt in diverse ways to negotiate their dual identities as they encounter both the modern and traditional spaces in school and at home respectively, albeit in awkward ways. During my one-month stay at Noonkodin, I observed how some native Maasai teachers and supporting staff were struggling to negotiate their traditional cultural values by putting themselves on traditional attire when they are at home, and at the same time, adopting a Western style of life, including wearing modern clothes when they are at school.



Picture 27: Some Noonkodin students wearing school uniforms as captured in picture

During my fieldwork, for instance, it was a common thing to see native Maasai teachers and supporting staff wearing modern clothes throughout the day when they are in school, but once they return home, they switched their attire to traditional ones. When I asked Maasai teachers why they had a tendency of switching their dressing style between modern and traditional ones, instead of choosing only one style, they replied:

As you know, the government does not allow wearing traditional clothes in schools. That is why they introduced school uniforms for students and modern clothes for staff. But as the Maasai, we prefer our traditional attire since it allows us to preserve our culture. So, we feel that it is not good to wear traditional attire at school, but when we return home, we are not obliged to observe such educational policy (A focus group discussion with teachers, Group C, Noonkodin Secondary School, Monduli, 11/02/2015).

When we are at school, we conform to the dominant culture by wearing modern clothes as required by the government. But when we are at home, we feel more comfortable to wear traditional dressing as required by our community. If you accustom to wear modern clothing, the community cannot

understand you. People would say formal education has spoilt you (A focus group with teachers, Group A, Noonkodin School, 04/02/2015).

Contrary to the staff who regularly used to switch between modern and traditional clothes depending on whether they are at school or home, to the students, this was not possible because many were boarders spending most of their time in the school. Although the students informed me during our informal conversations that they were free to put on their traditional clothes at weekends, throughout my stay at Noonkodin I hardly saw this happening. Despite this, the Maasai students interviewed were of the view that:

Traditional clothes are an essential part of our culture. When we are at school, we stop wearing them because the government does not allow that. But when we get back home during the term holidays, we usually wear our traditional attire. Even after finishing school, this tendency will not change since traditional attire constitutes a crucial component of Maasai culture and identity (A focus group with Maasai boys, Group B, Noonkodin, 23/01/2015).

As various excerpts above have shown, balancing between traditional and modern life in school is challenging for both staff and students. While in the school compounds, for instance, ‘modern’ identity requires staff and students to put on Western-style clothes and uniforms respectively, but when they are back to their home compounds, the ‘traditional’ identity requires them to wear the traditional attire. This suggests that both staff and students at Noonkodin are trying to negotiate their dual identity in efforts to live and survive in two worlds, the traditional and the modern one, albeit in problematic ways.

5.4.4 Section conclusion

In this section, we have seen that as a private school, Noonkodin shifted itself from for-profit private to the not-for-profit community school by introducing the unique IK curriculum that aimed to offer relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai students. But this shift has not lasted long as the school has currently changed into a for-profit-private school, charging high tuition fees from students to expand its inadequate school infrastructures. We have also seen played out the processes of indigenisation and externalisation as Noonkodin tries to indigenise its curriculum, but through externalising both the idea of the programme and funding of the IK course itself onto foreign donors. However, the indigenisation agenda taken on board by Noonkodin is subjected to the postcolonial critique in that the agent cannot harken back to pre-colonial discourse in search of an authentic identity or out of nostalgia for lost origins (Spivak, 1995) since the subaltern agency is a form of negotiation (Bhabha, 1994).

Importantly, the fieldwork research showed that the teaching of IK course at Noonkodin is encumbered by difficulties because there was no any structured teaching of the course as it happens to other subjects. This is mainly because the IK course was an optional course, had no permanent teachers, and was being occasionally taught when researchers from the West visit school to carry out ethnobotanical research. Moreover, the section has highlighted the IK course at Noonkodin as a programme featured by conflicting, contradictory, and ambivalent goals since the school's focus still tends towards academic performance in internal and external examinations as opposed to the actual goal of offering a relevant and meaningful education as envisaged by the programme. Lastly, the section has indicated that balancing between traditional and modern life in school remains problematic for both the staff and students as they try in different ways to manage their dual identities and lives between home/community life and Western school life.

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined the Maasai students' encounter with formal education in the school contexts by looking at the schooling processes, students' experiences with and perceptions of formal schooling, as well as exploring the subsequent tensions, conflicts, and contradictions between traditional and formal education in schools. The chapter has highlighted the schooling process in Maasai schools not only as dominated by inadequate teaching approaches involving teacher-centred methods and teachers' inability to apply IK resources in their lessons, but also poor students' learning strategies involving memorising and rote learning just for passing tests and exams in schools. The chapter has also highlighted the existence of a poor relationship and limited interaction between teachers and students in schools characterised by authoritarianism involving strict control over students, corporal punishments, threats, and intimidations as well as poor communication between teachers and students resulting from language barriers. These findings suggest that apart from disempowering students' own initiatives and innovations, the processes of schooling in Maasai schools are also limiting spaces for their participation in classroom's teaching and learning processes as active learners.

The chapter has highlighted the Maasai students' experiences with and perceptions of formal schooling as largely bad, negative, and undesirable when compared with what they experience at home and in the community. The results, for instance, showed that students' in school is tough and challenging not only because of lacking support for their basic school needs from their parents but also because of lacking midday meals in schools and

the long distance they walk to and from school every day. Also, the Maasai students perceive the school not only as the place where fear, intimidation, and suffering are produced and exercised but also as the site where cultural tensions are created, nurtured, and played out. The experiences of Maasai students in schools, for instance, tended to be dominated by fear, intimidations, and sufferings as well as cultural tensions which make them fall into a dilemma in fulfilling the necessities and expectations of the traditional life in the home and community settings, and those of the school. The chapter concludes that both indigenous and formal education in Maasai society are in strong tensions, conflicts, and contradictions as the competition between the two makes Maasai students left in a catch-22 situation of being no longer wanting to participate in a traditionalist lifestyle but at the same time being unable to participate in a modern lifestyle.

Lastly, the results have indicated that the innovation of the IK curriculum at Noonkodin runs through the complex interplay of contested discourses, involving privatisation, communitisation, indigenisation, and externalisation. In the process of these contested discourses, we have witnessed the ambivalent goals that put the school in a catch-22 situation, first by the passion for offering an alternative co-curriculum responsive to Maasai culture, but second, by the zeal for the academic achievements of their students in attempts to fulfil the prospects of the mainstream national curriculum. With this ambivalent goal, we find that the reforms adopted by the NGO-based schools, as Bainton (2007) maintains, are more than merely a reconfiguration of an old colonial education - involving an embedding of western education, under a veneer of indigenisation. This chapter concludes that although Noonkodin has attempted in diverse ways to offer IK course alongside Tanzania's national curriculum, the programme itself is marred by tensions, conflicts, and contradictions since there are still no enabling environment, structures, and infrastructural facilities currently available to support a successful running of the course against the hegemonic backdrop of Western education structures.

CHAPTER SIX

ENKIGÚÉNA: AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND WESTERN EDUCATION AMONG THE MAASAI

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the encounter between Indigenous and Western education by attempting to determine whether such encounter might act as a basis for a relevant and meaningful education for the Maasai pastoralists. I have labelled this chapter as ‘enkigúéna’, a concept in the Maa language useful for signifying not only the “encounter” but also the dialogic space between Indigenous and Western knowledge. The chapter begins by exploring various responses to and perspectives on formal education among the Maasai pastoralists in the study contexts. The chapter also looks at a sort of education that might offer relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai parents and their children. The issues deliberated in this section lay down a foundation for matters discussed in the ensuing sections. The third section examines the concept of *enkigúéna* and its potential for offering relevant and meaningful educational experiences for the Maasai pastoralists. The last section reflects on the practical application of *enkigúéna* through localisation, constructivism, and communitisation approaches to teaching and learning in school. The research data for this chapter were generated through ethnographic interviews, participant observation, focus groups, and conversations with different segments of people in Monduli, including parents, elders, local leaders, and students.

6.2 Responses to and Perspectives on Formal Schooling among the Maasai

This subsection looks at various responses to and perspectives of the pastoral Maasai towards formal schooling and their dynamics across age-groups, gender, and sex over time. Responses to and perspectives on schooling among the Maasai differ due to the number of factors, including one’s socio-economic status (wealth/poverty), age group, gender, and sex. People’s perspectives on education also vary in relation to the level of schooling, external forces and exposure, as well as an individual’s experience (whether positive or negative) with formal schooling. This subsection, therefore, explores various responses to and perspectives on the practice of formal education among the Maasai.

In this research, three clusters of Maasai responses to formal schooling alongside the views of the participants were identified:

- a) Maasai’s negative response to formal education

- b) Maasai's positive response to formal education
- c) Maasai's neutral response to formal education

6.2.1 “This formal education is dangerous, ruthless, and totally evil”: Maasai's negative response to formal education

The negative category of response is associated with individuals who are completely against the presence of formal education in the Maasai community. The participants with a negative response to formal education comprise the unschooled morans, unschooled girls, school dropouts, and some Maasai elders and parents who are staunch supporters of pastoral culture. This group believes that there is no need for Maasai to receive a different kind of education other than traditional education prevalent in their community. Although the participants offered various reasons, their explanations are to do more with favouring traditional knowledge, pastoral culture, and pastoral mode of life in their society.

From the negative response category, formal education is not supposed to be offered to Maasai children because it alienates them from their traditional culture. One Maasai woman in Engaruka, for instance, maintained that “*The schooled individuals do not want to be called ‘Maasai’ because they believe that we are not civilised and educated like them*”. Also, the participants noted that formal education corrupts the schooled Maasai in such a way that some of them avoid introducing their parents to their friends and colleagues on the pretext that they are poor and illiterate. These observations remind us of the argument by a prominent postcolonial scholar, Fanon (1952) that an alienated black man subjectively and intellectually conducts himself like a white man since he does not think of himself as a black man, but he thinks of himself as a European. Furthermore, the Maasai participants believe that after receiving formal schooling, the schooled individuals never get back home to assist their parents and relatives, and instead, they go astray as they like to live in urban areas. According to the participants,

Once Maasai children succeed to reach higher levels of education, most of them do not like to return home and live with their parents, relatives, and families in the countryside. Thus, formal education makes our children averse to their local environment while being attracted to live in urban areas (A focus group with the male parents, Group E, Engaruka, 02/11/2014).

Some schooled Maasai individuals currently working as medical doctors and nurses in Monduli have deserted their families and rejected their tribe. After receiving education and getting employed in salaried jobs, some schooled Maasai children rarely get back home to support their parents, colleagues, and relatives. Instead, they break ties with their families and relatives in the countryside and completely think no more of them (A focus group with the female Maasai parents, Group E, Engaruka, 08/11/2014).

You may educate your child by using all your efforts and resources; you sell all your livestock to educate him/her, but eventually, once one gets a job, he/she disappears to distant places without remembering his/her parents (Personal conversations with the female elder 3, Meserani, 13/10/2014).

Previous studies in Maasailand reported similar results about Maasai reluctance to send their children to formal schools because they believe that some individuals desert their families and community after schooling (Parkipuny, 1975; Kaunga, 2005). According to Kaunga (2005), for instance, it has been difficult for pastoralist and nomadic communities to fully embrace formal education because, among others, a great number of those who had benefited from schooling rarely come back home to help their families as they end up being jobless and some start viewing pastoralism as a primitive way of life. Bonini's (2006) ethnographic study in Engare Naibor also reported similar findings as some Maasai parents denied sending their children to secondary schools because of the fear that they would be lost to Maasai society if they continue with further education.

Subsequently, the notion of 'going astray' which has historically been a major belief compelling the pastoralists not to send their children to school remains active in the minds of some Maasai parents with negative educational experience particularly. In his study, Parkipuny (1975) observed a similar trend as Maasai parents were afraid to send their children to school because they associated it with alienating them both culturally and physically. In the light of the findings, what Maasai parents fear for their schooled children is to do more with an identity crisis, which for Bhabha (1994), makes a colonised feel uncanny or unhomely. For this reason, the Maasai with the negative response to formal education believe that a person who is raised through the medium of traditional knowledge is much better than the schooled one. One male elder who was so critical of the formal education provided some scathing remarks worthy of quoting:

There is not a fool like a schooled person; I can assure you this truth. This formal education is dangerous, ruthless, and totally evil. Why do I say this? A person is quite aware that in his/her society, people live in this or that way, but once one gets schooled, he or she begins ignoring the traditional life he/she left in his/her society. Has such individual not gone astray? (Personal conversations with the male Maasai elder 4, Meserani, 09/10/2014).

The excerpt above corroborates the argument by the postcolonial theorists that since the colonial period, formal education has indulged itself in corrupting the thinking of the colonised by alienating them from their sociocultural milieu (Shizha, 2013). Due to this, for some Maasai, negative responses to the formal education is associated with the loss of Maasai culture and identity. The participants, for example, remarked that after getting

schooled, most Maasai children are unable to observe the traditional practices, thereby contributing significantly to losing their culture. These results confirm Bonini's (2006) observation that some Maasai parents denounced formal schooling because it acculturated their children by providing them with alien skills and ideologies. In this way, some parents see the school as an instrument used to weaken Maasai IK and pastoral culture as the schooled individuals neglect their traditions by considering them as outdated.

Similarly, other Maasai have the negative response to formal schooling because they view it as an instrument of lowering 'respect' in their community. Maasai women, for instance, voiced that *"We are against a schooled education because it makes Maasai girls lack respect by making them wear short and tight clothes in front of their fathers, and eat food with their dads while our culture does not allow that"*. As for Maasai girls too, the lack of respect is associated with their failure to observe the traditional practices on marriage issues. Maasai elders reiterated that the schooled girls are not respectful and do not observe the traditional practices on marriage matters. According to Maasai girls,

Maasai parents believe that once schooled; girls begin to ignore Maasai culture and traditions. So, some Maasai parents are frightened that after receiving education, their daughter will refuse to marry a fiancé that they have chosen her (FGD with school girls, Group A, Noonkodin School, 28/01/2015).

These findings agree with Krätli's (2000) argument that in some pastoralist households, a woman is supposed to be less educated than her husband since a girl's education will reduce the choice of potential husbands, particularly within the pastoral context.

Accordingly, some Maasai are sceptical about the quality, relevance, and the ability of formal education in safeguarding pastoralism and pastoral livelihoods in respect of their future existence as an integrated society with their own culture. Doubting on the relevance of formal schooling, one Maasai elder (elder 7) in Engaruka, for instance, uttered that *"I consider formal schooling given to our children as just a quantity education, not quality education because our children do not learn any meaningful subjects while in schools"*. The elder's remark above suggests that some individuals have negative response towards formal schooling because they consider it as adding nothing not only to the individual and social benefits but also to their economic production system and livelihoods. This finding is consistent with Bonini's (2006) observation that Maasai parents who reject formal schooling do so because of the perceived uselessness of the schooled education.

Consequently, for the Maasai with the negative response, indigenous education is the best and should continue being taught to their children as opposed to the formal schooling.

This group believes that abandoning to educate their children through indigenous education is inimical to Maasai IK, pastoral culture, and identity. This observation is also evident in the remarks by one moran who proudly described that he preferred traditional education to formal education. His inspiring response is worthy of citing here:

I like livestock keeping more than schooling. I love the traditional knowledge; I love the home and the community life. I would like to continue being a moran like now. I do not like a school life at all. I feel proud to live in my community as a moran, and executing my duties to the community without any problems (A personal interview with Lukungu (moran), Meserani, 12/10/2014).

As the quote above shows, most unschooled morans I met, boasted of having profound traditional knowledge despite not attending formal schooling. Other morans, for instance, claimed that “All morans you see here are pastoralists who live in the bush and have never participated in formal education because our education is found there. This remark indicates that although Maasai morans might not know how to read and write, it does not mean that they are not educated per se since they have extensive knowledge learnt through their traditional education and rigorous training in the bush environment.

6.2.2 “A society cannot produce a leader like a President or a Prime Minister by tending cattle in the bush”: Maasai’s positive response towards formal schooling

This category of response includes the Maasai individuals with positive perspectives on formal education. These participants under this category supported the need for Maasai children to receive formal education as opposed to other forms of schooling. Two main factors: a) the internal forces such as the shortage of land pasture and decline in herd size, and; b) the external forces such as education, trade, and globalisation have influenced some individuals to have positive responses towards formal schooling. Some of the Maasai elders interviewed, for instance, were of the opinion that:

Let me tell you; you know the truth. Today, our land is limited because the government has taken it for conservation activities in Ngorongoro. We have no enough land to feed our livestock as it used to be in the past. For example, in 2009, most livestock in Maasailand died due to severe drought and shrinkage of land pasture in our area (A personal interview with the male Maasai elder 12, Engaruka, 18/12/2014).

These days the weather has changed much quite different from the past. We are in a hard time since there is not enough rain and cows do not get enough grass. These trees are the suppliers of rain, but nowadays the so-called development has penetrated in our society causing all the trees to be cut down, resulting in the absence of rain. People have angered God, and hence, we are punished for destroying the natural environment that is essential for bringing rainfall in our society in the name of development (Personal conversations with the male Maasai elder 7, Engaruka, 11/12/2014).

Due to both inner and outer forces, some Maasai elders and parents have shifted their focus to formal education because of the benefits accrued from it. One of these advantages is to do with future employment opportunities for their children after receiving formal schooling. According to the participants interviewed,

Formal schooling is currently beneficial to us since our children can get employed in various sectors such as teaching, military, and nursing. Some of them can return to work in our areas, and in this way, acting as an inspiration to others (A focus group with women, Group G, Engaruka, 12/11/2014).

You know, now people have become ingenious because they have seen the fruits of education from other Maasai parents whose children are schooled. Some few schooled Maasai children have got jobs and are working as senior officials in the government and in the private sector (Personal conversations with the male elder 8, Engaruka, 05/11/2014).

As shown in the above quotes, Maasai parents have currently begun sending their children to school because of the hope that they will obtain employment in various salaried posts. The notion of ‘schooling for employment’ is also shared by Maasai students who stated that formal education would open new job opportunities for them upon completing their studies. These results are consistent with Bonini’s (2007) study which discovered that the changing ideas about formal education among the pastoral Maasai was influenced by the possibility of and the benefits which resulted from formal employment. Due to this, formal employment has become apparent as individuals have got salaried jobs in various sectors considered by some Maasai as vital in reducing poverty in their community.



Picture 28: Some Maasai see the construction of houses using corrugated-iron sheets as a new development brought up by schooling

Also, some participants have a positive response to formal education because they consider it as providing leeway to the alternative incomes and improved life outside pastoralism. Commenting on this idea, a firestick father (Chief 2) stated that “*In the past, people neither built decent houses nor knew how to do business; but today, the schooled Maasai can cope easily with life’s challenges using the alternatives means of incomes without relying only on livestock keeping*”. In her ethnographic study at Engare Naibor village, Bishop (2007) also reported similar results that many Maasai valued formal schooling because of the belief that it could offer them with new opportunities for livelihood diversification outside pastoralism. This suggests that some individuals consider the diversification into the alternative sources of incomes as a positive contribution of schooling to the development of their society. This new ‘development’ is manifested in the way that some schooled individuals have embraced new changes by constructing modern housing using corrugated-iron sheets in their community.

Moreover, some Maasai have become positive to formal schooling because they believe that this sort of education can enable them to acquire basic literacy skills (reading, writing, and arithmetic) necessary for assisting them in different situations. The mastery of Kiswahili is essential for Maasai not only because the language is the administrative and commercial language in the country but also the sole means of communication with non-Maasai (Bonini, 2006; Raymond, 2015). As for reading and writing literacy, for instance, Maasai women maintained that “*A schooled education is useful for our lives because we do not know Swahili but when we go to the hospital, our schooled daughters who know Kiswahili should escort us*”. These findings corroborate previous studies in Maasailand which revealed that Maasai parents believed that the schooled children would help them to communicate with non-Maasai when they attend local hospitals (Hodgson, 1999; Bishop, 2007; Raymond, 2015). The results suggest that the communication skills in Kiswahili allow the Maasai to negotiate various institutions outside the traditional spaces such as schools, transport facilities, and hospitals as a part of their daily lives.

Likewise, the Maasai with positive response know that literacy skills permit them not only to communicate in business matters and trading environments with non-Maasai but also to count money obtained from the sales of cattle and other livestock products. The arithmetic literacy skills, for instance, has streamlined the counting task since Maasai parents who have not attended school can use their schooled children to count the money once they sell their livestock at the local markets. Also, some Maasai were of the view

that if they lack the literacy skills, they can be cheated in shops and local markets by being sold expired livestock drugs. Here is an important remark by one Maasai elder:

An educated person will go to the livestock pharmacy to buy some drugs. If a person does not know the drug, one may ask for advice even from the veterinary specialist. Also, a schooled person can easily know even the expiry date of the drug for other clever dealers can sell you the expired ones. Now, if you are not schooled, you can be cheated, and when you use the drugs, they can affect your livestock. But it is not easy to manipulate a schooled person (A personal interview with the male Maasai elder 1, Meserani, 08/10/2014).

As shown in the excerpt above, basic literacy in Kiswahili allows the Maasai not only to communicate with non-Maasai when selling livestock at the local markets but also to understand a business language desirable in protecting them from being cheated in the unfamiliar situations. Some participants, for instance, reported that due to the lack of basic literacy skills, some local leaders were cheated by schooled individuals when the government brought aids and other products during the dry seasons. These findings are in congruent with Bishop's (2007) study which reported that the schooled Maasai were called upon to assist their parents in purchasing things outside the Maasai sphere like hybrid seeds and maize from Arusha and Mairoua trading centre respectively.

Accordingly, some Maasai have the positive response to formal schooling as they see it desirable in facilitating their access to leadership positions in the local and political posts as well as in the government machinery. Emphasising the importance of formal schooling in facilitating access to the leadership positions, one Maasai elder remarked that:

Formal education is a good thing for each tribe because a society cannot produce a leader like a President or a Prime Minister by tending cattle in the bush. This is principally because such kind of leadership positions requires individuals who are educated (Personal conversations with the male Maasai elder 13, Engaruka, 18/12/2014).

As shown in the extract above, in recent days, when appointing traditional leaders, the unschooled individuals cannot be nominated because a traditional leader must have some knowledge of the schooled education. This is primarily the case because the traditional leaders are currently involved in the state's administrative system so they can take part in making decisions about matters pertaining to the Maasai community. The participants' responses corroborate the previous studies in Maasailand which demonstrated the change in attitudes among the Maasai who viewed formal education as a means of accessing leadership positions outside the traditional institutions (Bonini, 2006; Bishop, 2007).

Eventually, some participants remarked that without formal education, it would be hard to cope with and benefit from the new changes taking place both at the national and international levels. In the participants' views, for instance, "*Education is a vital asset which can make Maasai society not to be left behind like the past*". As a response to being left behind other communities in Tanzania, some parents send their children to school so that not only can they keep up with rapid changes in the world but also cope with the pace of globalisation in their community. Also, as the Maasai have become increasingly mixed with other tribes, formal education allows them to interact well with other societies.

6.2.3 "If you have cattle, it is nice to have a modern life too": Maasai's neutral response to formal schooling

Unlike the preceding two responses, the neutral response category involves individuals who support the existence of both traditional and formal education in their community. In most cases, the opinions of this group tend to acknowledge the good and the bad of both Indigenous and Western knowledge. According to some Maasai participants, for instance, "*Formal education is good, and traditional education is good too. If a person does not hold traditional knowledge, attaining formal education alone is not sufficient*". This perspective concurs with postcolonial scholars' contention that instead of romanticising or disregarding either of the knowledge systems, the strengths of each form of knowledge rather than weaknesses can be tapped to complement each other (Semali, 1999; Maweu, 2011; Mawere, 2013). Some Maasai, therefore, believe that it is better for both forms of knowledge to coexist in their society rather than abandoning either of the two so that they can survive in a rapidly changing world with several vagaries.

From the neutral response position, both Indigenous and Western education have strengths and drawbacks, suggesting that the Maasai should keep both types of education. Today, the Maasai are becoming increasingly aware that since it is hard to survive through pastoralism alone (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005), sending children to school will equip them with knowledge useful for improving animal husbandry and commercial skills (Aikman, 2011). Some Maasai support the continuation of both traditional and formal education because they have become aware of the deterioration of traditional land and the limited possibility of sustaining their livelihoods depending solely on livestock keeping (Raymond, 2015). In the participants' views, adopting both types of education may be the best way of maintaining their culture and identity, while also integrating themselves into the broader national and international world. One female elder, for instance, stated:

Abandoning our traditional education is wrong. Some people say just get educated through formal schooling, but I would like to say formal education is good at its own part, and traditional education is good at its own part too (Personal conversations with the female elder 7, Engaruka, 29/11/2014).

Closely related to the above response is the way some Maasai see both traditional and formal education as complementary to each other because formal education usually builds on what a child already has. This was reflected in the participants' comments that "We would say that formal education is good, but it is good for someone who holds indigenous education". This remark implies that without traditional education, an individual cannot have a good foundation that can allow him or her to use formal education for the benefit of the entire community. The perspective of the Maasai is shared by postcolonial theory which considers both Indigenous and Western knowledge as not fundamentally different, but as complementary forms of knowledge which can coexist in productive and meaningful ways (Maweu, 2011; Kapyrka & Dockstator, 2012; Mawere, 2013).

Importantly, some Maasai would like to carry on with both forms of schooling, so they reap the benefits of each type of education. These individuals know that there exist some fruits which can be accrued to them in each type of schooling, and such benefits can only be earned by maintaining both types of education systems. The participants' idea that an educated person with a salaried job can use his/her salary to buy more livestock and improve his pastoral livelihoods also reflects this perspective. Unlike the participants with positive response who believe that formal schooling can offer a viable alternative to a better life outside pastoralism, the supporters of neutral response position believe that formal education can be used to improve their lives within pastoralism. Emphasising the importance of benefiting from both types of education, one Maasai chief noted,

If you have cattle, it is nice to have a modern life too. At present, we need cattle, and we need formal schooling too. In the bush, for instance, I have a boma with cattle and goats, and here in the village centre, I have my plot for business activities. Today, Maasai elders see that it is better to send children to formal schooling and profit from both sides. If I go to pastoralism, I earn some incomes, and when I come here in the village centre, I win some incomes as well (Personal interviews with the Maasai chief 1, Engaruka, 15/12/2014).

As discussed above, the participants with a neutral response favour the existence of both types of schooling as they provide alternatives to profiting from either of the sides. This explains why some parents with neutral response noted that they advise their children that while in school, they should apply the pen, but when are in their community, they should apply the stick by observing the traditional instructions. This implies that a person

educated through the medium of both types of schooling not only can maintain his/her ethnic identity but also can profit from the identity of the mainstream population.

6.2.4 Section conclusion

The findings showed that individuals with negative response consider formal education with disdain and view it as damaging Maasai culture, values, and lifestyles. For this reason, such Maasai parents do not see any value in sending their children to schools. In contrast, individuals with the positive response stance consider formal education as necessary for them and their society because of both its tangible and intangible benefits. However, the Maasai with the neutral response tend to be more ambivalent with the view to profiting from both forms of the education systems, thereby creating a possibility for creating an individual who can live in ‘two worlds’, both the traditional and modern world. Despite the disparities in their responses to formal education, there is a consensus among the Maasai on the need for continuation of pastoralism both as a production system and a way of life. These findings suggest that varied responses and different meanings attached to formal education by various segments of the Maasai population affect the way they perceive it and make choices regarding sending their children to schools.

6.3 An Education of Value for Maasai Parents and Their Children

The section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection provides a broad overview of relevant and meaningful education for Maasai while the second subsection details a type of education which is of value for Maasai parents and their children. This section, therefore, troubles Maasai agency by unpacking conflicting discourses encircling the practice of formal education in nomadic and pastoral communities in Tanzania.

6.3.1 An overview of relevant and meaningful education for Maasai pastoralists

The relevant and meaningful educational experiences encompass a key component of what Aikman (2011) calls “indigenous justice”. The *indigenous justice* agenda goes beyond the mere issues of increasing access to formal education, by focusing precisely not only upon the processes of schooling but also about what is taught to and might be learned by pastoralist children in the school and how (Harber, 2004; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Thus, this overview presents four reflective questions asked by one Maasai elder in Engaruka to foreground the discussion of the core issues about the relevance and meaningfulness of education among the Maasai. These questions are as follows:

- 1) What do you think of the type of education that once someone gets schooled, he/she hates living in the rural environment in which he/she grew up?

- 2) What is this education that makes a schooled Maasai rush to urban areas after completing their school, and then wanders the streets without any meaningful job?
- 3) What is this education that makes a person abandon the livestock in the village that he would have an advantage of taking care of them so they can support him?
- 4) What is this sort of education that makes an individual deride his traditional pastoral culture and embrace a foreign culture?

As the elder finished asking me the above questions, he further added, “*Joseph, if you find appropriate answers to such questions, you will understand what I mean when I say that these days, formal education is neither valuable nor beneficial to us as livestock keepers*”. To me, the questions raised by the elder reveal some critical issues worthy of consideration when exploring a valued education for Maasai. Although it is not my task to provide direct answers to such questions (as I believe that the questions speak for themselves), from the elder’s questions, it is evident that the lack of relevance and meaningfulness of formal education is a major concern among the Maasai parents and their children alike. Most substantially, queries raised by the elder have revealed that the Maasai pastoralists are not necessarily averse to Western education as such, but they are more concerned with the effects of formal education on traditional pastoral culture, social integrity, and core values of the community. To my way of thinking, this is the very essence and the meaning of those four questions, if we reflect critically on them.

6.3.2 An education that the Maasai pastoralists value in their community

This subsection offers a glimpse of the kind of education the Maasai value and consider appropriate for their lives, pastoral culture, and livelihoods. To achieve this purpose, the subsection considers the potential of traditional learning systems in offering relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai. The subsection also looks not only at the perspectives, preferences, and aspirations of the Maasai and their children but also some aspects and features of the relevant and meaningful education for them. The type of education that the Maasai value includes the following aspects and features:

Self-improvement education (Education for self-improvement)

An *education for self-improvement* is defined here as a form of schooling essential for maintaining and enhancing pastoral Maasai culture, mode of life, and livelihoods as well as enriching traditional education in Maasai society, as opposed to undermining them. Improving people’s well-being which had been a major concern among the social justice theorists following the human capability approach (See Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2003;

Walker & Unterhalter, 2007; Tikly & Barrett, 2011) emerged as an important theme for a valued education among the Maasai. The participants, for instance, upheld that they want their children to attend school so that they gain skills which might assist them not only in cultivating their animal husbandry and pastoral culture but also in supporting their livelihoods. Regarding an education for improvement, one participant uttered:

I prefer an education that would allow us to improve our livestock. A schooled person should tell me how to improve my livestock, not to sell them. Also, he should help me to continue maintaining my culture, and not abandoning it (A personal interview with the firestick father, Engaruka, 17/12/2014).

The above excerpt mirrors the remarks of the male elder 5 who reiterated that,

We need a type of education that would allow us to continue keeping our livestock. As pastoralists, we depend on cattle for our life and survival. We cannot stop keeping livestock even a single day. Hence, we want our children to be educated but should be able to gain knowledge and skills that can assist us to improve livestock productivity and continue keeping them (A personal interview with the Maasai elder 5, Meserani, 09/10/2014).

The participants' remarks agree with Raymond's (2015) study which revealed that the Maasai needed an education that would help them to cultivate and improve livestock keeping. The results also corroborate Tikly and Barrett's (2011) argument that the education for social justice should provide the learners with skills necessary for becoming economically productive, developing sustainable livelihoods, and improving their well-being. This suggests that the Maasai do not want the education system that would make them abandon pastoralism and their mode of life, but they wish to get a type of education that might help them to carry on keeping cattle and sustaining their livelihoods.

Similarly, for the pastoral Maasai, an education for self-improvement is that which can be used to improve the standards of living in their community. Concerning the need of education for improving the standards of living, one male elder (elder 3) observed, "*If my child receives formal education, he should turn these houses and build us the new and decent ones so that we live a better life*". In other instances, some participants reported how the schooled individuals were a burden in their community since they could not apply their knowledge and skills to improve people's lives and well-being. Another male elder (elder 9) in Engaruka, for instance, upheld that instead of using his knowledge to help him improve how to feed the livestock, a schooled son tells him "*Dad, you see now how the livestock are thin? I told you that sell them, but you did not listen to me*".

For this reason, as a response to the education for improvement, the participants questioned the ability of the current formal education to safeguard and improve

pastoralism both as a production system and a mode of life. The participants' opinions substantiate Tahir's (2007) argument that, the pastoralists need development and not transformation, appreciation of their culture and not ridicule. These findings suggest that when designing an appropriate model of education for pastoralists, it may be obligatory to consider the perspectives of Maasai parents and their children about self-improvement education and what is it meant for them. According to Carr-Hill and Peart (2005), the pastoralist groups themselves need to perceive what they are being offered as an improvement over what they already have. This indicates that for Maasai, an appropriate and meaningful education should be a sort of an education system that can be used to complement and improve the pastoral ways of life in contrast to weakening them.

Culturally sensitive education (Education for cultural preservation)

A *culturally sensitive education* is a type of education that takes cognisance of the local environment, experiences, culture, values, traditional knowledge, language, and worldviews of the community in the teaching and learning processes. This type of education is consistent with the social justice agenda which focuses on the education system responsive to different worldviews, multiple knowledges, diverse languages, and cultural backgrounds of indigenous learners (Aikman, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Cazden, 2012). According to the participants, the Maasai prefer a culturally sensitive education to be offered to their children so that they could use the skills gained to maintain and preserve their traditional knowledge and pastoral culture. In respect of a *culturally sensitive education* for Maasai pastoralists, some participants said:

If there were a possibility, we would like our children to be taught about traditional knowledge which is appropriate to our environment and meets the needs of our society than formal schooling that disrupts our culture (A personal interview with the female elder 1, Meserani, 07/10/2014).

I do not know why the government has refused to introduce traditional knowledge and cultural issues in school. This is a critical problem as it makes our children lack a continuity of what they used to learn from their community and new subjects they start learning when they join formal schools. Studying traditional knowledge for our children in school could help to preserve our culture as opposed to losing it as it is happening now (A personal interview with the male Maasai elder 11, Engaruka, 30/11/2014).

As shown in the elder's quotation above, some Maasai believe that since formal education imparts irrelevant learning skills to their children, culturally relevant education would help to mitigate such adverse effects. In the opinions of the participants, most skills learnt

in the formal schools aim at filling Maasai children with expectations and aspirations that do not correspond to the local environment, culture, and the realities of pastoral life.

Also, the Maasai prefer a culturally sensitive education as they believe that it will preserve their IK and pastoral culture. One male elder (elder 2), for instance, advised me that *“While you are in the UK, put it clear that we (Maasai) do not want to abandon our culture, but we want to continue preserving it for our future generations”*. Due to this, some Maasai recalled how traditional cultures were maintained during Nyerere’s era when they used to play the traditional dances in schools as opposed to Mwinyi, Mkapa, and Kikwete’s eras. Equally, the participants stated that they value a type of education that could preserve Maa as opposed to Kiswahili and English which undermine their tribal language in schools. This finding supports the argument by social justice theorists that using a language in which learners are proficient enables them to access the curriculum in productive and meaningful ways (Aikman, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

Moreover, the Maasai value a culturally sensitive education because it would help them to preserve ‘respect’ currently undermined by Western education in schools. The participants, for instance, questioned, *“When a schooled person respects his/her traditions, would that make him/her go astray?”*. Equally, the Maasai value a culturally relevant education since it would enable their children to gain skills essential for combining the best of the traditional and modern livestock keeping. Raymond’s (2015) study also revealed the Maasai needed both types of education as they believed it would enable them to compete for opportunities and fight for their rights. For Maasai, therefore, a culturally responsive education would differ from the current formal education where Maasai children are completing school while ignorant of matters about pastoralism.

Self-reliant education (Education for self-reliance)

The process of traditional teaching and learning in the Maasai society can be termed as an ‘education for self-reliance’. Education for self-reliance (ESR) is associated with Nyerere who derived the concept from traditional African education and coined it to implement his philosophy of Ujamaa and Socialism after the Arusha Declaration of 1967 in Tanzania (See section 2.4.2, Chapter Two for details about ESR). The type of education practised by the Maasai is life-centred in character, aiming to prepare its graduates for self-reliant life inside the pastoral production system (Dangala, 1982). In this way, traditional Maasai education is geared towards serving the needs of a subsistence pastoral economy, rather than catering for the labour demands in the capitalist economy.

According to the participants, formal schooling is responsible for producing unproductive and dependent graduates who contribute nothing to pastoralism and the pastoral economy.

In their own opinions, some of the participants commented that:

A schooled person cannot be found in the village tending cattle. He would like to stay in office while viewing pastoralism and animal husbandry as occupations of the unschooled people. This affects production activities in Maasailand especially for students who reach the secondary school level, fail to pass their exams, and then return to rural areas (A focus group with the male parents, Group B, Meserani, 06/10/2014).

The current formal education is responsible for the creation of idlers and vagrants in the community since our children who are in school learn useless things inappropriate for our social realities, immediate needs, and the local environment. Thus, we feel that formal schooling makes Maasai children dislike engagement in livestock activities like before as most schooled individuals prefer living in urban areas to the countryside (A focus group with the female Maasai parents, Group F, Engaruka, 12/11/2014).

As the excerpts above show, the Maasai believe the higher their children get schooled, the more they become averse to livestock shepherding. The Maasai also believe that formal education corrupts their children since it makes them dislike living in rural areas also averse to pastoralism. For this reason, the participants raised the major anxiety over the relevance and meaningfulness of the content taught to their children in schools. For that matter, the participants were of the views that a valuable education to them is the one that can make their children both self-reliant and productive in the pastoral economy.

Given the above observations, as a way of promoting self-reliant ideals to the students, productive work may become an integral part of the school curriculum through integrating theory and practice. This type of education system might, in turn, help to provide relevant skills crucial for a self-reliant society, rather than the dependent one preparing its children for the labour market in a capitalist economy that does not deliver sufficient labour opportunities. The Maasai, therefore, prefer an education that can enable their children to be self-reliant and make them self-sustained in the pastoral economy.

Education for community service

The need for an *education for community service* among the Maasai is intended to prepare individuals for communal life and collective work in the subsistence pastoral economy, rather than individualistic life and paid labour in the capitalist economy. The demand for this type of education among the Maasai pastoralists stems from a traditional education system which emphasises the collective instincts as opposed to individualistic characters propagated through formal schooling (cf. Aikman, 1994). For the Maasai pastoralists, a

child belongs to the community and every parent is just considered as a caretaker of every child on behalf of the entire society. For this reason, all Maasai children are expected to provide services to the community and work for the collective well-being of the household and the whole society. Based on this principle, each Maasai family is expected to contribute some children for communal labour to the general herd in their locality.

The participants' emphasis on education for community services entails that a valuable education system is that which would train Maasai children for collective achievements, rather than personal accomplishments. One Maasai elder, for instance, noted that,

However brilliant or exceptional a person might be, one will be judged and considered as successful if he uses his talent and aptitude for the community service, and not for his/her personal gains (Personal conversations with the male Maasai elder 6, Engaruka, 05/11/2014).

The elder's remark above agrees with Ruto, Ongwenyi, and Mugo (2009) who argue that the culture of pastoralist groups is mainly communal as opposed to formal education which focuses on the individual. Also, for Maasai women, a valuable education should allow their daughters to return to their village and offer their services to the community. In their own voices, women opined that "*We value a type of education that will enable our daughters to return to the rural areas and work for the benefits of the whole community*". This suggests that a valued education for Maasai should be able to inculcate community service ideals in their children as opposed to individualistic ideals.

Empowering education (Education for empowerment)

The term 'empowerment' is used here to mean a process by which individuals, a group of people, and communities increase their access to and control over their political, social, and economic resources surrounding their environment. In education, the *empowerment* approach corresponds to the redistributive justice entailing increased access to educational resources by individuals and communities with the aim of raising their awareness and understanding (Aikman, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). The skills which individuals and communities develop through formal education, in turn, help them to gain greater control over their local environment and to participate actively in the development of their own lives. Central to empowerment, are the ways in which both individuals and communities can make use of their knowledge learnt through schooling to increase their access to power and resources around their local and national environments.

During my fieldwork, I came across a Maasai Women Development Organisation (MWEDO), the local NGO based in Arusha that deals with women empowerment in

Maasailand. I was interested in MWEDO's model which focuses on multidimensional aspects of education, health, and economic empowerment among the Maasai women and girls in Monduli, Longido, and Kiteto districts. Although MWEDO's emphasis has been on women and girls, I grasped that it may be necessary for them to design a comprehensive empowerment model involving the entire Maasai community. I would argue that the inclusive empowerment model is appropriate for tackling the root causes of social, political, and economic exclusion and injustices affecting the whole community. The inclusive and multidimensional approach to empowerment is also useful because it is more likely to receive support from all segments of the Maasai population while also avoid dealing with the problem of socio-economic and political injustices in isolation.

Accordingly, empowering education is a useful tool that can address various injustices that confront the Maasai community in all aspects of human life. The participants, for instance, mentioned some injustices in their society, including land annexation by government officials and private investors for commercial agriculture and tourism without compensation. For Fraser (1995), all these issues are associated with socioeconomic injustices rooted in the political-economic structure of society. As such, an education system which focuses on political, economic, cultural, gender, and land rights within the school system may be more appropriate for Maasai. MWEDO, for instance, has successfully been running an adult education programme on reproductive health, land, and gender rights, albeit focusing on women. This suggests that apart from the primary and secondary levels of schooling, adult education focusing on various topics in political, cultural, and land rights might be important for the Maasai pastoralists.

However, one of the major flaws of the current empowerment approaches for pastoralists through formal education has been too much emphasis on the interest of the 'child' as an individual entity, while overlooking the collective benefit of the family and the community as understood by the Maasai themselves. For this reason, the empowerment of pastoralist societies through formal education using Western models is quite different from the empowerment model utilised by the Maasai who focus on empowering the entire family and the community. This suggests that an education model that puts the interest of the child above the collective interest of the family and the community overlooks the very essence of Maasai society in which the social organisation, reproduction, and the survival of the pastoral economy rest solely on the household as the basic unit of survival as opposed to an individual (Ndagala, 1982). In this context, the empowerment of the Maasai

pastoralists would only succeed if the approaches to education will consider the best interest of the family and the community as opposed to an individual child.

6.3.3 Section conclusion

This section has indicated that valued education for Maasai not only should it sustain pastoralism, support livelihoods, and improve people's lives but also must be culturally responsive to their culture, language, and the local environment. This type of education should be able to complement what Maasai children learn in school by what they learn in their community in efforts to sustain people's livelihoods, pastoralism, and pastoral culture. In this way, the integration of both Indigenous and Western knowledge not only might allow the Maasai to cope with changes currently taking place in their local environment but also may maintain their dignity as 'people of cattle'. This section, therefore, suggests taking a critical approach to education practice that focuses on the relevance (how education is linked directly to people's real lives) and meaningfulness (what individuals and communities value in relation to the kind of life they prefer).

6.4 “Enkigúéna” as a basis for a Valued Maasai Education

This section introduces the Maa concept of *enkigúéna* and interrogates whether it might be used as the basis for a relevant and meaningful education among the Maasai pastoralists and their children in Maasailand. The first subsection conceptualises briefly the meaning of the concept and its importance in the Maasai community. The second subsection offers insights on the conduct, practice, and presentation of *enkigúéna* as a traditional Maasai meeting. The last subsection presents the rationale behind *enkigúéna* and the ways in which the concept can be applied as a culturally and locally-based approach for offering relevant and meaningful education among the pastoral Maasai.

6.4.1 Enkigúéna: Its meaning and importance in Maasai society

The term “enkigúéna” (pl. *inkiguenát*) is a Maa word which literally means “meeting” in English. The concept may also mean a *dialogue*, *discussion*, *debate*, and *conversation* because these qualities mostly feature in traditional Maasai meetings before reaching any consensus. The concept might further be extended to mean *advice*, *counselling*, *consultation*, and *decision*. Its word root is *-igúén-* from which various word classes are derived. One example of these words is *aigúén* (verb) which means to a) advise or counsel with wisdom b) to judge or charge somebody. Another verb is *aiguená* which means a) to discuss, deliberate or consider b) to decide. The noun forms of *-igúén-* word root include *aiguenakí* for counselling or advice; *enkigúéna* for a meeting; and *ɔlaigúénàni* for

a chief, judge or advisor. Fundamental to the above words is their association with each other and the way they can be applied in diverse contexts in the Maasai community.

Given the above understanding, the importance of *enkigúéna* in Maasai society cannot be overlooked. Some of its roles deserve mention here. First, although commonly associated with men and sometimes misconstrued as an institution of elders, *enkigúéna* remains a central built-in mechanism for information exchange and decision-making across age, gender, and sex in Maasai society (Goldman, 2006). Both men and women of all ages regularly use *enkigúéna* to exchange information and decide upon various issues affecting their age-group or the entire society. Second, *enkigúéna* provides a forum through which morans and girls learn and practise their argumentation and communication skills. The morans, for example, participate in elders' *enkigúéna* where they learn the art of speech, reasoning, and argumentation as well as the importance of unity and the value of dialogue in conflict resolutions. The same applies to the senior Maasai girls and the circumcised young women who take part in women's traditional meetings to gain such skills.

Also, *enkigúéna* provides a forum for a discussion, debate, and dialogue about various issues affecting diverse age-groups and the whole Maasai society. These traditional meetings offer an opportunity for individuals to present, debate, and discuss a variety of ideas, thoughts, and opinions about issues under consideration before reaching a consensus and deciding on a suitable course of action to be taken. According to Knowles (1993), reaching a possible consensus in traditional Maasai meetings, however, can only be achieved when there has been an exhaustive dialogue and debate about the matter under consideration. Moreover, *enkigúéna* is a built-in mechanism for settling disputes and resolving conflicts in Maasai society. In case of any quarrels, the Maasai always use *inkiguenát* to mediate and resolve them in a way that does not threaten social harmony and integrity of the community. The *inkiguenát*, therefore, provide a forum through which major disputes and conflicts in the society are resolved peacefully and non-violently.

In general, *enkigúéna* is an all-inclusive concept, covering a broad range of processes, functions, and activities involved in coordinating, organising, and operating traditional Maasai meetings. Such meanings vary from a dialogue, debate, and discussion to advice, counselling, and decision-making. In that regard, *enkigúéna* can be viewed as a traditional meeting pervasive in all aspects of Maasai life, including socio-cultural, political, and economic spheres. The Maasai pastoralists, therefore, use *enkigúéna* to negotiate and contest all social complexities, power relations, and conflicts in their community.

6.4.2 Practice, conduct, and presentation style of *enkigúéna* in Maasai society

Since the Maasai always hold meetings to discuss various affairs affecting their society, *enkigúéna* is a part and parcel of Maasai life and pastoral culture. During my fieldwork, for instance, a hot topic that instigated frequent local meetings was the discovery of 4.7 billion grammes of soda ash (sodium carbonate) deposits in the Engaruka Basin. Because of this discovery, the Maasai had to organise several meetings to discuss how they could negotiate with the government that needed 25 thousand hectares of land from them for the project of extracting it. For this reason, apart from taking part in other meetings, including those of the morans and elders, during my stay in Engaruka, I also participated in the community meetings discussing the discovery of soda ash and the planned development projects. The Maasai invited me to their local meetings so that I could offer some advice regarding what such discovery and its accompanying development projects meant for them. Through my regular attendance at these community meetings, I obtained enough information about the organisation, conduct, and the practice of *enkigúéna*.

Traditionally, *enkigúéna* for men is usually held under the shade of a big tree or at any open space where individuals can sit in a relaxed manner. Before commencing the meeting, all men position themselves in a circle while bunched into small groups of age-mates (Goldman, 2006). Once all people are seated, one senior elder stands up and says a blessing to open their meeting. After that, a traditional leader [*olaigúénàni*] who has called the meeting presents a problem, while all attendees listen to him carefully. If someone needs to speak, they must stand up at the centre of the circle so they can address the entire crowd. What matters most in these *enkigúéna* sessions is that every person has an equal right to contribute ideas and their contributions are heard and respected by others. In case of a dispute between two individuals, both will be given a chance to present their defence. Finally, the ideas and views contributed by all the people who attended the meeting are used as the basis for decision-making before reaching a final consensus.

Unlike men, women do not take part in the *enkigúéna* of the age-sets, clans, and elders, but they can participate in general community meetings. When present in such meetings, women will sit together in their groupings slightly separated out from men (Goldman, 2006). However, women have their own *enkigúéna*, which often occur at night, under the moonlight, and are usually called by senior married women. In contrast to men, when contributing ideas, women speak while sitting because they do not carry leaning sticks with them as men do. Women's meetings are often in preparation for a spiritual

pilgrimage to the mountain of God [*Oldonyo Lengai*] or to an *oloibóni* for fertility and rainfall blessings (Talle, 1988; Knowles, 1993; Spencer, 2003). Given a significant role of females in traditional rites, Maasai women may also hold meetings to discuss how to carry out important rituals such as the birth, circumcision, and wedding ceremonies.

6.4.3 Rationales behind *enkigúéna* as a basis for a valued Maasai education

In the context of the encounter between Indigenous and Western education, *enkigúéna* may act as a basis for enhancing relevant and meaningful educational experiences for the Maasai parents and their children. The rationale behind this includes:

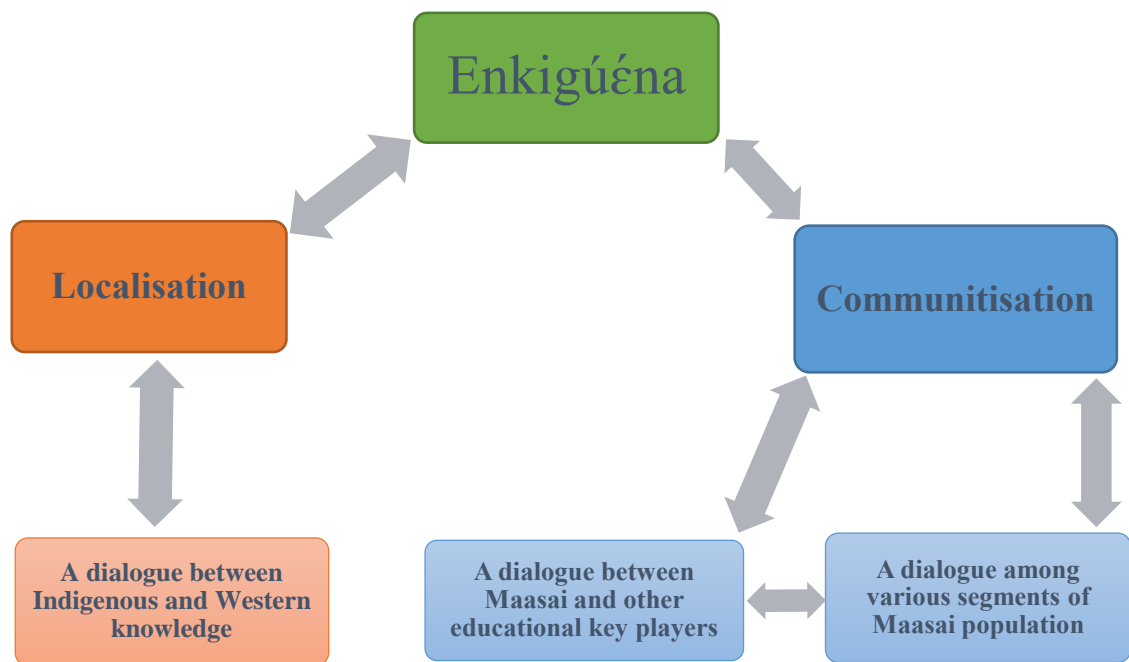


Figure 7: An *enkigúéna* framework for a relevant and meaningful education for Maasai

Enkigúéna as a basis for a dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge

While Indigenous and Western knowledge are regarded as separate, incompatible, and contradictory (Briggs, 2005; Maweu, 2011; Mawere, 2013), a dialogical perspective might consider both forms of knowledge as complementary and compatible (Briggs, 2005; Maweu, 2011; Mawere, 2013). Based on the dialogical perspective, I would argue that *enkigúéna* can act as an effective basis for fostering a constructive dialogue between diverse bodies of knowledge while perceiving them as equal in value and status (Schroder, 2006; Portera, 2011; Burford et al., 2012). The constructive dialogue between different knowledge systems and across diverse ways of knowing is consistent with *enkigúéna*, considering the principle of equality and joint respect conveyed in the traditional Maasai meetings. Equally, just as the voices of all peoples are heard and respected at *enkigúéna*, applying this approach might eliminate the demarcations between

Indigenous and Western knowledge. With the elimination of such boundaries, both forms of knowledge systems will be considered as equals in value and status without partitioning them off between science and ethno-science (Goldman, 2007).

Importantly, just as the views, ideas, and perspectives of several individuals are woven together to reach a mutual consensus in traditional Maasai *enkigúéna*, so diverse forms of knowledge systems can mutually coexist and enrich each other for a common goal. This mutual co-existence between knowledge systems is essential because through *enkigúéna*, it may be possible to choose between difference and sameness as well as multiplicity and singularity by drawing upon the contributions of both Indigenous and Western knowledge (Goldman, 2006). Similarly, *enkigúéna* would create a useful space through increasing collaboration while respecting differences between knowledge systems historically categorised basing on Western scientific knowledge as superior versus IK as inferior (Agrawal, 1995; Briggs, 2005). In education, therefore, *enkigúéna* calls for the necessity of subjecting diverse knowledge systems to a constructive dialogue necessary for generating a relevant and meaningful education for Maasai and their children.

Enkigúéna as a basis for a dialogue between Maasai and other educational players

Providing appropriate and meaningful education to pastoral societies, among others, remains a significant challenge chiefly because of the misunderstanding and conflict of interest between policy makers, planners, and practitioners who design, implement, and deliver educational services, and the perspectives of the Maasai pastoralists who are recipients of such services. The state functionaries, including decision makers, policy makers, planners, and teachers, for example, apply the top-down approach rather than the bottom-up strategy to formulate policies and implement education programmes without considering pastoralists' perspectives, immediate needs, aspirations, and local realities (Mohamed, 1999; Idris, 2011). Subsequently, the contribution of pastoralists in the design, development, and the provision of formal education has not been given adequate attention in the current top-down strategy (Hartwig, 2013). Nevertheless, the lack of a constructive dialogue between the Maasai pastoralists and other educational stakeholders is inhibited by the misconceptions held by the outsiders that many of their ideas and complex scientific data will not be well understood by recipients (Goldman, 2007).

Under such circumstances, *enkigúéna* becomes a vehicle for engaging the Maasai and policy makers, planners, and practitioners in a productive dialogue to eliminate the existing misunderstanding and conflict of interest between them. Through the principle

of *respect* [*enkányit*] highly encouraged in traditional Maasai meetings, *enkigúéna* would ensure that the contributions of the Maasai are both sought and valued by outsiders when designing, developing, and implementing education programmes in their society. In such situations, *enkigúéna* becomes a useful tool for drawing together conflicting perspectives between the Maasai and the outsiders so that both sides can reach a consensus about a kind of education that may be relevant to and meaningful for pastoralist groups. However, in practice, this approach can be achieved through “communitisation” as an appropriate strategy for involving the Maasai in designing, implementing, and running alternative education programmes in their community (See subsection 6.5.3 for further details).

Enkigúéna as a basis for a constructive dialogue among the Maasai themselves

Like other societies in the world, the Maasai are not homogenous, but a heterogeneous community. Regardless of the existing disagreement about whether Maasai society is egalitarian or not (cf. Rigby, 1992), the fact remains that its population comprises people who differ based on age, sex, gender, and socioeconomic status. With this heterogeneity, the Maasai community comprises people with different views and ideas as well as discordant interests and aspirations towards formal education. It was revealed, for instance, that some Maasai parents have had negative experiences with schooling, while others felt that the school belongs to the government and they had nothing to contribute to the school. In such contexts, *enkigúéna* would provide a forum for dialogues among individuals and between different segments of Maasai society with conflicting goals and ambitions as well as varied expectations for and perspectives on formal education.

In that regard, through *enkigúéna*, various individuals and different segments of the Maasai population would reach a consensus about a kind of education which they may desire as relevant to and meaningful for them as a community. Integral to *enkigúéna* is to reach a consensus (singularity of decision-making) about a topic under discussion by drawing together multiple ideas, views, thoughts, and perspectives from various individuals and all segments of the Maasai population. Considering that the principle of *respect* and *equality* allow all people present at *enkigúéna* to speak, present their ideas, and be listened to by others before reaching a consensus, *enkigúéna* would be instrumental in making the voice of each individual and various segments of Maasai society visible in the debates and discussions about appropriate educational programmes. This agrees with Goldman (2006) argument that through discussions and dialogues at *enkigúéna*, even the views that are incompatible can become not only coherent to others but also visible.

6.4.4 Section conclusion

Enkigúéna provides a basis for a constructive dialogue, interaction, and exchange not only among cultures and across diverse forms of knowledge systems, but also, between individuals and among various segments of the population in the community. As Goldman (2006) puts it, through *enkigúéna*, both traditional and Western knowledge systems as well as the Maasai and the scientists are not separated out into separate analyses, but are viewed, expressed, and offered side by side in all their multiplicity. While *enkigúéna* cannot be viewed as a flawless traditional Maasai institution, the principles associated with it provides a built-in mechanism for generating debates and dialogues that recognise differences while striving for unity and consensus. This suggests that through a productive interaction between diverse forms of knowledge systems, a relevant and meaningful education for the Maasai pastoralists can be achieved.

6.5 An Enkigúéna Approach to a Relevant and Valued Education for Maasai

In Chapter Five, we looked at Noonkodin school which through using IK tried in various ways to offer a relevant and meaningful education for Maasai. Despite its attempt, this school has failed to provide a counterhegemonic Maasai education partly because of the structural limitations of being located within modern Tanzanian state replete with the hegemonic values of capitalism which run counter to its stated goals. But also, we found that by externalising both the idea and the funding of the IK programme onto foreign sources, the IK project at the school was marred by critical challenges during the implementation. This is particularly the case since the projects lacked the grassroots support as the Maasai community was not actively involved in the project. Correspondingly, in the previous section (6.4) of this chapter, I have introduced the Maa concept of *enkigúéná* as a response to what I saw as the main problem facing the NGO school in its attempts to offer a relevant and meaningful education for Maasai. With these foundations already laid before us, we can now interrogate how through *enkigúéná*, IK can be utilised to provide valued educational experiences for Maasai pastoralists.

6.5.1 Localisation approach to education practice in Maasai society

As we saw in Chapter Five (section 5.4), the provision of counterhegemonic Maasai education at Noonkodin, the NGO-based school in Maasailand operates around a discourse of ‘indigenisation’. As a concept, indigenisation entails a process of making something indigenous or returning to that which is indigenous. Yet, the postcolonial critique of *indigenisation* discourse shows that a magical return to uncontaminated

indigenous is impossible since all colonising and colonised cultures are always in a state of change and some form of cultural interaction (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). This observation agrees with Bainton's argument that if something is indigenous, it can neither be indigenised nor made to be so. In efforts to avoid the limitations of indigenisation discourse, Bhabha (1994) has focused upon 'hybridity' with its potential for promoting a constructive dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. Alongside eliminating an illusory dichotomy of tradition versus modernity (Marglin, 1995), hybridity is also credited with transcending essentialism on the understanding that cultural interaction is historically unavoidable (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

Nonetheless, the problem with hybridity is that it is being asserted in a context where the *force majeure* of the global discourses favours the non-indigenous. According to Marglin (1995), hybridity has an unfortunate resonance with the term 'hybrid variety' that renders the agency of indigenous people overlooked and invisible. This dilemma is exactly what we saw in the example of a Noonkodin school that we looked at in Chapter Five (section 5.4). This observation suggests that the call to indigenisation and hybridity as forms of agency in the colonial discourse will always have to overcome many hurdles that continue to challenge the provision of counterhegemonic education in indigenous communities. In this thesis, I have introduced the concept of 'localisation' as a way of offering another possibility of a productive dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. Given that the traditional Maasai knowledge is context-specific, adaptable to changing environments, and always in interactions with other types of knowledge, utilising it for providing a counterhegemonic education might involve a process of *localisation*.

In this study, the term *localisation* implies a process of localising something like a curriculum, education or school to make it more reflective of the local environment where a particular community lives. The term also entails a relative autonomy and freedom by local education authorities and schools to adapt a national curriculum to local conditions and relate the content of the curricula and the processes of teaching and learning to the local environment (UNESCO, 2003; Taylor, 2005). This suggests that the localisation approach to curriculum, stresses not only the content of what is taught to and might be learned by students in school but also the process of teaching and learning. In this regard, utilising traditional knowledge in offering relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai students through the process of localisation emphasises,

The importance of linking education to the physical and cultural environment in which students and schools are situated and where people have acquired a deep and abiding sense of place and relationship to the land in which they have lived for millennia (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p.19).

Due to this, localisation would necessitate the need for bringing in and making schools locally relevant in some ways by ensuring that the curriculum, methods, and learning materials are related to the direct experience, local environment, and learners' daily lives (Miller & Pittman, 1995; Taylor & Mulhall, 1997). This process might be achieved by using local materials in the teaching-learning process as well as by building on pupils' experience from outside the school (Taylor & Mulhall, 1997). In this way, localising teaching and learning not only can reinforce the utilisation of traditional knowledge in offering a relevant and meaningful education, but also can help to preserve traditional cultures of indigenous, nomadic, and pastoralist ethnic communities while integrating them into the broader national and global economy (UNESCO, 2003; Taylor, 2005).

6.5.2 Constructivist learning approach to education practice in Maasai society

As we saw in Chapter Five (section 5.2.2), learning processes in Maasailand schools are characterised by memorising and rote learning strategies that make students passive and powerless in the classroom contexts. Also, we saw that the teaching methods used by teachers in the classroom are inadequate characterised by limited student-teacher interaction, exclusive teacher regime and control over the legitimization of knowledge, communication, and evaluation. These teaching methodologies and methods not only suppress the traditional practices of the Maasai but also exclude all the previous skills, knowledge, and experiences of the learners from the educational processes. For this reason, alongside localisation, this chapter also introduces the concept of "constructivist learning" as a response to the teaching-learning problems identified in Chapter Five.

Constructivist learning theory evolved from the extensive study of cognitive development by Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget who is associated with cognitive constructivism and the Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky who is associated with social constructivism (Weegar & Pacis, 2012). Cognitive constructivists concentrate on the importance of the mind in learning, whereas social constructivists focus on the key role played by the environment and the interaction between learners (Schcolnik, Kol & Abarbanel, 2006). While the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, underpinning both is the belief that students learn by constructing their own knowledge through active participation in their

learning (Rummel, 2008). Thus, the constructivists believe that learning involves an active construction and not passive acquisition of knowledge (Weegar & Pacis, 2012).

As such, constructivism is a useful approach that can be used to enhance relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai students in schools as the theory considers knowledge not seen as a commodity to be transferred from expert to learner, but rather as a construct to be pieced together through an active process of involvement and interaction with the environment (Schcolnik, Kol & Abarbanel, 2006). This means that under constructivism, the construction of knowledge is completed by the interaction of learners' previous and new knowledge and experiences (Jia, 2010). This is mainly because humans are unable to automatically understand and use information that they have been given because they need to "construct" their own knowledge through prior personal experiences to enable them to create mental images (Rummel, 2008). In the context of the learning environment in Maasailand schools, learning activities need to be characterised by active engagement, inquiry, problem-solving, and collaboration with others (Weegar & Pacis, 2012) as opposed to the current teaching-learning strategies.

Considering that Maasai students join formal schools with rich previous skills, knowledge, and experiences from their own community, the teaching-learning process should make use of them as the starting point of new knowledge acquisition in the classroom. Rather than a dispenser of knowledge, the teacher in Maasailand schools should be a guide and facilitator who encourage learners to question, challenge and formulate their own ideas, opinions, and conclusions (Gulati, 2008). In other words, teachers working in Maasailand schools should be the designers of the learning environment, the guides for students' learning, and the academic advisors and consultants for students (Jia, 2010). Under constructivism, the teacher-centred methods of teaching-learning that consider the teacher as the centre for conveying knowledge and students as the passive receivers of knowledge must be discarded to make learning more meaningful. The primary role of the teacher, therefore, should be to motivate children to create their own knowledge through their personal knowledge and experiences (Rummel, 2008).

6.5.3 Communitisation approach to education practice in Maasai society

The concept of 'communitisation' entails a process of 'communitising' or making something like school belong to the community. In this sense, communitisation implies a community-education nexus involving the ownership of education by the community (UNDP, 2011). While both terms 'community school' and 'communitised school' may

be used interchangeably, in this thesis, the latter is preferred to the former since the latter refers to a product which emanates from the communitisation process. In a similar vein, I prefer the notion of a communitised school to a community school to distinguish it with the so-called ‘community schools’ currently in place in Tanzania since they are merely a replica of other public schools under a different guise. For this reason, I have offered the concept of a ‘communitisation’ not only as a means of providing agency to the community at the grassroots level but also as a way of reinforcing a productive dialogue between the Maasai and other key players in education like policy makers, planners, and teachers.

As a response to the failure of engaging the Maasai community in providing counterhegemonic education as we saw in the examples of the NGO school (cf. section 5.4), communitisation seeks to make education more participatory in character through an active engagement of the community in the formal education of their children. Through ownership of and participation in formal education, for instance, the communitisation approach would empower the Maasai pastoralists to take an active role in the development of their own education system. This creates a paradigm shift in development circles which is viewed as the hallmark of “people’s empowerment” (UNDP, 2011). Also, by reinforcing a closer link between the school and the community, the communitisation process acts as a catalyst for parents’ support for and active participation in the education of their children. In addition to minimising conflicts between schools and communities, schools and families, and teachers and parents, the approach also might enhance democracy in school as parents get involved in school matters (Uemura, 1999).

Due to this, I would emphasise the need for communitising schools in Maasailand so that the traditional leaders, elders, parents, and their children can actively participate in planning, designing, implementing, and evaluating school programmes. This strategy is informed by ‘participatory justice’ that is central to Fraser’s framework as it specifies the reach of other dimensions of social justice (Fraser, 2005; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Also, measures might be taken to ensure effective representation of traditional Maasai leaders, elders, parents, and their children at all levels of decision-making, running the school, and school administration. From the social justice perspective, decision-making and representation in education are crucial in ensuring that the voices of the marginalised are heard in educational processes and policy debates (Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Cazden, 2012). Likewise, some community members might be used as a rich resource to support teachers’

teaching and facilitate children's learning by providing them with teaching materials which are culturally sensitive and more familiar to children (Uemura, 1999).

6.5.4 Section conclusion

The localisation, constructivism, and communitisation approaches discussed in this section have highlighted the importance of localising and communitising schools so that individuals and communities can actively be involved in providing formal education. Yet, using IK as the basis for localising education in Maasailand must overcome the challenge related to the power of Western knowledge. This is mainly because the localisation and constructivist approaches value IK resources and learners' previous knowledge that are considered as inferior, unscientific, and primitive against the hegemonic backdrop of Western knowledge. Also, given that IK is context-based, adaptable, and not normally packaged like school materials, utilising it for offering appropriate education is a challenging task (George, 1999). Equally, communitisation that stresses an active involvement of communities in formal education would require tackling the issues of power and conflicts between individuals and among various segments of the population in Maasai society. Besides this, the relation of power between teachers and parents must be reconciled as the former may feel that they are losing their authority to the parents.

6.6 Summary and Conclusion

The findings have indicated the diversity of responses to and contested perspectives on Western education among the Maasai pastoralists, varying from the positive and negative responses to the neutral responses or combination of both. The variety of responses suggests that not only are the Maasai becoming increasingly a more complex society but also both as a changing and unchanging community characterised by the presence of the traditionalists, centrists, and progressives. With a variety of responses to formal education, the chapter's findings suggest the need for a dialogue among various sections of the Maasai population to reach a consensus on what kind of education would be relevant to and meaningful for their lives, pastoral culture, and livelihoods. The findings have revealed that the Maasai value a sort of education system that might not only sustain their culture, pastoralism, and traditional knowledge, but also support people's livelihoods and improve their lives. Also, the findings have revealed that the Maasai value the education system oriented towards not only preparing children for productive work and community service in their society but also equipping learners with self-reliant ideals and practical skills essential for contributing to the well-being of the whole society. Equally,

the Maasai prefer an education system that is grounded in the realities, perspectives, and aspirations of the parents and their children, while also empowering them to recognise their political, land, and human rights essential for enhancing their communal capabilities.

For this matter, the debate about the future of Maasai society of which both traditional and formal education are merely minor parts of development discourse is still a hot one. A promising future for Maasai will depend on the extent to which they will manage to mediate various forms of tensions, conflicts, and contradictions which are still in place in their society. This chapter has emphasised not only the importance of developing the appropriate models of education but also the new ways of raising Maasai children that are compassionate to their IK, pastoral culture, and local environments. Nevertheless, achieving relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai would require the use of *enkigúéna*, a locally based approach that emphasises a dialogue between various peoples and cultures as well as across diverse forms of knowledge. This approach would require involving localisation, constructivism, and communitisation approaches to reinforce a local-community nexus in the provision of education in pastoral societies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOMEReturning

7.1 Introduction

Throughout this thesis, I have wandered through a variety of hills and valleys while narrating the practices of both Indigenous and Western education in Maasai society. While on this journey, I have written thousands of words in my ambition of twisting into the alternative ways of knowing in research. I have labelled this final chapter as “home-returning” to signify what Bainton (2007, p.194) calls “*A violent return to the ‘home’, back to the ‘centre’, back to the starting point of a journey*”. Due to this, I find it useful to give up my wandering and return to the home where the journey began. This home is a return to the research questions elucidated at the starting point of the voyage. Given this stance, each chapter of the thesis is a response to the research questions in relation to how the fieldwork data answered them. The final chapter, therefore, summarises the main findings of each chapter, their conclusions, and implications based on the research questions. Equally, the chapter reflects upon the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in the thesis. Finally, the contribution of the thesis to the body of knowledge, the possibilities for further research, and key conclusions are presented.

7.2 Summary of the Main Findings

The primary purpose of this research was to investigate the extent to which the tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western education hamper the provision of relevant and meaningful educational experiences among the Maasai pastoralists in Monduli. The research questions that were investigated included the following:

- a) What is Indigenous Knowledge among the Maasai pastoralists and how is that knowledge articulated in their community?
- b) What have been the Maasai’s responses to and perspectives on formal education practices in their community?
- c) What are the Maasai students’ experiences with and perceptions of formal education practices and processes in the school contexts?
- d) How through using Indigenous Knowledge (IK) might the encounter between Indigenous and Western education support a more sustainable and culturally relevant education system among the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania?

To answer those questions, I carried out two research tasks in the fieldwork. First, I explored IK practices and its articulations in the Maasai community. This research task covered the first question above. Second, I studied the schooling processes, practices, and the experiences of the Maasai pastoralists within the context of their encounter with Western education. Below are the main findings emerging from this research.

7.2.1 Traditional knowledge and its articulations in the Maasai community

The traditional learning systems and socialisation patterns among the Maasai are holistic, gendered, and age-based following the hierarchical lifecycle stages known as the “age-set system”. Being holistic, gendered, and age-set based, the types of training and socialisation patterns that both boys and girls receive in their community not only encompasses integrated and multiple learning, but also they are passed on to them in a controlled way. Equally, the mechanisms of knowledge transmission in traditional Maasai education constitute not only physical and non-physical spaces but also several socialising agents, learning channels, and social institutions through which IK is exchanged across age, gender, and sex. In this way, the traditional Maasai education is imbedded in people’s lived experiences as they interact with their both physical and social environments as well as engage with their day-to-day production activities. This suggests the traditional Maasai education is not rigid, fixed, and static but is adaptable to the changing circumstances over time as a way of ensuring the survival of the community.

Besides everyday learning, traditional Maasai education is articulated through periodic performances of various rituals such as birth, circumcision, and marriage ceremonies patterned on various levels of lifecycle stages in the age-set system hierarchy. Traditional Maasai rituals are a necessary part of the educational processes playing a pivotal role not only in the transformation of an individual from childhood to adulthood but also in culminating into the formation of one’s ‘personhood’ towards being a complete ‘Maasai’. In this way, the formation of a complete, communal, and socialised “Maasai person” is accomplished through traditional rituals as another aspect of schooling. This suggests that the traditional Maasai education is both a life-long learning and a transformational process paralleled by dual processes of everyday life and ritualised practices woven together to transform a natural Maasai child into a social being-person. The findings conclude that the traditional practices and socialisation patterns among the Maasai necessitate and are necessitated by an elaborate education system with an evolving and adaptive capacity to ensure the survival and the future existence of their community.

7.2.2 Maasai's responses to and perspectives on formal education in their society

The findings showed that the Maasai value a sort of education system that not only might sustain their culture, pastoralism, and traditional knowledge, but also improve peoples' lives and support their livelihoods. This suggests that valued education for Maasai should aim at preserving their cultural and social heritage as well as improving people's lives and wellbeing in their local environments. The findings have also demonstrated that the valued education for the Maasai must be designed in such a way that schooling can offer valuable skills and knowledge that not only might respond to their complex and changing social needs, but also should reflect their complex and rapidly changing social, cultural, and physical environments in which they live as pastoralists today. In the light of the findings, the thesis draws a key conclusion that an education system profoundly embedded in traditional knowledge, pastoral culture, and local environment and positioned to reflect more fully on the people's learning needs, values, and the future of the community is an education that is more likely to be valued by the Maasai.

Correspondingly, the findings have indicated the diversity of responses to and contested perspectives on Western education among the Maasai pastoralists, varying from the positive and negative responses to the neutral responses (combination of both). Individuals with positive responses towards education assume that it is high time for the Maasai to abandon their traditional culture and modernise their life, while those with negative responses believe that their society should continue with its IK and pastoral culture without embracing modernisation. However, the Maasai with the neutral response believe that both traditional and formal education have strengths and weaknesses which necessitate the need for combining both the traditional and modern life. Due to mixed responses and considering that it may be difficult to reach a consensus among individuals, the thesis concludes that dialogue might be needed to allow the Maasai to decide on the alternative option which can work best for all segments of people in the community.

7.2.3 Maasai students' encounter with formal education in the school contexts

The findings highlighted the Maasai students' life and experiences in schools as tough and challenging not only because of lacking parents' support for their education but also lacking school meals and the long distance that they must walk to and from school every day. The findings also highlighted a severe communication problem among the Maasai students resulting from using Kiswahili and English as the languages of instruction in the primary and secondary schools respectively, thereby making them not only fail to

understand the lessons and perform well in the tests and exams but also limit their interaction with teachers and participation in the classroom as active learners. Moreover, the findings showed that the Maasai students face cultural tensions in school since they need to fulfil the requirements of both the home/community where they are required to attend the grazing fields for boys or domestic chores for girls and those of the school where they are supposed to do some homework and assignments. This causes high pressure to Maasai students leading to absenteeism, irregular school attendance, and dropout because balancing between home and school needs has been difficult for them. Equally, the findings demonstrated that the experiences of Maasai students in the school are dominated by fear, intimidation, and suffering that limit their autonomy and freedom due to excessive caning and corporal punishments inflicted by teachers on them. The thesis, therefore, concludes that the tensions and conflicts between traditional and formal schooling play a major role in shaping the experiences of Maasai students in schools.

Likewise, the findings have indicated that the innovation of the IK curriculum at Noonkodin Secondary School in Maasailand has been caught in a complex web of ambivalent goals that put the school in a catch-22 situation, first by the passion for offering an alternative co-curriculum responsive to Maasai culture, but second, by the zeal for the academic achievements of their students in attempts to fulfil the prospects of the mainstream national curriculum. With this ambivalent goal, we find that Noonkodin has achieved little in terms of providing relevant and meaningful educational experiences for the Maasai pastoralists as IK was not taking place as envisioned, while, at the same, the school has embedded western education, under a veneer of indigenisation. In the light of the research findings, the thesis concludes that although the NGO-based school has attempted in diverse ways to resist formal education by including IK programme alongside Tanzania's national curriculum, there are still not enabling environment, structures, and infrastructural facilities currently available to support a successful running of the course against the hegemonic backdrop of Western education structures.

7.2.4 Using IK for offering a relevant and meaningful education for the Maasai within the context of the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge

The findings showed that the *enkigúéná* approach through *localisation*, *constructivism*, and *communitisation* can be applied to offer relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai pastoralists. While localisation and constructivism focus on the reconfiguration of the school system and teaching-learning processes, communitisation

concentrates on the transformation processes within the community itself as the user of educational services. The localisation of teaching and constructivist learning approaches draw on IK as an integral part of the curriculum and employ local materials and learners' prior knowledge and experiences in the teaching-learning process. Through localisation, for example, it might be possible to utilise Maasai IK in dynamic ways while embracing new changes to the education system. In this way, the localised teaching and constructivist learning would strengthen the link between the school and the local environment in which the school is situated, thereby preserving traditional knowledge of the pastoralist communities, while also integrating them into the wider national and global economy.

Similarly, through the communitisation process, formal education would become more relevant to and meaningful for the local needs since the communitised schools are to be better integrated into both the local environment and the community in which schools are located. By drawing on IK resources and active engagement of Maasai parents, the communitised schools are in a better position of making educational programmes more relevant to and meaningful for learners. The research, for instance, has shown that parents may be involved in designing learning materials that reflect children's everyday lives in their society. Also, through teaching practical subjects and integrating productive activities relating to the daily lives of learners, the communitised schools might allow Maasai children to contribute to and reintegrate into their communities upon completion of their formal schooling. Eventually, communitisation would make education relevant to and meaningful for learners through enhancing democracy in school as parents get involved in school matters and address injustices in the entire school institutions.

7.3 Reflections upon Theories and Methodologies

This research has raised various issues that hold implications for theories and methodologies used in the thesis. Some reflections deserve mention here:

7.3.1 Theoretical reflections

This thesis holds some significant implications on theory and diverse ways through which the findings of the research can inform new theoretical perspectives. In keeping with postcolonial, world system, and social justice theories informing the thesis, the results have revealed the extent to which both colonial and postcolonial policies and practices in Tanzania have been instrumental not only in marginalising IK of the Maasai but also in excluding them in formal education. This thesis adds to the current theoretical debate towards an understanding of what Aikman (2011, p.16) calls "indigenous justice" for

education in Africa. In the context of pastoral communities, the indigenous justice agenda must be considered because policy processes, discourses, and educational practices are dominated by issues of funding and resources as well as access to formal education (Tikly & Dachi, 2009). But such agendas squeeze out space for serious consideration of the processes of schooling and what is a relevant and meaningful education, and for whom, in the broad range of historical and contemporary African contexts (Aikman, 2011).

Based on such limitation, the thesis identifies four dimensions that are worthy of reflections towards a possible understanding of indigenous justice for education in pastoral societies. The indigenous social justice approach offers an alternative framework for addressing the injustices and the learning needs of pastoral societies that are sidestepped in the current policy processes, discourses, and educational practices at both national and international contexts. Reflections on these four dimensions may further act as a basis for indigenous justice agenda in the current theoretical discussions about education and development in pastoralist and other indigenous groups in the world.

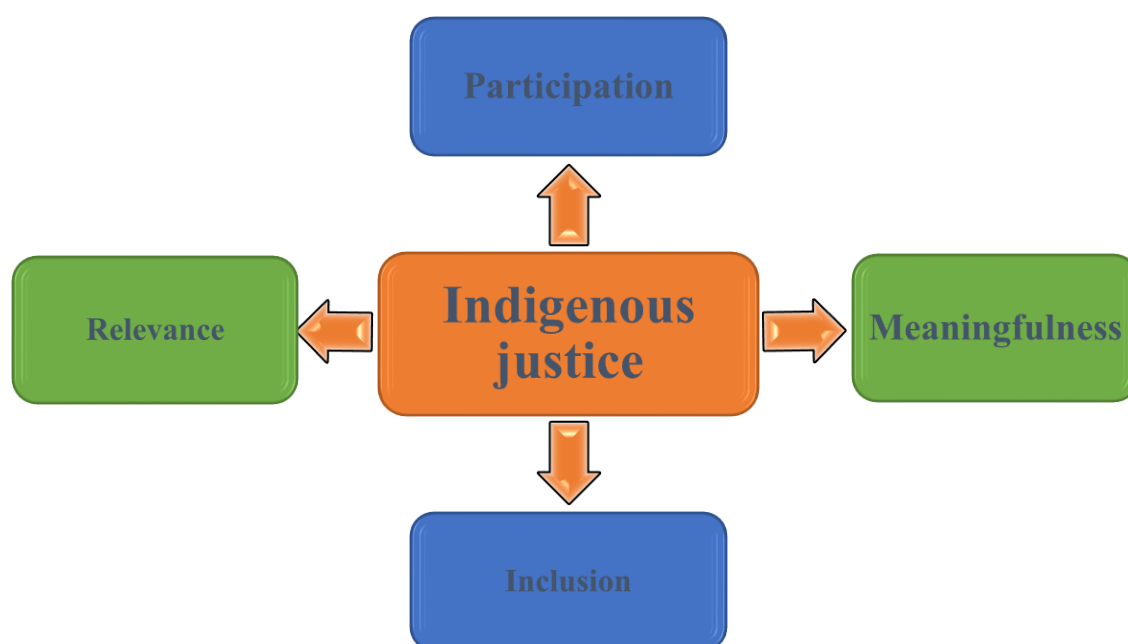


Figure 8: An Indigenous justice framework for education among the pastoralists

The indigenous justice approach proposed here comprises four dimensions: *participation*, *inclusion*, *relevance*, and *meaningfulness* (See Figure 8). While the first two dimensions are concerned with providing agency and giving voices to individuals and communities, the two other dimensions are concerned with providing agency to IK resources in the

current practices of formal education in the marginalised communities. As Figure 8 shows, the four dimensions of indigenous social justice are elaborated as follows:

Participation

Employing postcolonial theory, this thesis has problematised how Maasai voices are marginalised in Tanzania's school system. As a remedy to misrepresentation in education, pastoralist communities need to reframe the nature of their participation and their decision-making (Aikman, 2011). Central to participation is the need to increase the community's inputs into the education system through an active involvement of pastoral groups, not in the restricted sense of sending their children to school, but in the much bigger sense of controlling and making decisions about a kind of school curriculum they may prefer and how schools should operate in their local environments. For pastoralist communities, participation is necessary to accord agency to them as marginalised peoples, so they engage actively in educational debates about the nature and type of education relevant to and meaningful for challenges they face in their local environment as pastoralists (Aikman, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Importantly, the assertion of local voice is a necessary exercise in resisting domination and the colonial imposition of the marginalised pastoralist groups (Dei, 2008). The thesis, therefore, calls for a critical theoretical reflection upon the importance of participation as a democratic process relating to the active involvement of individuals and communities in control over, decision-making about, and running the school institutions in their local areas.

Inclusion

The inclusion dimension is a social justice approach that seeks to respond to the diversity and needs of all children, youth, and adults while focusing precisely on learners who are susceptible to exclusion and marginalisation (UNESCO, 2005). The critical social justice theories proposed in this thesis call for the necessity not only of responding to the access that different individuals and groups have to a good and relevant education (Tikly & Barrett, 2011) but also of addressing the learning needs of all learners by providing the enabling environment, structures, and strategies that would allow them to learn and succeed within the school system (Tikly & Dachi, 2009). Based on both postcolonial and social justice theories, this research highlights the need for a holistic approach that can address the economic, socio-cultural, and political injustices which deter the inclusion of pastoralist communities in formal education. Through Fraser's (2005) redistributive justice, educational resources for use by teachers and learners ought to be diverse and

should be optimally distributed in ways that cater to the learning needs of learners from marginalised societies. From social justice perspective, therefore, not only is the inclusion dimension about increasing access to and turning up pastoralist children in the formal schools but also, is all about making them learn and succeed in the education system.

Relevance

The relevance dimension is concerned with the learning experiences that are directly linked in some way to real-world matters, lives, and local environments of individuals and communities. The two key aspects of the relevance dimension in education contain the curriculum content and the processes of schooling. This thesis, for instance, has indicated that Tanzania's school curriculum is irrelevant to the Maasai because of its failure to consider the local realities and the cultures upon which pastoral societies are instituted. But through postcolonial lens, we have seen Maasai agency and how they can resist dominant discourses, including irrelevant school curriculum and the language of instruction. In such context, the social justice approach offers a remedy to the irrelevance of the curriculum content and the language of instruction by stressing the need for grounding the education system in established cultures of pastoral societies (Rose, 2010). Consequently, this would require not only the recognition of the distinct cultures of pastoralists but also an integration into the school curriculum of their histories, language, cultures, and knowledges (Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Cazden, 2012). In this way, the social justice agenda would ensure that the education system accounts for the peoples' real life and is anchored in their culture, histories, and knowledge that reflect the socio-cultural, economic, and political needs of the local communities (Semali, 1999; Dei, 2008).

Meaningfulness

The meaningfulness dimension is concerned with the meanings, beliefs, and values attached to education by individuals and communities. The thesis has revealed that individuals in Maasailand attach different meanings and values to formal education which hold implications in the way they make decisions about and participate in it. This suggests that an education system informed by critical social justice agenda should consider the Maasai as peoples with the valued ways of life and ways of being that are distinct from those transmitted in the national school systems (Kaunga, 2005). As such, recognitional justice might be achieved when the meanings and values embedded in the education system are tallied with those of the Maasai. Equally, recognitional justice should go beyond the curricula content by identifying the meanings and values attached by

individuals to formal education as the basis for providing the Maasai with meaningful educational experiences. From social justice viewpoint, therefore, a meaningful education is a type of the education system that offers valuable knowledge, experiences, and skills which add value and meaning to the lives, realities, and livelihoods of individuals and communities by articulating their immediate needs, concerns, and aspirations.

7.3.2 Methodological reflections

Although the *glocalised methodology* employed in this thesis is my own creation, the methodology aligns well with other post-colonial research approaches in social research. Being new and nascent, some research procedures, methods, and tools applied in the study were experimental based at a high level of try-outs, modifications, and adaptations. This methodological design was chosen because of its suitability for addressing the question of knowledge and power in research. Under the *glocalised methodology*, research undertaking is viewed as a process of dialogue between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems (Nakata, 2007; McGinty, 2012) which is essential for addressing the problem of unequal power relations between knowledge systems and across diverse cultures in research (Bristol, 2012). With the *glocalised design*, it was possible for me to conduct research not only by using multiple methods from diverse knowledge systems and worldviews but also, adapting western research methods to local conditions and inventing new techniques more appropriate to the local contexts (Gobo, 2011). Despite its incipience, for example, the methodology enabled me to employ ethnographic methods alongside indigenous methods of inquiry in the productive, complementary, and meaningful ways, thereby proving that the design is a useful research strategy.

Importantly, by adapting the dominant ethnographic methods and procedures to the local contexts using collaborative techniques, including the use of local research assistants, I managed successfully to conduct research in a sensitive manner without compromising the local culture and values of the Maasai community. Also, the dialogic techniques of interviewing gave power to the participants who were considered as people who know best about their IK, while the researcher was the student who was there to learn their knowledge from the community. In this way, my research gave enough voice to all segments of Maasai populations, including men and women. Alongside its methods and techniques, the *glocalised methodology* suggests that research undertaking is a co-construction of knowledge between the researcher, research assistants, and the participants. The *glocalised methodological approach*, therefore, offers new insights that

can spark debate in social research particularly among researchers interested in investigating IK in the marginalised ethnic-groups and other indigenous communities.

One significant implication of the glocalised methodology in social research can be seen through different ways applied to manage ethical issues, including informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and giving back using the value systems of the participants (Chilisa, 2012). The value systems of the Maasai pastoralists, for example, have offered us a lesson that when researching the marginalised and pastoralist groups, it is crucial to consider giving back to the community by ensuring that your research project is beneficial to you, the participants, and the community. This concurs with the postcolonial emancipatory agenda which requires researchers to avoid any forms of extractive research projects in the indigenous communities (Hart, 2010; Kovach, 2012). The failure to recognise the indigenous ways of knowing to the design of research, therefore, has the potential to implicate postcolonial researchers in the maintenance, reproduction, and dominance of Westernised ways of knowledge creation in research (Bristol, 2012).

Consequently, due to my experience of researching the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge in Maasailand, in paraphrasing the words of Bainton (2007), I have come to understand a theory not as a framework that prefigures other parts of the research process, but as something that acts in a dialectic with them, and in so doing is itself transformed. This understanding of the dialectic relationship between theory, methodology, and methods highlights the transformative nature of the research encounter where the experiential and theoretical nexus is woven together into meaningful ways. Nevertheless, researching traditional knowledge in the context of the hegemony of Western knowledge not only requires one to side with theories which are compassionate to the subjugated knowledges, but also the methodologies and methods of data generation that might offer an alternative and useful space for decolonising research knowledge.

7.4 Thesis Claims to New Knowledge

This thesis has carried out a thorough investigation into the tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings that exist in the encounter between Indigenous and Western education systems among the Maasai pastoralists. In that way, not only has the thesis carried out a thorough investigation into the indigenous education systems among the Maasai but also has systematically documented the patterns of socialisation in both their traditional and current forms. For this reason, the thesis provides a detailed account of how traditional Maasai education develops in young people, their socialisation processes, as well as the

competencies that enable them to thrive and continue to learn within their community. This is contrasted with formal education which is both seen to be failing those who proceed with it and interfering with traditional education, thereby leading to epistemicide. Besides documenting Maasai IK and their encounter with Western education in the study contexts, the research also investigated the attempts made by the local NGO to provide relevant and meaningful education in school. Nevertheless, the fieldwork data highlighted this situation as problematic given that even at this NGO-based school, Western education was dominant and a curriculum based on IK was not taking place as envisioned.

The thesis bridges a gap between education and anthropology disciplines not only by expanding our knowledge of the processes of formal schooling but also by broadening our understanding of the traditional practices of education in pastoral societies. For this reason, the research adds substantially to the field of educational anthropology by serving as a model for studies of traditional learning systems, socialisation patterns, and mechanisms of knowledge transmission in indigenous, nomadic, migratory, and pastoral ethnic-groups in Tanzania and beyond. Also, the theoretical and methodological approaches employed in this thesis serve both as a research tool and a model for the alternative methods of investigating IK to other researchers working in the fields of education, anthropology, and development in indigenous and pastoralist ethnic-groups.

The thesis contributes to the design of future educational policies and intervention strategies that would improve the conditions and environments in which formal education is provided to pastoralist groups by considering IKs and other cultural resources as essential elements in policy processes and educational practices. Also, the research described in thesis offers new insights into the educational policies and intervention strategies which ought to give more emphasis to what the Maasai value as relevant to and meaningful for them in their everyday interaction with formal education, including the curriculum, the language of education, pedagogical processes, and community-school relationships in the schools. The new approaches emerging from this thesis, therefore, highlight the importance of considering not only the processes of schooling, but also what is a relevant and meaningful education to nomadic and pastoralist ethnic-groups as opposed to the human rights' approaches that have focused much upon increasing access to formal education and attaining certain levels of education among the pastoralists.

7.5 Possibilities for Further Research

This thesis has discovered possible areas that hold implications for further research and interventions. A detailed investigation needs to be carried out on some of these issues: This thesis stressed the importance of localisation, constructivism, and communitisation processes in offering relevant and meaningful educational experiences for Maasai. While this research has highlighted some strategies for implementing them, further research is needed to investigate the enabling infrastructures and structures in the formal schools that might support the implementation of localisation, constructivism, and communitisation approaches while linking them more closely with the learning needs of the Maasai.

Second, since this study focused on investigating traditional practices of education in their totality, it was hard to obtain detailed data on every aspect of Maasai culture. Given the gender-biased nature of this thesis resulting from the hegemony of patriarchy system in Maasai society, further research can investigate female-dominated practices like female circumcision and infertility rituals which did not feature largely in the research. This can shed light on the changing nature of some traditional practices like female circumcision alongside the perspectives of both men and women on this sensitive cultural practice.

Third, due to a wide range of issues to investigate, this research could not cover in detail the limitations of indigenous knowledge in times of multiple stresses on pastoralism, and how this might be a driver for formal education participation among the Maasai. Thus, future research needs to be carried out to generate qualitative data that will provide a more explicit discussion of what the Maasai think about the limitations of their traditional knowledge and how have these been a driver for their participation in formal education.

7.6 Thesis Conclusion

This section offers some insights briefly into the main issues emerging from the findings as the main conclusions of the thesis in relation to the nature of the encounter between Indigenous and Western education in Maasai society. This section, therefore, concludes by placing the substantive findings in the context of what they can inform us about the nature of the encounter between Indigenous and Western education in Maasai society. Based on the findings presented in this thesis, some key conclusions can be drawn:

7.6.1 An encounter of tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings

The fieldwork data have indicated that the traditional Maasai education is in high tension with formal education as each not only competes for the same learners who are extremely

required to undergo training in both types of schooling but also each need active participation of the same students who are also required to participate in the other. In Chapter Five, for instance, we saw how the Maasai students experience difficulties in reconciling the requirements and expectations of traditional education in their community with those of the formal education in schools. Following this tension, Maasai students are found themselves in frequent quarrels with teachers who resort to punishing them once they either fail to attend the school regularly or fail to do their assigned homework.

Also, the staff and students experience a strong cultural tension in school as they attempt in problematic ways to wear both traditional and modern clothes as they switch between home/community life and Western school life. The fieldwork data, for instance, indicated that both teachers and supporting staff struggled to negotiate their cultural values by putting themselves on traditional attire when they are at home, and at the same time, wearing modern clothes when they are in the formal school contexts. Equally, the findings highlighted the existence of conflicts and misunderstandings between Maasai students and teachers in the school settings because the principles and ethos of traditional training that encourage self-autonomy and freedom contradict sharply the rules and principles of the formal schools that emphasise strict control, order, and discipline. The fieldwork data, for instance, demonstrated how corporal punishments administered by teachers conflict largely with the traditional forms of punishment practised by the pastoral Maasai, thereby leading to unnecessary misunderstandings between teachers and students in school.

Due to this, I have characterised the school not only as a site where the students experience cultural tensions, intimidations, and sufferings but also as a place where the misunderstandings between teachers and students are generated and cultivated.

7.6.2 An encounter of contested and ambivalent relationship

The Maasai tend to have an ambivalent relationship with formal education since they see it not only as detrimental to their traditional learning systems and socio-cultural institutions but also as incompatible with their nomadic ways of life. At the same time, the Maasai consider taking children to school as a strategy for facilitating alternative livelihoods within and without pastoralism (Idris, 2011). Some postcolonial scholars like Bhabha conceptualise this kind of ambivalent relationship as a complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterises the relationship between coloniser and colonised (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995). In the context of such ambivalent relationship, the Maasai responses to and perspectives on formal schooling are mixed. Some people, for

instance, prefer traditional education over formal schooling because the former provides them with skills needed to support their survival within the pastoral economy, while others prefer the latter because of the benefits they hope will accrue for securing it. There is also another intermediate group which prefers the existence of both the traditional and formal education systems with a view to benefitting from both types of schooling.

Nonetheless, while some Maasai parents and their children have high hopes of better and improved lives inside and outside pastoralism accrued to them for securing modern education, the fieldwork data indicated that the schools that the Maasai attend do not deliver on the promises of formal education as their children do not pass their examinations, thereby making them unable to access higher education, the modern world, and the benefits this might bring. Alongside its failure to deliver on its promises, formal education also operates hegemonically not only at odds with the community's immediate needs and local realities but also at loggerheads with Maasai IK itself. The difficulties arising from this ambivalent relationship and the failure of formal education to meet people's expectations have triggered some local schools like Noonkodin to offer counterhegemonic Maasai education through IK course. Despite their mixed responses and contested perspectives in relation to their encounter with formal education, the Maasai, however, agree on the necessity of maintaining their pastoral culture and traditional knowledge albeit believing that some changes are crucial if their community is to survive and flourish in the current and rapidly changing world and in the future.

7.6.3 An encounter of unequal and hegemonic relationship

The findings showed that the encounter between Indigenous and Western education systems is dominated by unequal relationship as the latter exerts its supremacy over the former in various ways both in the community and the school contexts. The fieldwork data have attested to various ways that Western education maintains its hegemony through a discourse of hope among the Maasai parents and their children in the community and through invalidation of IK in the formal schools. The fieldwork data in Chapter Six, for instance, showed that through the camouflagic discourse of opportunity for and the possibility of better lives, formal schooling has managed to maintain its supremacy and hegemony over the Maasai pastoralists by promoting unforeseeable hopes to both parents and their children. In this way, hope offers a softer reading of how hegemony is maintained not only through the institutionalised power of the school system, but also through the very human need to hope (Bainton, 2007).

Equally, in Chapter Five, we saw how formal education maintains its hegemony over Maasai IK and tribal languages which are disregarded in schools as primitive, irrational, and unscientific. Through its invalidation process, for instance, Western education has managed not only to prevent the Maasai students from their tribal language but also to disengage them from IK practices in the formal schools and in their communities. The dismissal of IK by the formal education in schools is based on the hegemonic discourse which creates a regime of truth about what is legitimate knowledge and valued ways of knowing (Shiva, 2000; Shizha, 2006). In turn, this hegemonic discourse creates unequal relationship between teachers and students in school since the former wields exclusive control over the legitimation of knowledge, ways of knowing, and evaluation while the latter remains powerless with no any control over what is taught in school and how.

The problematic of this hegemonic and unequal relationship is relevant to issues raised in an example of Noonkodin, the NGO-based school that tried to offer IK curriculum as a counter to a centralised national curriculum with little success. At Noonkodin, for instance, the hegemonic discourse of Western education has made the school to focus much on students' success in academic performance as opposed to the actual goal of offering relevant and meaningful education through the IK course as envisaged. This implies that the school has become a key site where the Maasai students cannot participate in traditional knowledge practices both in schools and in their community because the agendas and values propagated by Western education in schools have been prioritised over those of the IK course. Noonkodin school has failed because it exists within the hegemonic backdrop of Western structures that not only shape what happens in schools but also run counter to its stated goals of offering a counterhegemonic Maasai education. Consequently, instead of practising their IK, Maasai students suffer in the Western modelled schools with no possibility of engagement with their traditional knowledge.

7.6.4 Concluding remark

The thesis shows that the Maasai encounter with formal education in the study contexts is beleaguered not only by strong cultural tensions, hegemonic, and unequal relationship between traditional and Western knowledge, but also by the mixed and contested responses among the Maasai pastoralists, as well as frequent conflicts and misunderstandings between teachers and students in the formal schools. Such tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings as well as the hegemonic and unequal relationship between the two knowledge systems, as well as between teachers and students have

hampered the provision of relevant and meaningful experiences for the Maasai students in schools. In the light of the research findings, the thesis concludes that minimising tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings present in the encounter between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems might involve the process of dialogue (*enkigúéná*) that would allow all stakeholders to reach a consensus on what the Maasai themselves would value as a relevant and meaningful education for their lives, pastoral culture, and livelihoods. The thesis, however, maintains that the localised teaching, constructivist learning, and communitisation can be applied not only as potential approaches for minimising tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings between Indigenous and Western knowledge but also for providing a bridge between the two knowledge systems.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Guiding/Probing Questions for a Researcher

A: Interview Guiding Questions for Traditional Maasai Leaders/Elders

- 1) What does indigenous knowledge mean for Maasai and how does it look like?
- 2) What are your society's goals of instructing the young Maasai children through the medium of indigenous education and other traditional institutions?
- 3) What IK resources best help your society to preserve pastoralism and culture?
- 4) What types and forms of indigenous education exist in the Maasai community? How are those types/forms of indigenous education instituted and organised?
- 5) What subjects, topics, and issues are most valued by the Maasai community? How are those subjects, topics, and issues taught to Maasai children?
- 6) How relevant and meaningful are the issues taught in indigenous Maasai education to the traditional culture, pastoral economy, and livelihoods?
- 7) What set of traditions, customs, and beliefs are best valued by the Maasai? As a Maasai elder/traditional leader, which ones do you feel that your society must learn, preserve, and pass on to the next generation?
- 8) What are the main challenges currently facing pastoralism, pastoral culture, and traditional knowledge (if any)? How does your society manage to get rid of them?
- 9) What can be done to maintain and preserve the Maasai culture and traditional knowledge for future generations?
- 10) Have you ever heard anything about formal education in your community? How do you view this type of education for Maasai children and the whole community when compared with indigenous education?

Oral Traditions' Questions (Interview)

- 11) Which are favourite stories, legends, proverbs, poems, and songs used to preserve and transmit the community's traditions, customs, beliefs, and values to the younger generation? Can we share each other some of them (if any)?
- 12) What philosophies and values conveyed through oral traditions in your community?

B: Interview Guiding Questions for Maasai Indigenous specialists/knowers

- 1) What does indigenous knowledge mean for Maasai and how does it look like?
- 2) What are your community's goals for instructing the young Maasai children through the medium of Indigenous education and other social institutions?
- 3) What IK resources best help your society to preserve pastoralism and culture?
- 4) What forms of indigenous education do exist in the Maasai community? How are such types/forms/levels of indigenous education instituted and organised?
- 5) What subjects, topics, and issues are most valued by the Maasai community? How are those subjects, topics, and issues taught and offered to the Maasai children?
- 6) How relevant and meaningful are those subjects, topics, and issues taught in the indigenous education to the Maasai pastoral culture, economy, and livelihoods?
- 7) What set of values, traditions, and beliefs are best valued by the Maasai community? As a traditional specialist, which ones do you feel that the community must know, preserve, and pass on to the next generation?

- 8) What are the main challenges currently facing pastoralism, pastoral culture, and indigenous knowledge (if any)? How does the Maasai community manage to do away with such challenges?
- 9) What can be done so that the pastoral Maasai culture and traditional knowledge get preserved, maintained, and sustained for so long?
- 10) Have you ever heard anything about formal education in the Maasai community? How do you view this kind of education for Maasai children and the whole Maasai community when compared with indigenous education?

Oral Traditions' Questions (Interviews)

- 11) What are favourite stories, legends, proverbs, and poetry used to preserve and transmit the community's traditions, beliefs, and values to the future generations? Can we share each other some of them (if any)?
- 12) What philosophies and values conveyed through oral traditions in your community?

C: Guiding Questions for Maasai Parents (Male & Females)

- 1) What does traditional education mean for you, your children, and the entire Maasai society?
- 2) Have any of your children ever gone through the medium of indigenous education and traditional institutions? If YES, why did/do you like to educate your children through the medium of indigenous education?
- 3) How important/unimportant are the indigenous educational institutions and traditional practices to you and to the pastoral Maasai culture?
- 4) How relevant and meaningful is indigenous education to you, your children, and to Maasai culture and pastoral livelihoods?
- 5) As a male/female parent, what do you think are the main challenges currently facing the Maasai's pastoral culture and indigenous knowledge (if any)?
- 6) What can be done so that the Maasai's pastoral culture and traditional knowledge get preserved, maintained, and sustained for so long?

Questions about Western Education (Formal education)

- 7) Kindly, can you tell me anything about formal education? As a Maasai parent, what does formal education mean for you and Maasai society in general?
- 8) How do you view formal education for Maasai children and the whole community when compared with indigenous education?
- 9) As a Maasai parent, do you have any children in your family who have gone through or are still in the formal schools?
 - a) If **YES**, how many are they, what is their sex, which level of education are they? (e.g. the primary or secondary school level).
 - b) If **NO**, why? Which factors made you unable to send your children to school?
- 10) Which factors influenced your decisions and choices to send or not to send your children to either the traditional education and training or formal schools?
- 11) How many types of schooling options do you have in Maasai society? Which medium of schooling option do you prefer most for your children to be educated/instructed through? Why?

- 12) How have the practices of formal education in your community affected you, your family, and traditional Maasai culture in general? Why?
- 13) As a male/female parent, what are the main challenges and problems currently facing you and your community in educating your children?
- 14) What sort of education do you most prefer and value for your children? Why?
- 15) How would you like that kind of education to look like? How can that kind of education be achieved in your community may be?

D: Guiding Questions for Maasai Students (both boys and girls in schools)

- 1) As Maasai boys/girls, can you tell me the schooling options available in the Maasai community? Why so?
- 2) As Maasai boys/girls, which medium of schooling option do you prefer most to be educated/instructed through? Why?
- 3) As Maasai students, what are your experiences with formal education in the school settings? How do you view the practices of formal education in your community?
- 4) Which factors influenced your choices and decisions about attending the formal schools? How did you choose and decide on that?
- 5) How has formal education affected you, your family, and the Maasai community in general? Why?
- 6) What sort of education do you most prefer and value? Why?
- 7) How might that kind of education look like? Which frameworks and strategies can be used to achieve that sort of education?
- 8) As Maasai students, what challenges do you face in pursuing formal education in your community? How do you manage to overcome them?

Questions about Indigenous Education

- 9) What are your experiences about indigenous education in your community?
- 10) How relevant and meaningful is/was traditional education in relation to pastoralism, pastoral culture, and livelihoods when compared with formal education?
- 11) Which topics/subjects/issues are usually taught in indigenous education and training? Which subjects do you remember to be most useful and valuable for you?
- 12) Kindly, can you tell me the relationship and connection you have had between indigenous education and formal education? How did the indigenous instructions relate to or differ from the subjects taught in formal schools?
- 13) Suppose you were given to choose between the two, what do you prefer most between indigenous education and formal education? Why?
- 14) How effective has formal education been in furthering your own expectations and aspirations as well as those of your family and the entire society? Why and how?
- 15) As Maasai students, what are your goals and aspirations of being in formal schools?

E: Guiding Questions for the Youth (Out-of-school morans and girls)

- 1) As Maasai moran/girl, what are your experiences with Indigenous education and training in the Maasai community? What does it mean for you?
- 2) What type of subjects/topics/issues do you take while in traditional training camps? How are you taught and trained?
- 3) What do you like best about indigenous education in your community?

- 4) As Maasai morans/girls, how has indigenous education impacted your lives?
- 5) What sort of knowledge and skills are acquired from indigenous education and training? Tell me more (if any), how do you use such knowledge and skills to manage your local and non-local daily lives?
- 6) As Maasai morans/girls, to what extent do you know about formal education? As individuals who are not in schools, what does formal education mean for you?
- 7) What are your views on formal education in your society? Do you prefer it or not? Why?
- 8) Can you tell me the factors which made you unable to attend formal school? Why?
- 9) If you were given a chance to select between the two, which one do you prefer most between indigenous and formal education? Why?

F: Guiding Questions for Heads of Schools/Teachers

- 1) As the head of school/teachers, what are your experiences about the practices of formal education in the Maasai community?
- 2) What are the Maasai perspectives on and responses to the provision of formal education in your school? Why such responses/perspectives?
- 3) As school teachers, can you tell me the current situation of formal education among the Maasai in relation to their inclusion and participation in schools?
- 4) What are the challenges and problems currently constraining the available efforts and initiatives for education delivery in the Maasai community? How can such challenges be remedied may be?
- 5) How do you view the Maasai attitude to and perception of formal education in general? Why such kind of attitudes and perceptions?
- 6) Apart from the existing models of education delivery, are there any other ways which can be used in educating the Maasai children?
- 7) Have you ever heard anything about the traditional education and training in the Maasai community? If **YES/NO**, what are your views about traditional Maasai education in relation to the provision of formal education in your school?
- 8) In your own opinions, how have traditional Maasai education and training influenced the current practices of formal education in Maasai society?
- 9) Kindly, can you tell me whether there is any connection between indigenous and formal for Maasai students in schools? How is that reflected?
- 10) Do the Maasai students get allowed to make any connection between what they had learnt in their traditional training with what they are taught in school? Why and how?
- 11) In your own experiences, are the current educational policies, school curricula, and political factors sufficient in addressing the existing challenges concerning the provision of formal education in the Maasai community? If **NO/YES**, why?
- 12) In your own opinions, what can be done to improve the current educational policies and school curricula issues for Maasai pastoralists? How can that be achieved?

G: Interview Guiding Questions for NGO's Officials

- 1) Can you kindly tell me a bit about your organisation? How does your NGO engage with providing education for pastoral communities?
- 2) Can you describe to me various projects and activities that your organisation engages in providing education for the Maasai community? How effective are they?
- 3) What are your experiences in relation to the participation and inclusion of the Maasai pastoralists and their children in formal education?
- 4) What are the Maasai's responses to the provision of formal education in their community? Why such kind of responses?
- 5) What are the main challenges and problems facing your organisation in its efforts and initiatives to provide education for pastoralist children in Maasailand?
- 6) What initiatives and strategies have been employed so far to resolve such challenges? How effective have they been?
- 7) In your own experiences, are the current educational policies, school curricula, and political factors sufficient in addressing the existing challenges concerning the provision of formal education in the Maasai community? If **NO/YES**, why?
- 8) In your own opinions, what can be done to improve the current educational policies and school curricula issues for Maasai pastoralists? How can that be achieved?
- 9) What are your views on traditional education and training as practised by the Maasai in their community?
- 10) In your own opinions, how have indigenous education influenced the current practices of formal education in Maasailand?

Appendix 2: Procedural Ethics Clearance Forms

A: Certificate of Approval

University of Sussex

Certificate of Approval

Reference Number:	ER/JP411/1
Title Of Project:	An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania
Principal Investigator (PI):	Joseph Christopher Pesambili
Student:	Joseph Christopher Pesambili
Collaborators:	Prof Mario Novelli (Supervisor)
Duration Of Approval:	n/a
Expected Start Date:	01-Aug-2014
Date Of Approval:	04-Aug-2014
Approval Expiry Date:	01-Aug-2015
Approved By:	Jayne Paulin
Name of Authorised Signatory:	Stephen Shute
Date:	04-Aug-2014

*NB. If the actual project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the expected start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures.

Please note and follow the requirements for approved submissions:

Amendments to protocol

- * Any changes or amendments to approved protocols must be submitted to the C-REC for authorisation prior to implementation.

Feedback regarding the status and conduct of approved projects

- * Any incidents with ethical implications that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported immediately to the Chair of the C-REC.

Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events

- * Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence.

B: Research permit letter from Sussex

University of Sussex
Academic Registry

Mr Joseph Christopher Pesambili
36 Mafeking Road
Brighton
BN2 4EL

28 July 2014

Reg No: 21318538

Dear Mr Pesambili

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

I am writing to inform you that the appropriate officer has approved that you proceed on fieldwork for the period of 29 July 2014 to 01 March 2015.

Your fees for the academic year 2014/15 will therefore be as follows

Autumn term Fieldwork (85%)	£2979.17
Spring term Fieldwork (65%)	£2979.17
Summer term FTE at Sussex	£4563.33

Total £10541.67

I will inform the Student Accounts office of your status and your fees will be adjusted accordingly.

Please note that your period of fieldwork will count towards your minimum and maximum periods of registration. Your minimum registration date is **18 January 2016** and your maximum registration date is **15 January 2018**.

Please would you check and update as appropriate your addresses on Sussex Direct.

If you have any queries relating to your re-registration please do not hesitate to contact Gail Barrett in the Research Student Administration Office, Sussex House by email at gail.barrett@sussex.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Dr Camilla Brault
Head of Research Student Administration

cc Prof M Novelli / Prof J B Pryor
Pascale Fanning Tichborne
Student Accounts
RSA Office F1a

Research Student Administration Office

Sussex House, University of Sussex, Brighton, Brighton BN1 9QJ, United Kingdom

T +44 (0)1273 876659 • E researchstudentaffairs@sussex.ac.uk • www.sussex.ac.uk

C: Research permit letter from UDSM**UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM****OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR****P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA**

Ref. No: AB3/3(B))

Date: 11th August, 2014

To: The District Executive Director,
Moduli District,
Arusha.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Joseph C. Pesambili** who is bonafide staff Member of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may enable him to achieve his research objectives. What is required is your permission for him to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with his research.

The title of the research in question is **"An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania"**.

The period for which this permission has been granted is from **August, 2014 to February, 2015** and will cover the following offices: **Monduli District**.

Should the offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him as to which alternative places could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or 2410727.

Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE-CHANCELLOR

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. BOX 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM

Direct +255 22 2410700
Telephone: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
Telefax: +255 22 2410078

Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

D: Research permit letter from Monduli District Education Office

MONDULI DISTRICT COUNCIL

ARUSHA REGION

All Correspondences to be addressed to
The District Executive Director,
Tel. No. +255 - 27- 2538006 G.L.
+255 - 27- 2538005 D.L.
Fax No. +255 - 27- 2538136/361
E-mail: ded@mondulidistrict.go.tz



COUNCIL HALL,
P.O. BOX 1,
MONDULI.

Kumb. Na. HW/MON/R5/1 VOL V/119

27.10.2014

THE HEAD OF SCHOOLS,
SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF MONDULI,
MONDULI.

RE: MR. JOSEPH PESAMBILI

I kindly introduce to you the above mentioned person to conduct his research in your school. He is a bonafie staff of University of Dar es salaam. I request you to assist him to accomplish his Field Research and academic requirements

The title of his research is: An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigeneous and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania.

His research will be from October 2014 to Feb 2015.

Thank you for your cooperation.

FADHILI S. MVUNGI

AG: DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER,
Kt. J. AFISA ELIMU TEKORIBARI
HALMASHAMATI MONDULI

E: Research permit letter from DAS, Monduli District for fieldwork in villages

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA



MKOA WA ARUSHA
Simu Na: 2538002/2538076
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA,
WILAYA YA MONDULI,
S. L. P. 6,

MONDULI

KUMB. NA. AB.275/376/01/143

01 DESEMBA, 2014

Maafisa Watendaji, wa vijiji,
Wilaya ya Monduli,
S. L. P. 1,
MONDULI

YAH: KIBALI CHA UTAFITI

Tafadhali husikeni na kichwa cha habari hapo juu.

Namtambulisha kwenu Bwana Joseph Pesambili mbae ni mwajiri wa **Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam**. Bwana Pesambili ambaye ni mtafiti amepewa kibali cha kufanya utafiti katika wilaya ya Monduli ambapo atakutana na wananchi kuwahoji ili kupata tarifa za kumsaidia katika utafiti wake.

utafiti wake ni kuhusu **"An Investigation In the Encounter between Introduction and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania"**.

Kazi hii inategemea kuanza tarehe 01/12/2014 na kumalizika mwezi Februari 2015.

Tafadhali mpatieni ushirikiano atakapokuja katika vijiji vyenu ili afanikishe kazi yake.

Nashukuru kwa ushirikiano wako

G. W. Mjema

Katibu Tawala wa Wilaya
MONDULI

Appendix 3: Ethics in Practice Forms

A: Participants information sheet**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET****Study Title**

An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania

Invitation Paragraph

Dear participant, you are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and if you require further detail, feel free to ask me. You are advised to take time to decide whether you wish to take part in this research project or not.

What is the Purpose of the Study?

This is a PhD study carried out as a part of the fulfilment of a doctorate degree at the University of Sussex, UK. It aims to investigate how, through using IK, the existing encounter between Indigenous and Western education might act as the basis for enhancing relevance and meaningfulness of education offered to the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania. As a part of this research, I am interested in the experiences of people regarding IK and Western education in Maasai society. The research, therefore, will explore your knowledge, skills, and experiences and any other relevant information you may have about indigenous education. In the context of the encounter between Indigenous and Western education, I would like to discuss your views about and attitudes towards formal education in your community. Overall, this study is conducted in your community, and it is expected to cover not less than five months.

Why have I been Invited to Participate?

You have been invited to participate in this research because I believe that you have sufficient experiences, knowledge, and skills about what I am investigating and trying to know. As a way of getting more profound reflections, insights, and knowledge on issues related to the practices of indigenous knowledge as well as Western knowledge, I am having similar interviews, conversations, and discussions with other members and various segments of people in your community such as elders, parents, and students. Generally, your community has been selected to participate in this research project because it has enough experience in indigenous knowledge than most communities in Tanzania.

Do I Have to Take Part?

No. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and it is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep for your own record and be asked to sign a consent form. But even if you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving reasons. Also, if you are a student, you are not obliged to participate in this study if you do not wish to. You still have a freedom of choosing either to take part or not to take part in the study, and there will be no any impacts on your marks, assessments, and future studies.

What Will Happen to Me if I Take Part?

If you agree to be interviewed, I will be asking you about your experience, skills, views, and ideas on various aspects of either the traditional knowledge/pastoral culture or the formal education where applicable. The duration for interviews, conversations or focus groups varies, but it might take approximately 60 minutes to 90 minutes (1 hour and a half an hour). But the time for our sessions is flexible enough, and if you do not want to answer any question, you do not have to and can stop the interview at any time.

What are the Possible Disadvantages and Risks of Taking Part?

It will take time out of your day, but every effort will be made to ensure your comfort during the conversation or the interview process. Many people value the opportunity to talk about their experiences, but it will be possible to take a break or stop at any point during the interview, conversation or focus group session. If the session has brought up issues you wish to discuss further, I shall be able to refer you to more expert sources of support at the end of the interview, conversation, or focus group discussion.

What are the Possible Benefits of Taking Part?

Although this research is unlikely to be of direct benefit to you, it will give you the opportunity to talk about your experiences and express your opinions on a variety of issues related to either indigenous knowledge or formal education in your own community to an interested and an independent researcher who is not involved in the traditional Maasai culture. Despite this, the findings of this research will have benefits to your broader community by furthering our understanding of issues about pastoralism, pastoral culture, and indigenous education. The study's findings are expected to inform our understanding of the richness of the indigenous knowledge as an essential cultural resource which has been neglected in the current practices of formal education in Maasailand. The research project is designed to give more voices to the experiences of people with indigenous knowledge in the awareness of their persistent exclusion and marginalisation in the current practices of formal education.

Will My Information in this Study be Kept Confidential?

All information collected about the individual during and after the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for study purposes. Every necessary measure will be taken to assure your anonymity. For that reason, your name, place of living, place of work or the name of your organisation will not be used in the collection, storage, and publication of the research findings. Moreover, I shall visit you at a place of your choice to conduct an interview or conversation if you feel willing to talk. With your consent, the interview, conversation or discussion will be noted, recorded, and transcribed.

What will happen if I do not want to carry on with the research project?

If you agree to be interviewed, but later you change your mind, you can withdraw from the interview at any stage. But I would ask to be able to use all data collected up to the point of your withdrawal, which would be kept subject to confidentiality procedures.

What Will Happen to the Data and Results of the Research Study?

The data collected from the interviews, conversations, observations, and focus groups will be analysed, and the results will be used for writing and producing a final report of my doctoral thesis. The final report of my doctoral thesis will further be used as a basis for my award of a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Sussex in the UK. Some parts of this study may also be submitted for publication. I am also in a conviction that an additional short report of the findings will be provided for distribution to participants.

Who is Organising and Funding the Research?

I am conducting the study as a student at the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK. The research is a PhD project, and my studies are fully funded by the

University of Sussex, under the **Chancellor's International Research Scholarship (CIRS)** for tuition fees and living allowances.

Who has Approved this Study?

This project has been approved by the Social Sciences Cross-Research Committee (C-REC) which is responsible for crosschecking and foreseeing all research projects undertaken by the staff and students within the social sciences at Sussex.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Contact for Further Information

I do not anticipate any problems arising during this research project. However, should you have a concern about any aspect of the study or the researcher, please feel free to contact my chief supervisor, Professor Mario Novelli (see contact details below).

A Researcher

Joseph C Pesambili
Centre for International Education
Essex House, University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9QN, UK.
Mob: +44(0)7774127755
Email: J.Pesambili@sussex.ac.uk

Supervisor

Professor Mario Novelli
Centre for International Education
University of Sussex
Essex House, Room 150
Falmer, Brighton
BN1 9RH, UK.
Email: m.novelli@sussex.ac.uk
Tel: +44 1273 678639

B: Participants consent form**Consent Form for Project Participants**

Dear participant

Warmly welcome to this session. My name is _____ I am currently undertaking doctoral studies at the University of Sussex in the UK.

Research Title: An Investigation into the Encounter between Indigenous and Western Education among the Maasai Pastoralists in Tanzania

Project Approval

Reference Number: ER/JP411/1

1. I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:
 - participate in the interview, conversation or discussion carried out between the researcher and me.
 - allow the interview, conversation or discussion to be recorded or transcribed and notes to be taken where appropriate.
 - allow the photos/pictures of my cultural assets, environment, location or any other relevant things to be taken for study purposes (where applicable).
 - make myself available for a further interview should that deem necessary.
2. I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the session without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.
3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for this research project. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act of 1998.
4. I understand that any information I provide is confidential as prescribed in the information sheet and that no information I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the project's reports, either by the researcher or by any other party.
5. I understand that I will be given a transcript or recorded tape of data concerning me for my approval before being included in the write up of the research and that I consent to the use of sections of the transcripts in writing up thesis and publications.

6. I understand that I have given my approval for my name and the name of my town/community, and/or the name of my workplace to be used in the final report of the project and in further publications (where necessary or applicable).
7. I understand that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in the focus group/s or group interviews.

Participant's Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: List of some Important Issues Raised and Questions Asked by the Participants in the Field about Ethical and Methodological Processes

A: Male participants

- a) How will we benefit from your research? I am not sure how our society will benefit from your research and whether it will help us or it will only help you.
- b) One lady also came here and promised the same. If you go to accomplish your studies successfully, it would be better for you to return and inform us about that because we are teachers of your achievement.
- c) Since you have asked us these questions and considering that there was another person who came here and left as well; how will your research contribute to our traditional lives?
- d) Given that we have talked about traditional knowledge and schooled education in our society; what do you wish to do with the information you are collecting?
- e) Once you get informed of our traditional knowledge, will it help you or will it help us whom you have asked questions?
- f) Since you have collected these data and seen the challenges; is there anything you will bring back to us as a benefit taking into question the challenges that you have observed in our community?
- g) Once you have gathered this information, and go back abroad, organise your work and successfully finish it, what fruits can your work bring back to us? We want to know, what benefits can this research bring to our society.
- h) Considering that you are a Tanzanian, you have not introduced yourself more so other participants know who you are, what are you studying in the UK, which school or college do you study and so forth.
- i) Thanks for giving us this opportunity, so we ask you questions about your tribe, shouldn't it be only you who is asking us. As a Fipa tribesman, how does your society resolve conflicts if it happens, for instance, that somebody has killed another person?
- j) How are marriage issues practised and handled in your Fipa society? Is it like ours or quite different from us?
- k) In your Fipa society, are there no traditional practices like these in our community?
- l) Since your society has lost most traditional practices, is it right or wrong?
- m) In your Fipa society, are there no elders who can sit together and discuss community issues as we do in Maasai society? How is it practised in your community?
- n) Did you select yourself to conduct research in Maasailand or you were just posted?
- o) After visiting Maasailand, how do you see the situation and our ways of life?
- p) At which university are you studying in the UK?
- q) In your own views, why are the British and Americans fond of visiting the Maasai, and not other tribes in Tanzania?
- r) We have liked your research, and we would like that after the next five years; we get our traditional culture written in the textbooks.
- s) What will be the future benefits of your research for our community?
- t) Since you have come here to conduct research, talk to us, and ask everything about our traditional knowledge. How will we benefit from you and other researchers who

carry out research projects in our society?

- u) As an educated person; how do you advise us about our traditional culture? Should we continue maintaining it or should we stop it and embrace the modern culture?
- v) Why do most Tanzanian researchers not organise research projects which benefit and further the interests of the people where the research was carried out?

B: Female Participants

- a) Do you like or dislike the way we teach and train our children through the medium of the traditional knowledge? What are your opinions about this?
- b) Since you have asked us about these issues and got answers, where are you going to send these data? What are you going to do with these data?
- c) What do you mean by this research?
- d) Why do you ask us these questions?
- e) How will your research benefit our community?
- f) Considering that you have conducted your research in the Maasai community, what have you seen to be the main weaknesses of our society?
- g) What triggered you to research the Maasai community?
- h) Since you have come to conduct your research here; will you come back to tell us that you have become successful or even to tell us at which stage you have reached in your research?
- i) Given that you have researched in the Maasai community, do you like our traditional knowledge and pastoral culture to get lost or continue to be maintained?
- j) Why did you decide to conduct your study in Maasai society and not other tribes?
- k) You hinted something on the need of sending girls to school. Now, if between the two parents, a mother wants her daughter to attend school and her father does not want; what do you advise us so that we can use your advice to persuade our husbands to educate our daughters?
- l) Once you complete your research and return to the UK; what will you benefit and how will we profit from this research?

C: Out-of-school morans and girls

- a) What are you dealing with right now? Are you a journalist or who are you?
- b) While in conversations with people in our community, do you speak Maa or Kiswahili?
- c) Why do you ask us these questions? Where will you send these data?
- d) Why are you conducting this research? How will your research help us as the Maasai community or is it just for your own benefits?
- e) Would you like me to go on with schooling or not? What are your views on this?
- f) Why are you interested in asking questions and talking to individuals who had rejected school?
- g) As a researcher, how can you help individuals like me who had rejected school?
- h) Where do you come from first? Are you a teacher?

D: Maasai Students

- a) Upon the completion of your research, where will you send these data? What will be the benefits of this study to us?
- b) Do you expect to visit all schools found in the Monduli District?
- c) Why didn't you bring with you a camera device so that you take pictures showing the students and the real environment? This is important because when you get back to the UK without pictures, people may think we cheated you. But with pictures, it will be easy for you to provide evidence and show other people all issues we reported.
- d) What challenges have you encountered while conducting this research?
- e) Why have you not come with your research assistants at this school?
- f) Do yourself or the university cover the research costs?
- g) For how long are you supposed to conduct your fieldwork research in Maasailand?
- h) Have you faced any challenges in some schools? When you want to talk to students like this, for instance, weren't you told that the students are in classes? If you encountered such situations, what measures did you take?
- i) What is your college/university?
- j) Are you a teacher or scientist? At what level of school system do you teach?
- k) In which country are you studying? Which programme are you undertaking?
- l) Where will you send these data upon completion of your fieldwork?
- m) Where do you come from?
- n) What is your tribe?
- o) Why did you decide to research this topic?
- p) Suppose that you meet the Maasai parents who do not want to educate their daughters; is there any assistance or sponsorship you can provide to them?
- q) As a researcher, what can you do to help the Maasai community so that people can understand that FGM tradition is wrong, and eventually stop it?

Appendix 5: List of Participants Involved in the Study

INTERVIEWS/ORAL NARRATIVES						
NO	Category	Sex	Location	Date	N0 of participants	N0 of Data Collected
A	Elders	Males				
		Elder 1	Meserani	08/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 2	Meserani	08/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 3	Meserani	09/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 4	Meserani	09/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 5	Meserani	09/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 6	Engaruka	05/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 7	Engaruka	05/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 8	Engaruka	05/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 9	Engaruka	09/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 10	Engaruka	09/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 11	Engaruka	09/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 12	Engaruka	18/12/2014	1	1
		Elder 13	Engaruka	18/12/2014	1	1
		Elder 14	Engaruka	24/03/2015	1	1
		Elder 15	Engaruka	24/03/2015	1	1
		Females				
		Elder 1	Meserani	07/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 2	Meserani	07/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 3	Meserani	13/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 4	Meserani	13/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 5	Meserani	20/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 6	Meserani	20/10/2014	1	1
		Elder 7	Engaruka	29/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 8	Engaruka	29/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 9	Engaruka	29/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 10	Engaruka	30/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 11	Engaruka	30/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 12	Engaruka	30/11/2014	1	1
		Elder 13	Engaruka	05/12/2014	1	1
		Elder 14	Engaruka	05/12/2014	1	1
B	Chiefs	Males				
		chief 1	Engaruka	15/12/2014	1	1
		chief 2	Engaruka	17/12/2014	1	1
C	Circumciser	1 male	Engaruka	17/12/2014	1	1
D	Heads, deputies,	Male or females	School			

	academic teachers and NGO officials					
		Head 1	Monduli Juu	27/10/2014	1	1
		Head	Noonkodin	12/01/2015	1	1
		Head 2	Eluwai	09/02/2015	1	1
		Head 3	Engaruka Juu	02/03/2015	1	1
		Deputy	Noonkodin	19/01/2015	1	1
		Academic Teacher	Monduli Juu	27/10/2014	1	1
		Officer	Arusha City	30/03/2014	1	1
E	School dropouts	Morans				
		Lukungu	Meserani	12/10/2014	1	1
		Boimanda	Meserani	12/10/2014	1	1
		Korinko	Meserani	15/10/2014	1	1
		Kishoka	Meserani	15/10/2014	1	1
		Meshaki	Engaruka	14/11/2014	1	1
		Nkasiogi	Engaruka	14/11/2014	1	1
		Nalangu	Engaruka	16/11/2014	1	1
		Nunsya	Engaruka	16/11/2014	1	1
		Kapalei	Engaruka	21/11/2014	1	1
		Girls				
		Debora	Meserani	17/10/2014	1	1
		Naisenya	Meserani	17/10/2014	1	1
		Liloe	Meserani	17/10/2014	1	1
		Naisaruru	Engaruka	18/11/2014	1	1
		Aisha	Engaruka	18/11/2014	1	1
		Isina	Engaruka	21/11/2014	1	1
		Lankenua	Engaruka	22/11/2014	1	1
		Sopiato	Engaruka	22/11/2014	1	1

GROUP DISCUSSIONS/CULTURE-SHARING						
NO	Category	Sex	Location	Date	N0 of participants	N0 of Data Collected
A	Parents	Males				
		Group A	Meserani	06/10/2014	6	1
		Group B	Meserani	06/10/2014	4	1
		Group C	Meserani	20/10/2014	6	1
		Group D	Meserani	20/10/2014	4	1
		Group E	Engaruka	02/11/2014	5	1
		Group F	Engaruka	02/11/2014	6	1
		Group G	Engaruka	10/11/2014	6	1
		Group H	Engaruka	10/11/2014	7	1
		Group I	Engaruka	07/12/2014	5	1

		Group J	Engaruka	07/12/2014	4	1
		Females				
		Group A	Meserani	19/10/2014	6	1
		Group B	Meserani	19/10/2014	8	1
		Group C	Meserani	25/10/2014	5	1
		Group D	Meserani	25/10/2014	7	1
		Group E	Engaruka	08/11/2014	5	1
		Group F	Engaruka	12/11/2014	4	1
		Group G	Engaruka	12/11/2014	6	1
		Group H	Engaruka	25/11/2014	5	1
		Group I	Engaruka	25/11/2014	8	1
	Out-of-school youth	Morans				
		Group A	Meserani	05/10/2014	6	1
		Group B	Meserani	05/10/2014	6	1
		Group C	Engaruka	04/11/2014	5	1
		Group D	Engaruka	04/11/2014	5	1
		Girls				
		Group A	Engaruka	08/11/2014	4	1
		Group B	Engaruka	08/11/2014	4	1
	Students (primary schools)	Boys	School			
		Group A	Monduli Juu	28/10/2014	5	1
		Group B	Monduli Juu	28/10/2014	5	1
		Group C	Eluwai	26/01/2015	5	1
		Group D	Eluwai	29/01/2015	5	1
		Group E	Engaruka Juu	04/03/2015	5	1
		Group F	Engaruka Juu	04/03/2015	5	1
		Girls				
		Group A	Monduli Juu	29/10/2014	5	1
		Group B	Monduli Juu	29/10/2014	5	1
		Group C	Eluwai	19/01/2015	5	1
		Group D	Eluwai	22/01/2015	5	1
		Group E	Engaruka Juu	06/03/2015	5	1
		Group F	Engaruka Juu	06/03/2015	5	1
	Students (Secondary schools)	Boys	School			
		Group A	Noonkodin	21/01/2015	5	1
		Group B	Noonkodin	23/01/2015	5	1

		Girls				
		Group A	Noonkodin	28/01/2015	5	1
		Group B	Noonkodin	30/01/2015	5	1
	Teachers (Primary schools)		School			
		Group A	Monduli Juu	27/10/2014	5	1
		Group B	Eluwai	09/02/2015	4	1
		Group C	Eluwai	13/02/2015	4	1
		Group D	Engaruka Juu	03/03/2015	3	1
		Group E	Engaruka Juu	05/03/2015	4	1
	Teachers (Secondary schools)					
		Group A	Noonkodin	04/02/2015	4	1
		Group B	Noonkodin	06/02/2015	4	1
		Group C	Noonkodin	11/02/2015	3	1