

Efforts to Address Cultural Constraints to Girls' Access to Education Among the Maasai in Tanzania: A Case Study of Monduli District

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1. Introduction and Background Information

1.1 Background to the Problem

Education has long been considered as a fundamental human right as it is the key to sustainable development and peace and stability within and among countries and thus an indispensable means for effective participation in the societies and economies of the respective countries (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). Committed to this perspective the United Nations launched a Declaration for Human Rights in 1948, in which the Article number 26 states:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of (p.5)

Basic education was given the highest priority and many countries began making efforts to achieve Universal Primary Education (Dy&Ninomiya, 2003). Tanzania also, through the Musoma Resolution of 1974, launched the UPE policy whose implementation had to start in

1977 and be completed in 1989 (Ndaro, 1980).

However, despite some few successes that were realised during UPE like increased enrolment rates and a decrease in illiteracy at a global level, there were a lot of failures that were experienced during its implementation. One of the failures included a decline in the quality of education that raised a great concern in the global community, and this called for the formulation of other policies that could be more effective (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003).

The international community under UNESCO convened a conference in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand to launch the movement called Education For All (EFA). Several countries met to endorse EFA and they took measures to increase educational opportunities for all citizens through Basic Education Strategic Plans (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). EFA 1990 became instrumental in identifying internationally agreed targets for the provision of education as a basic human right. The general target was that all children should be provided with basic education by the year 2000 (Aderinoye, 2000).

Evaluation of EFA 1990 was conducted during the time for its implementation and results were presented in 2000 during the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. The results showed that the six goals that were set in 1990 when EFA was launched had not been attained as it was expected. It was found that by 2000, more than 113 million children had no access to primary education, 880 million adults were illiterate, gender discrimination continued to permeate the education system and quality of learning and the acquisition of human values and skills fell far short of the aspirations and needs of individuals and societies. Youths and adults were denied access to the skills and knowledge necessary for gainful employment and full participation in their societies. Without accelerated progress towards Education For All, national and internationally agreed targets for poverty reduction would be missed and inequalities between countries and within societies would widen (Aderinoye, 2000).

Following the prevalence of problems in the implementation of EFA goals that were ratified in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, and the need to achieve the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the countries that met in Dakar, Senegal for the World Education Forum that ran from 26 to 28 April in 2000, decided to adopt a new Framework of Action. The new Framework of action basically reaffirmed the vision of the six goals that were laid down in Jomtien and the new target for achieving Education For All was set to be 2015 as stipulated in the in Millennium Development Goal number two, which states that Universal Primary Education has to be achieved by 2015 (Aderinoye, 2000). Apart from reaffirming the six goals that were set during the endorsement of EFA 1990 in Jomtien, the Dakar conference also established twelve strategies for achieving these goals.

After developing the strategies, all states were requested to develop or strengthen existing

national plans of action by 2002 at the latest. These plans were to be integrated into a wider poverty reduction and development framework, and would address problems associated with the chronic under-financing of basic education by establishing budget priorities that reflect a commitment to achieving EFA goals and targets at the earliest possible date, and not later than 2015 (Aderinoye, 2000).

As far as Tanzania is concerned, the problem of access to education opportunities has always been a big problem among girls, and this has been so evident among the Maasai tribe (MWEDO, 2006). According to MWEDO (2006) gender relations among the Maasai have been negatively affected by male dominance over decision-making. Women and girls are not accorded great importance in Maasai society and hence they are denied access to education and other economic opportunities. This tendency, therefore, made Maasai women and girls stay out of the school system making them become illiterate and hence ignorant of their basic human rights in their respective societies (Heather, 2009)

In Tanzania, the Government and Non-governmental Organisations have been struggling to empower Maasai women and girls through providing education with a focus on eliminating the gender gap in the access to education as stipulated in the second and third Millennium Development Goals (Aderinoye, 2000). The same efforts have been happening in Kenya which has developed the Maasai Girls Education Fund to sponsor Maasai girls who would otherwise never go to school (Maasai Girls Education Fund, 2007). In Tanzania in particular, there are local organisations such as The Local Pastoral Women's Council (PWC) for empowering Tanzania's Maasai, and the Maasai Women Development Organisation (MWEDO) with a focus on making property rights work for the poor in Tanzania.

One of the functions of these organisations is to ensure that local communities in Maasailand participate effectively in various developmental activities as well as enhancing girls' access to education. They are highly concerned with transforming non-developmental cultural traditions into viable practices including allowing girls to have access to education. However, despite all these efforts, girls still face problems in having access to education among the Maasai and cultural practices have been cited to be among the hindrances to girls' education (Kamuhangiro *et al.*, 2003). Some of the cultural practices which have been affecting girls' education in Tanzania include: initiation ceremonies, female genital mutilation, early marriages, assigning domestic chores to girls and migratory tendencies among some tribes like the Maasai who are found both, in Tanzania and Kenya (Kenya Information Guide, 2010)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Education has been seen as a determining factor for women's socio-advancement. Various governments in the third world have involved themselves in formulating various policies, programmes, plans and projects in order to ensure that education is accessed by both boys and

girls (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, 2004). At the same time there is an increasing recognition of the important role culture plays in the framing and delivery of education and development in many countries in Africa (Stephens, 2007). The major issue in as far as access to education is concerned is that cultural practices make females keep on lagging behind males in education, and this problem has existed since the colonial period (Jezibell, 2002). While the second and third Millennium Development Goals focus on enhancing girls' education and addressing the gender gap in the delivery of education, there still exists the problem of inequity and inequality in the education system particularly at the secondary school and tertiary levels. This inequality seems to have worsened since the 1990's (Research and Analysis Working Group, 2005). Some of the researchers have cited inadequacy of funds due to poverty, distance to schools, cultural practices and sexual harassment to be among the factors which have contributed to poor schooling among girls in African countries (Bendera & Mboya, 1998; Kamuhangiro *et al.*, 2003).

In Tanzania there have been various efforts to ensure that both boys and girls get equal opportunities to education with the intention of bridging the gender gap as emphasised during the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 in Jomtien in Thailand. The Maasai in Tanzania were earmarked as one of the tribes to be given great support in the expansion of basic education, particularly girls (Oxfam, 2008). Various efforts have been made to promote Maasai girls' education such as the development of the Maasai Education Discovery in Tanzania that finances girls' education (Miller, 2010). However, a gender gap still exists among the Maasai in Tanzania whereby boys tend to be given priority in the access to education compared to girls. Many local organisations such as MWEDO and PWC have joined hands with the government to ensure that the position of Maasai women in society is promoted. One area of focus is to transform some cultural aspects that are not developmental among the Maasai women and girls to be given an opportunity not only in owning resources but also having access to education. To what extent the positive cultural transformation has taken place and what constraints exist is the question that this research intends to address.

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to assess efforts to address cultural constraints that hinder girls' access to education among the Maasai in Tanzania.

1.4 Specific Objectives of the Study

Specific objectives that will guide this study include to:

- (i) Investigate current perceptions among the Maasai on girls' education
- (ii) Explore Maasai girls' enrolment in basic education in Monduli District.
- (iii) Find out efforts made by the governments, NGOs and NGOs' to promote girls' education among the Maasai.
- (iv) Find out challenges in addressing cultural hindrances to enhancing girls' access to

basic education among the Maasai in Monduli District.

1.5 Research Questions

In line with the specific objectives three research questions have been developed as follows:

- (i) What are the current perceptions towards girls' education among the Maasai in Monduli District?
- (ii) What is the status of enrolment of Maasai girls in primary schools in Monduli District?
- (iii) What efforts have been made by the Government and NGOs in promoting girl's education among the Maasai?
- (iv) What challenges exist in addressing cultural hindrances to enhancing girls' access to basic education among the Maasai in Monduli District?

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is expected that the findings of this research should be important in various ways as follows:

- (i) It will reveal the extent to which cultural practices affect girls' education among the Maasai in Tanzania.
- (ii) The study will also reveal the views of various stakeholders regarding the importance of girls' education in Tanzania.
- (iii) Challenges in addressing cultural constraints that hinder girls' access to education will also be revealed.
- (iv) The study will also be useful to the government and educational leaders in Tanzania in devising effective ways of bridging the gender gap in the country.
- (v) It will also create awareness on the importance of involving Maasai elders in discussing the importance of girls' education and how to improve it in their respective societies.
- (vi) The study will also provide information that might be used by other researchers who will be dealing with the related problems.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

On the basis of human capital theory education is considered as an economic good because it is not easily obtainable and thus needs to be apportioned. Economists regard education as both a consumer and capital good because it offers utility to a consumer and also serves as an input into the production of other goods and services. As a capital good, education can be used to develop the human resources necessary for economic and social transformation. The focus on education as a capital good relates to the concept of human capital, which emphasizes that the development of skills is an important factor in production activities. It is widely accepted that education creates improved citizens and helps to upgrade the general standard of living in a society. Therefore, positive social change is likely to be associated with the production

of a qualitative citizenry. This increasing faith in education as an agent of change in many developing countries, including Tanzania, has led to a heavy investment in it. The pressure for higher education in many developing countries has undoubtedly been helped by public perception of financial reward from pursuing such education. Generally, this goes with the belief that expanding education promotes economic growth. However, the paradox accompanying this belief is that, despite the huge investment in education, there is little evidence of growth-promoting externalities of education in Tanzania.

The economic prosperity and functioning of a nation depend on its physical and human capital stock. Whereas the former has traditionally been the focus of economic research, factors affecting the enhancement of human skills and talent are increasingly figuring in the research of social and behavioural sciences. In general terms, human capital represents the investment people make in themselves that enhance their economic productivity. The theoretical framework most responsible for the wholesome adoption of education and development policies has come to be known as human capital theory. Based upon the work of Schultz (1971), Sakamoto and Powers (1995), Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1997), human capital theory rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population. In short, the human capital theorists argue that an educated population is a productive population. Human capital theory emphasizes how education increases the productivity and efficiency of workers by increasing the level of cognitive stock of economically productive human capability which is a product of innate abilities and investment in human beings. The provision of formal education is seen as a productive investment in human capital, which the proponents of the theory have considered as equally or even more equally worthwhile than that of physical capital.

According to Babalola (2003), the rationality behind investment in human capital is based on three arguments: (i) that the new generation must be given the appropriate parts of the knowledge which has already been accumulated by previous generations; (ii) that the new generation should be taught how existing knowledge should be used to develop new products, to introduce new processes and production methods and social services; and (iii) that people must be encouraged to develop entirely new ideas, products, processes and methods through creative approaches. According to Fagerlind and Saha, (1997) human capital theory provides a basic justification for large public expenditure on education both in developing and developed nations. The theory was consistent with the ideologies of democracy and liberal progression found in most Western societies. Its appeal was based upon the presumed economic return of investment in education both at the macro and micro levels. Efforts to promote investment in human capital were seen to result in rapid economic growth for society. For individuals, such investment was seen to provide returns in the form of individual economic success and achievement.

Most economists agree that it is the human resources of a nation, not its capital nor its

material resources that ultimately determine the character and pace of its economic and social development. Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1997) assert that:

Human resources constitute the ultimate basis of wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production, human beings are the active agencies who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organization, and carry forward national development. (p. 102).

The importance of education and human capital has been brought out in many studies of economic growth and development. Robert (1991) developed a human capital model which shows that education and the creation of human capital was responsible for both the differences in labour productivity and the differences in overall levels of technology that we observe in the world. More than anything else, it has been the spectacular growth in East Asia that has given education and human capital their current popularity in the field of economic growth and development. Countries such as Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have achieved unprecedented rates of economic growth while making large investments in education. In the statistical analysis that accompanied his study, the World Bank found that improvement in education is a very significant explanatory variable for East Asian economic growth.

There are several ways of modeling how the huge expansion of education accelerated economic growth and development. The first is to view education as an investment in human capital. A different view of the role of education in economic success is that education has positive externalities: “Educate part of the community and the whole of it benefits”. The idea that education generates positive externalities is by no means new. Many of the classical economists argued strongly for government’s active support of education on the grounds of the positive externalities that society would gain from a more educated labour force and populace (Van-Den-Berg 2001). Smith (1976) reflects such progressive contemporary thought when he wrote that by educating its people, a society:

Derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people besides, are always more decent and orderly than ignorant and stupid ones. (p. 68).

Smith views the externalities to education as important to the proper functioning not only of the economy but of a democratic society. Another way of modeling the role of education in the growth and development process is to view human capital as a critical input for innovations, research and development activities. From this perspective, education is seen as an intentional effort to increase the resources needed for creating new ideas, and thus, any increase in

education will directly accelerate technological progress. This modeling approach usually adopts the Schumpeter (1973) assumptions of imperfectly competitive product markets and competitive innovation, which permit the process of generating technological progress. Education is seen as an input into intentional and entrepreneurial efforts to create new technology and new products. Proponents of this view of education point out the close correlation between new product development and levels of education. The countries that are at the forefront of technology also have the most educated population (Van-Den-Berg 2001).

The review of empirical tests of the theory by Garba (2002) shows that cross-country regressions have shown positive correlation between educational attainment and economic growth and development. Odekunle (2001) affirms that investment in human capital has positive effects on the supply of entrepreneurial activity and technological innovation. Ayeni (2003) asserts that education as an investment has future benefits of creation of status, job security and other benefits in cash and in kind. However, Ayara (2002) reports that education has not had the expected positive growth impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Hence, he proposes three possibilities that could account for such results, which are: (i) Educational capital has gone into privately remunerative but socially unproductive activities; or (ii) There has been slow growth in the demand for educated labour; or (iii) The education system has failed, such that schooling provides few (or no) skills.

Babalola (2003) asserts that the contribution of education to economic growth and development occurs through its ability to increase the productivity of an existing labour force in various ways. However, economic evaluation of educational investment projects should take into account certain criteria according to Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1997) which are:

- Direct economic returns to investment, in terms of the balance between the opportunity costs of resources and the expected future benefits;
- Indirect economic returns, in terms of external benefits affecting other members of society;
- The private demand for education and other factors determining individual demand for education;
- The geographical and social distribution of educational opportunities; and,
- The distribution of financial benefits and burdens of education.

Education plays a great and significant role in the economy of a nation, thus educational expenditures are found to constitute a form of investment. This augments individual's human capital and leads to greater output for society and enhanced earnings for the individual worker. It increases their chances of employment in the labour market, and allows them to reap pecuniary and nonpecuniary returns and gives them opportunities for job mobility. Education is a source of economic growth and development only if it is anti-traditional to the extent that it liberates, stimulates and informs the individual and teaches him how and why to make demands

upon himself. Accordingly, a proper educational strategy would manifest itself in four major development-producing capacities. According to Bronchi (2003) the first is the development of a general trend favourable to economic progress. The reference is to social mobility, with a general increase in literacy necessary for improved communication. The second capacity emphasizes the development of complementary resources for factors which are relatively plenty and substitutes for relatively scarce factors. That is, educated people would be more adaptable to varying production needs. The third capacity underscores the durability of educational investment. He argues that education has greater durability than most forms of non-human reproductive capital, which implies that a given investment in education tends to be more productive, other things being equal, than some outlay on non-human capital. Finally, education is an alternative to consumption, for it transfers to round-about production the resources that would otherwise be consumed now.

The main problem associated with the belief that education is good for economic growth and development according to Babalola (2003) concerns how to maintain a position of equilibrium. That is, where there will be no evidence of either shortage or surplus supply of educated people. A shortage of educated people might limit growth, while excess supply of it might create unemployment and thus limit economic growth and development. The theory has been criticized on several grounds. At the individual level, it has become controversial whether or to what extent education or other forms of human investments are directly related to improvement in occupation and income. Bronchi (2003) asserts that raising the level of education in a society can under certain instances increase the inequalities in income distribution.

Fagerlind and Saha (1997) assert that while governments may adopt educational plans consistent with specific development goals and strategies, they can only be partially certain that outcomes of these will correspond to original intentions; the more political the goals of education, the more problematic the outcomes. In light of this, to view education as a panacea for the attainment of development objectives is risky. Thus, education in general and schooling in particular, cannot on its own achieve the desired societal goals without structural reforms.

Another major problem in the application of the theory is its failure to account for a growing gap between people's increasing learning efforts and knowledge base and the diminishing number of commensurate jobs to apply their increasing knowledge investment, especially in developing nations. To this, some advocates of the theory (Bronchi, 2003; Castronova, 2002; Crepaz & Moser, 2004) assert that these great increases in learning efforts have not led to commensurate economic gains because of the declining quality of education, lopsidedness and politically motivated system of education. The central difference in the policy implications of the human capital model and the alternative models relates to the desirable level of public expenditure on education. The basic implication of the human capital model is that

allocation of resources on education should be expanded to the point where the present value of the streams of returns to marginal investment is equal or greater than the marginal costs.

Many of the developing nations have thus realized that the principal mechanism for developing human knowledge is the education system. Thus, they invest huge sum of money on education not only as an attempt to impart knowledge and skills to individuals but also to impart values, ideas, attitudes and aspirations which may be in the nation's best developmental interest. In addition to manpower planning needs, parents strongly feel that in an era of scarcely skilled manpower, the better the education their children can get, the better are their chances of getting well-paid jobs. The poor often look at their children's education as the best means of escaping poverty. The concept of human resources has provided a useful bridge between the theoretical concerns of students of the developmental process and the practical requirements of assistance to planners. Irrespective of the explanation given for global educational expansion, the consequences of this expansion for social systems can be problematic. The tensions and strains of educational expansion can impede economic, social and political development. For example, the accelerated costs of expanding the educational system compete with other sectors of the respective societies for finite resources. As mass primary education is attained, expansion shifts to the secondary and tertiary levels as these too are gradually transformed into mass systems. At the same time, the increase in costs is not arithmetic but geometric. These pressures ultimately create a dilemma for governments who must realistically assess and determine spending priorities for scarce economic resources.

Adopting a position based on the assumptions of the human capital and modernization theorists, Fagerlind and Saha (1997) argue that in developing countries at least, educational demand must be tempered in order to bring costs and benefits to more realistic levels. Among the suggestions they made are that:

- The costs of education should be borne by the beneficiary or recipient by means of family assistance or self-help schemes rather than solely the state;
- The income differential between the traditional and modern sectors should be reduced, which in effect lowers the benefits according to the educational attainments;
- The educational requirements for particular jobs should not be exaggerated; and
- The wage structure should be tied to occupational and requirements rather than educational attainments.

It is also worth noting that the causal relationship between education and earnings has important implications for public policy. If human capital theorists are correct in arguing that education is the primary cause of higher earnings, then it obviously makes sense to provide more education to low-income groups of society, like the Maasai in Tanzania, to reduce poverty and the degree of income inequality. This analysis suggests that the primary focus of subsidies to

education should be on ensuring that all those who can benefit from, have access to appropriate opportunities, rather than on reducing costs incurred by those who would undertake higher education in any case.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

Gender, culture and education are three variables that should not be looked at in isolation but each of them should always be treated and identified in interaction with one another. The three concepts are always in interaction moderated by government policies and economic status. Researchers and scientists have to find the intersection(s) amongst the three variables if really people and institutions are to understand the essences of the gender gaps from their defined contexts and that are generated from these intersections. It includes their respective practical consequences in education among males and females (boys and girls)

A holistic and systemic approach was used in examining closely the relations between traditional cultures and girls education in Tanzania and how each of the variables influences one another. Such an examination will help in coming up with challenges that the government and other educational stakeholders face in addressing the cultural constraints that hinder girls' access to education in Tanzania.

The diagram below describes the relationship between various variables that influence girls' education.

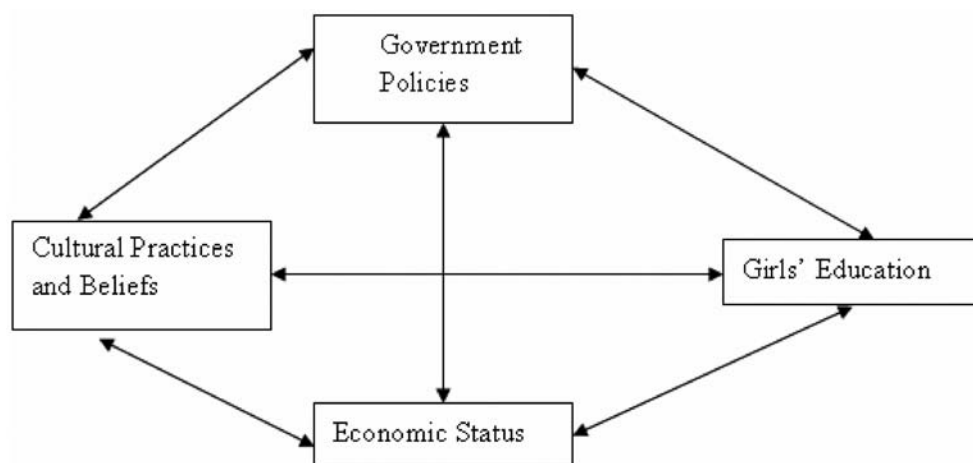


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Researchers' Construct, 2010

Figure 1 above shows the holistic relationship between culture, economic status, government policies and girls' education. It can be seen that the variables exist in a reciprocal relationship. This means that they affect each other. Cultural practices and beliefs can affect girls' education, economic status and government policies; but it can also be affected by those variables. For example girl's education can also influence economic status, government policies

and cultural practices and beliefs. Thus, these variables are interdependent.

1.9 Delimitation of the Study

This study focused on how culture affects girls' basic education among the Maasai of Monduli in Tanzania. The researchers explored common cultural practices and values among the Maasai and how they affect girls' basic education both positively and negatively. The researchers further investigated the challenges which exist in addressing cultural constraints that hinder girls' access to education among the Maasai.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

During this study researchers encountered some limitations that hampered them to explore many aspects related to Maasai girls' education in Monduli District. The limitations were as follows:

First, the funds given for the study was insufficient to make researchers stay in the field for a long enough time so as to collect more data than what was collected.

Second, the Maasai respondents were so hesitant to provide information and were skeptical about the researchers all the time. They looked at the researchers as intruders intending to spy on their culture.

Some important statistics about the Maasai were not readily available; instead the researchers were told to go for statistics after one month something which was difficult because of the small amount of funds that were given to the researchers.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section provides a review of the literature related to the proposed study. The aim is to establish an understanding of the position of education in socio-economic development and how culture has been influencing the implementation of various education plans, programmes and projects in Tanzania. The literature review focuses on the effects of Maasai culture on the provision of education in Tanzania. The details of the reviewed literature are as follows:

2.2 Education and Development

The URT (1995) provides two definitions of education: (i) education as the process by which the individual acquires knowledge and skills necessary for appreciating and adapting to the environment and the ever-changing social, political and economic conditions of society and as a means by which one can realise one's full potential, and (ii) education as the process of initiating and preparing man through training, in his environment, to play active roles in society.

The URT (1995) further explains the importance as providing desirable and worthwhile broad and in-depth modes of thought, skills, attitudes and understanding needed for the full development of human thinking and actions. Education makes man aware of his own potential and responsibility to change and improve his own condition and that of his society; it embodies within it science and technology.

Woodhall (2004) also argues that education is now universally recognised as a form of investment in human capital and yields economic benefits and contributes to a country's future wealth by increasing the productive capacity of its people. Thus, expenditure on education can be partially justified in terms of the potential contribution of education to economic growth. The URT (1995) further adds that the relationship between education and development depends on the extent to which the kind of education provided and its methods can meet the expectations of the individual and the needs of the society. The people's higher standard of living, maintenance of peace, unity, mutual understanding and cooperation in Tanzania depend on the satisfaction of the basic needs for food, shelter, clean and safe water, environment as well as better performance in agriculture, industry and other sectors. The effectiveness and efficiency in the performance of these sectors lies within the level of education of the individuals in the country (URT, 1995). Omari (1981) further argues that people need education to acquire a broad base of knowledge, attitude, values and skills, which they can build in later life, but the emphasis is that education should provide people with the potential to learn, to respond to new opportunities, to adjust to social and cultural changes, and to participate in political, cultural and social activities.

2.3 Rationale for Providing Primary Education in Tanzania

As far as primary education is concerned, Tanzania and other developing countries continue providing it since, as Lopes (2001) also contends, it is essential to one's development.

Economic motives for the universalisation of primary education are based on the assumption that primary school education increases economic development, social and political modernisation (Lopes, 2001). The World Bank (1986) observes that the provision of a minimum education is an important condition for effective participation of the masses in the development process as well as in the social political process and ensures better use of human resources. Omari (1981) adds that school education raises productivity by increasing and improving cognitive abilities and dispositions of workers. These connotations emphasise that one has to complete the cycle of education entitled for a nation's success.

Since primary education is so crucial in the development of individuals and the nation at large, Lopes (2001) insists that it should be provided in a healthy environment. Omari (1981) adds that the state should take the obligation to make schools accessible, attractive and palatable to learners. Good school quality tends to attract pupils to stay and complete a cycle of schooling successfully. According to Omari (1981), factors for school quality include the qualification and experience of teachers, good environment for learning, infrastructure, and availability

of reading materials. Poor quality schools demotivate and discourage pupils from attending school due to perceived future uncertainty. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the state, as Omari (1981) contends, to make sure that the quality of schools is good in order to enhance an effective teaching and learning process, as well as to encourage parents and elicit their support in financing and running the schools.

2.4 Education as Investment in Human Capital

On the part of the Tanzanian government, the strongest motivation for expanding the education system is probably the perceived need to increase the quality of the country's stock of human capital; that is to see education as an investment good, essential to success in lifting national production, achieving higher levels of output per head, and hence in raising the standard of living of the population. The public costs of education are incurred deliberately to acquire a productive stock, embodied in human beings, that provides future goods and services. In this sense, it is truly an investment (Galabawa, 2001)

Education is also conducive to many other changes contributing to social and economic development, which the narrow economic approaches fail to capture. Schooling strengthens various aspects of social policy relating to family size, health, nutrition, literacy and awareness of national culture (Jones, 1990). Female education may be particularly important for:

1. Lowering infant and early childhood mortality
2. Raising the quality of child-bearing
3. Increasing the likelihood that a woman will work outside the home, and for
4. Increasing the use of family planning and hastening fertility decline

2.5 Culture and Education

Culture and education are two interrelated concepts. The culture of a given group or geographical location or even a country can be defined as people's traditions, history, values and language that contribute to the identity of the group. It is about the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people's perceptions, interpretations, expressions and how they respond to those social realities around their living environments (Lederach, 1995).

Culture can further be defined as the shared patterns of behaviours, interactions and cognitive constructs and affective understandings that are learned through a process of socialization. Such understandings and patterns therefore are used to identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group. Each cultural group has its own culture-based education. This kind of education is informal compared to the formal education that is offered by the state. It reflects, validates and promotes the values, world views, and languages of each community's cultures. Culture-based education is far more than the incorporation of cultural events and traditional skills into the curriculum. The goal of culture-based education is to support all students through the affirmation of their culture. A formal

school education recognizes and validates the students' culture; it helps them to be aware of their heritage and to value the accomplishments of their family, their community and their ancestors. The assumption in as far as the Maasai culture is concerned in this study may not be the case as it should be argued later in the statement of the problem.

2.6 Maasai Culture and Education Provision

Each society has its own cultural values and norms that influence people's perceptions, behaviour and activities. In as far as education is concerned; each society has historically had its way of providing education to young members of society (Shepherd, 2009). With the introduction of modern education approaches to education provision has kept on changing becoming more formal in nature (Lederach, 1995).

New education has brought new demands which tend to challenge the traditional cultural norms and values. While modern education has kept on viewing the traditional culture to be characterised by many non-developmental norms and values, some traditional educationists have kept on striving to ensure that their cultural norms and values are sustained in the current times (Kaheta, 2005). Adherence to traditional cultural values and norms is still strong among the Maasai, though some of them have changed and others are changing the way they perceive their cultural values and norms (Leggett, 2005 in Ngoitiko, 2008).

According to Heather (2009) the Maasai cultural values and norms subjugate women and girls in their respective societies. There is still male dominance in Maasai communities which in turn has led to the marginalization of Maasai women for many years now. Women are not involved in making important decisions; they don't own property (including livestock); are subjected to forced marriages, heavy workloads and physical suffering; and also they are not given greater access to education by their respective communities (Ngoitiko, 2008). Because of a lack of education most Maasai women are not able to participate in the decision-making processes and they lack the capacity to take various positions at different government levels (Ngoitiko, 2008).

2.7 Efforts to Provide Education to Maasai Girls in Tanzania

There are various efforts which have been made by the Government of Tanzania, Non-governmental Organisations and Religious Organisations to enhance girls' access to education among the Maasai communities (Conrad, 2008). Examples of Non-Governmental organisations include: The Maasai Women for Education and Economic Development (MAWEED), the Mainyoito Pastoralist Integrated Development Organisation (MPIDO), Maasai Education Discovery (MED), The Maasai Foundation of America, INC, Parakuito Pastoralists Indigenous Community Development Organisation (PAICODEO), The Pastoral Womens Council (PWC), and the Maasai Wmen Development Organisation (MWEDO) (Conrad, 2008). Also, there are religious organisations such as the Irkirammat Foundation (RAMAT) which was established in

2004; international organisations such as Oxfam and USAID. These organisations work hand in hand with the government in providing, among other things, formal education to the Maasai communities with a focus on empowering women and girls (Ngoitiko, 2008).

Despite the fact that there has been some successes in making some Maasai parents send their girl children to school, still some cultural constraints prevail. The government and the NGOs have been striving to ensure that such constraints are addressed in order that the community members can change their attitudes towards girls' education in society. According to MWEDO (2006) various local consultation workshops with the local community members have been conducted and the main method used is Focus group Discussion (FGD). The workshops have involved Maasai participants from different Maasai districts of Arusha, and Manyara regions such as Monduli, Kiteto, Longido, and Arusha Municipality. The major aim of these efforts has been to promote people's participation and participatory local leadership and planning in development projects (Conrad, 2008).

Apart from the government and NGOs, there are volunteer projects which have been established among the Maasai communities with the aim of empowering both men and women (Shepherd, 2009). Volunteers have come from various countries such as the United States of America, Japan, Germany and Canada. One of their activities is to help in transforming the attitudes of Maasai communities towards girls' education in their respective communities. However, despite all these efforts, cultural constraints are still a challenge. It is thus, important to find out the challenges that the government, NGOs and voluntary teams have been facing in addressing these cultural constraints when striving to empower women and girls among the Maasai communities in Tanzania.

3. Research Methodology

This section presents the methodology that was used in carrying out this study. It consists of the research design, area of study, population, sample and sampling procedure, instruments, validation of instruments, and data analysis plan.

3.1 Research Design

The research was to be largely qualitative, using a case study design in which the Maasai cultural practices and values that affect girls' education in Tanzania were investigated. Apart from being largely qualitative in nature, the study also employed quantitative techniques in collecting and analyzing data. The case study design involved the use of five data collection methods, namely questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussion and observation. The case study design was chosen in order to get detailed information and a comprehensive picture pertaining to the impact of Maasai cultural practices and values on girls' education. Furthermore, the case study was chosen since only one district, Monduli, was selected for the

study. In fact, it was not possible to easily undertake such a study in all regions in Tanzania involving all tribes.

3.2 Area of Study

The study was conducted in Monduli District in Tanzania, specifically among the Maasai communities. Four primary schools were selected as well as the office of the Monduli District Education Officer in charge of primary education. Three ward education coordinators were also involved in the study. The wards included were Makuyuni, Monduli Juu and Mto wa Mbu.

3.3 Target Population

The target population encompassed the Maasai tribe in Tanzania. These are pastoralists who do not value much the education for girls. They believe that educating a girl is not beneficial because once a girl is married starts belonging to the family of her husband. It means the husband's family members are the ones who will benefit from her education after getting married. So, why waste resources?

3.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

3.4.1 Sample Size

The sample consisted of 70 respondents. The respondents were distributed as follows: One District Education Officer (DEO) in charge of primary education, five (5) head teachers, ten (10) primary school teachers, three (three) ward education coordinators, eleven (11) Maasai elders, and forty (40) pupils from five schools; that is, eight pupils from each school.

3.4.2 Sampling Techniques

Both random and purposive sampling procedures were used in selecting subjects for the sample. Maasai elders and teachers were selected randomly to avoid having some bias. The government officials and local government leaders were selected purposively since these have the requisite information in the form of documents pertaining to basic education development in Tanzania.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Five methods were used in collecting data. They include: questionnaires, interviews, documentary review, focus-group discussion, and observation.

- **Questionnaires**

Questionnaires were administered to 40 primary school female Maasai pupils, and ten teachers. They contained both open-ended and close-ended questions. Open-ended questions were used in order to get the experiences and feelings from female Maasai pupils about the influence of cultural practices on girls' education. Closed-ended questions were used for gathering information that the researcher intended to get but was not easily obtained through open-ended questions.

- Interview Schedules

Semi-structured interview schedules were used in data collection where the DEO, Head teachers and Ward Education Coordinators were involved.

- Documentary Review

Various documents will be reviewed in schools, Central Government offices, and local government offices. These include circulars, reports on education development and school rosters for students and teachers.

- Focus-group discussion

This method was used in soliciting information from Maasai elders. They were asked various questions ranging from their knowledge about common cultural practices and values among the Maasai and how they affect girls' education in their respective societies.

- Observation

Non-participant observation was used during data collection so as to get first-hand information from visual experience.

3.6 Validation of Research Instruments

Validity of the research instruments used in this study was established by initially discussing the drafts with colleagues at Mzumbe University, and later, by pre-testing which was conducted among the few Maasai found in the Morogoro region in Tanzania. Later, important adjustments were made before administering the research instruments in Monduli District.

3.7 Data Analysis Plan

Data collected through various methods were synchronised and organised according to the research questions and coded on broad sheets of paper. They were then presented in tabular forms, with frequencies and percentages being calculated for drawing up conclusions on particular observations. Non-quantifiable data were subjected to content analysis and interpretation, and open ended responses were organised in tables to facilitate comprehension.

4. Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

4.1 Introduction

This section describes the presentation and analysis of the findings. It begins by providing the description of the research respondents thereby explaining their occupational and educational backgrounds. The presentations and analysis are based on the research objectives and research questions. The details of the section are as provided hereunder.

4.2 Description of Respondents

Respondents used in this study were of various occupational and educational backgrounds. Occupationally, the study involved ten Maasai elders who were pastoralists, one District Education Officer (primary education), three ward education coordinators and ten teachers.

Education wise, forty (40) primary school pupils were involved in data collection.

4.3 Current Perception Towards Maasai Girl's Education Among the Maasai in Monduli

Researchers in this study asked the respondents to give their views on how they found the perception of Maasai people towards girls' education in their communities. The responses were as follows:

All seventy (100%) respondents said that regarding Maasai's perception towards girls' education there has been some improvement compared to the previous twenty or so years. But the rise in awareness has been slight since a majority of the Maasai parents have a negative attitude towards educating girls. One of the teachers of Maasai origin said:

You know, there has been a big problem among Maasai parents in Maasailand in general. Maasai elders hate educating girls thinking that they are going to be polluted with cultural elements from other tribes. Furthermore, they consider girls to be sources of labour at home to keep on taking care of cattle. Also, according to Maasai tribe, once a girl gets married she becomes more affiliated to the husband's family rather than her family of origin. For that matter they don't see sense in educating a person whose existence in the family is regarded as temporary. They believe that once you educate a girl, then the family of her husband are the ones who are going to benefit from her education.

The same was observed during the group discussion with the Maasai elders. They said that when they thought people's attitudes towards girls' education were becoming positive, it will take a very long time for all the Maasai to develop a positive attitude towards girls' education. They argued that the change in attitudes is very gradual and a majority of the Maasai elders like marrying off their girl children very early in order that they can get some cattle which are paid as dowry.

During an interview with one of the head teachers, it was discovered that even the Maasai girls themselves have started realizing the importance of education such that some tend to avoid getting married early in favour of getting an education first. The head teacher gave the following story:

I can say that the future of Maasai girls will be better in terms of accessing education because of the rise of awareness of the importance of education among the girls themselves. I have witnessed in this district five cases where girls ran from their parents in the village and went to Arusha to join secondary schools some of which are under religious organisation. A very interesting case was when one girl was forced to get married to an old man after finishing standard seven. The father and her brothers forced her to get married contrary to her will. When she was taken by force to the old man, she escaped at night and went to her aunt in Arusha town where she joined a secondary school. It

was said that even before being forced to get married, her father was not happy with the way she was performing well in primary school. The father once went to a witch doctor asking him to bewitch the daughter so that she could get confused and fail in standard seven examinations. His aim was that he did not want his daughter to proceed with further studies in order that she could get married to an old man. However, the witchdoctor failed to bewitch her and she never got confused at all. She finished her studies only to find that she was now forced to get married prematurely. The head teacher concluded, this shows that even girls' awareness is rising and this is a good step forward in transforming the maasai society in Tanzania.

Adding more views on the rise of awareness of the importance of girls' education among the Maasai, one of the teachers (Maasai tribe) said;

Dear researchers from Mzumbe University, I really tell you that though the Maasai people are said to be very strongly clung to their traditional cultural norms and value, there are some changes though gradual which are taking place in terms of the rise of awareness on the importance of girls' education among the Maasai. I remember an incident where one girl, some six years ago, her father wanted to marry her off to a 30-year old stranger while she was just 13 years old. Her father had taken some dowry in advance from the strange man. Then that man came home with the purpose of arranging with the father and the family about marriage processes. In fact, the next day the girl was supposed to drop from school and begin a new life as a housewife and a mother within a year. But the girl had a different plan. At night, while the father slept, she and her mother quietly packed a small pack of clothes, and then escaped by moonlight in heavy tears through the forest bush, running more than a mile to her uncle's home. The next morning the two of them drove for six hours to a refuge 200 miles away where the uncle had whispered to her about. Now the girl is 19 years preparing to start college in the autumn hoping to be a woman doctor soon. This is an indication that Maasai society is changing gradually and we hope that in some twenty years to come different things will happen among the Maasai.

The findings above are in line with the findings by the Pastoral Women's Council, a non-governmental organization, which found that at least three Maasai girls run away from home daily to escape arranged marriages.

When asked to comment on early marriages which affect girls' education, one of the standard six female pupils from Monduli Juu Primary School said;

According to me and some of my fellow girls who are in school now are fond of studying rather than getting married as preferred by most of our parents. After all, they force us to get married just because they have taken some dowry in terms of cattle. In fact, what is

done here is just marrying us off by force to men that we don't love at all and they are not of our choice. I think the government and Non-governmental organizations should make more efforts to educate our parents so that they can know that we are human beings who have the right to make choices in our life and we can even help them in the future, probably more than some of the boys can do.

All the above findings provide proof that Maasai people have been changing in terms of their perception towards girls' education in their respective communities. This gives the researchers confidence that today's Maasai society might not be the same society some thirty years to come.

Regarding the question as to what has contributed to the development of positive attitudes towards girls' education among the Maasai, they provided the following answers.

Table 4.1: Factors that Contributed to positive perception on girls education

Responses	Frequency of responses	
	#	%
Government campaigns to educate Maasai girls	56	80
Radio programmes	13	18.6
Maasai graduates at various levels	15	21.4
Awareness programmes by NGOs and CBOs	63	90
Experience from towns and cities regarding success of women and girls	9	13
Influence of mother who got primary education	17	24

Source: Compiled by researchers from the field data, 2010

Table 4.1 indicates that the positive attitude towards girl's education among Maasai has been due to: government campaigns, radio programmes, Maasai graduates (especially females), awareness programmes by Nongovernmental organisations and Community based organisations, influence of mother who finished standard seven, as well as the experience that some of the Maasai people get from towns and cities where they go to work as watchmen or to sell traditional medicine. One of the Maasai elders from Emairere village in Monduli Juu ward said:

I have a friend of mine who has two daughters studying at Weruweru and Machame girls' secondary schools in Moshi. He decided educating his daughters after seeing what one of the Maasai girls was doing in Dar es Salaam. He said that the girl had opened an entrepreneurial centre where she was selling various items required by tourists and she was traveling to China and Dubai for business purposes. The girl managed to build a very posh house in Arusha town for her parents and they are now living happily. Seeing that, the friend of mine sold some cattle and sent his daughters to one of international primary schools in Arusha. They performed well and they are now in secondary schools. You see,

this was a result of his traveling to Dar es Salaam where he met that successful Maasai lady. He has been encouraging other parents to educate their daughters whenever we hold village meetings.

Furthermore, the respondents wanted to identify the criteria that the respondents used in concluding that there has been development of a positive attitude towards girls' education among the Maasai. The responses were as follows:

Table 4.2: Criteria for Judging Positive Attitude Towards Girls' Education

Criteria	Frequencies of responses	
	#	%
There are Maasai girls in primary schools	34	48.6
Some Maasai parents now send their girl children to international schools	22	31.4
A good number of Maasai people contribute in building primary schools in their respective societies	45	64.7
Increased efforts by Maasai female graduates to encourage girls' education among the Maasai communities	7	10
Request to NGOs by Maasai elders for schools in their respective villages	11	16
Higher attendance of girls than boys in some schools in Monduli	4	6

Source: Compiled by researchers from the field data, 2010

Table 4.2 portrays that some of the criteria that were used by respondents to judge that there was an increase in positive attitude towards girls' education among the Maasai included: presence of Maasai girls in primary schools such that in some schools girls are more than boys, the tendency of some of the Massai parents to send their daughters to international schools that are expensive, increased efforts by Maasai female graduates to sensitise the Maasai parents to send their girl children to school, and Maasai elders requesting some of the NGOs to assist them in building schools in their respective villages.

Regarding the Maasai elders' requests one of the respondents said that the Maasai elders from Esilalei village once requested the Maasai Wandering Community Project management to build a school in their village. The school was built in collaboration with three groups of students from Brisbane Girls Grammar (Australia). The same Australian students also built a school in Illkurot village in 2008. A lot of success in terms of education development was realised as the enrolment of girls increased to schools.

4.4 Status of Enrolment of Maasai Girls in Primary Schools in Monduli District

The researchers were also interested in knowing the status of enrolment of Maasai girls in primary schools in Monduli District. The response was that the number of Maasai girls in primary schools had increased due to the fact that there has been a concerted government effort to ensure equal opportunities for basic education as stipulated by the Education for All policy that was launched in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand. Other factors included the NGOs, Faith Based

Organisations (FBOs), and Maasai graduates.

It was said that in some classrooms in primary schools in Monduli had a number of Maasai girls that was greater than Maasai boys and some were performing better than boys. However, the major issues in as far as Maasai girls' schooling is concerned are poor retention, absenteeism due to domestic chores, truancy because of traditional dances and pregnancies as many of the Maasai girls are involved in sexual relationships at a very tender age. Early marriages are a great snag in educating Maasai girls. Table 4.3 shows the responses regarding the education policy issues in Maasailand as follows:

Table 4.3: Responses Regarding Factors Affecting Maasai Girls' Basic Education

Factors/Issues	Frequencies of responses	
	#	%
Poor retention rate/Drop out	45	62.3
Absenteeism	57	81.4
Truancy	61	97.1
Lack of awareness on the importance of education	39	55.7
Early marriages	59	84.3
Promiscuous sexual relationships at tender ages	37	52.9

Source: Compiled by researchers from the field data, 2010

Table 4.3 portrays the complicated situation whereby there are many factors that militate against the efforts to increase enrolment of Maasai girls in Monduli District. It should be borne in mind that these factors, as the teachers said, do not prevail on Monduli District only, but also in other Districts in Arusha region and Manyara as well. This is because the Maasai are basically pastoralists and have the same traditional culture.

4.5 Cultural Constraints to Girls' Access to Basic Education in Monduli District

Despite the fact that some of the cultural constraints had already been identified when responding to the research question in section 4.4 of this report, the researchers asked the respondents to identify the cultural constraints to girls' access to basic education in Monduli District. The respondents identified various cultural constraints as follows: initiation ceremonies, early and forced marriages of young girls at the age of 12 to 13 years, cattle and goat keeping that require girls to send the cattle and goats to the pasture land, girls being given domestic chores like cooking, taking care of children and traditional dances called ESOTO which take place at night. Another constraint that was mentioned was the low value given to girls in Maasai society as compared to the value given to boys. These constraints are illustrated in Table 4.4 as follows:

Table 4.4: Cultural Constraints to Girls' Access to Basic Education in Monduli District

Cultural Constraints	Frequencies of responses	
	#	%
Initiation ceremonies	61	87.1
Early and forced marriages of young girls	68	97.1
Cattle and goat keeping	70	100
Girls being given domestic chores like cooking and taking care of children	36	51.4
Traditional dances called ESOTO which take place at night.	44	62.9

Source: Compiled by researchers from the field data, 2010

Table 4.4 depicts that cattle and goat keeping was mentioned by all 70 respondents (100%) to be one of the cultural constraints which contributed to girls' access to basic education among the Maasai in Monduli. Initiation ceremonies and night traditional dances which had the frequencies of 61 and 44 respectively, were said to be contributing greatly to the involvement of Maasai girls in love affairs leading to early pregnancies and contraction of HIV/AIDS.

Traditional dances among the Maasai make school children miss school, indulge in promiscuous sexual interactions and get pregnant as well as diseases like HIV/AIDS. The dances of this nature are common in Monduli District as well as other parts of Arusha and Manyara. Apart from traditional dances, the Maasai also still practice Female Genital Mutilation under very precarious conditions putting girls at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS since the facilities used during genital mutilation are shared among the subjects of mutilation without sterilization.

4.6 Efforts by the Government, CBOs and NGOs in Promoting Girls' Basic Education Among the Maasai in Monduli District

After identifying the cultural constraints which hinder girls' access to education among the Maasai in Monduli, the researchers also asked the respondents to identify various efforts made by the government, Community Based Organisations(CBOs) and NGOs in promoting girls education among the Maasai, in particular, Monduli District. The efforts were identified as follows:

The District Educational Officer said that there are meetings which are held to raise awareness among the Maasai regarding the importance of education and building of boarding schools. The District education officer further said that the government has been providing funds under the Primary Education Development Plan which is in phase two to construct primary schools near the Maasai residences in order to encourage the Maasai to send their kids to school, girls inclusive.

Apart from the Government, CBOs were in the fore front in promoting girls education in Monduli. One of the CBOs operating in Monduli District is Maasai Women Development Organisation that was founded in 2005 whose overall objective is to empower Maasai women and young girls who live in the underserved communities in rural Tanzania through availing

education opportunities in order to improve their socio-economic condition. Among other aspects MWEDO provides scholarships to girls, promotes girls' retention in schools, provides mentoring services to girls and women among the Maasai, and mobilizes funds at a community level for supporting the education of the Maasai girls. Since 2005, more than 200 girls have been sponsored by this organization. The organization also provides adult literacy courses to adult Maasai people in order to empower them so that they can participate in decision-making and various development activities.

Non-Governmental organizations were also mentioned to be participating in promoting girls' education among the Maasai. Some of the NGOs which were mentioned include World Vision, Maarifa ni Ufunguo (Knowledge is the Key) and ARK Mission which is a charity organisation. Maarifa ni Ufunguo, in particular has been working since 2008 to transform girls education in Arusha including Monduli. It has been making efforts to build the capacity of girls by supporting their education financially. It is operating to execute the Education For All Policy. The ARK mission is the charity organization which is led by volunteers with the aim of promoting and protecting human rights of people with intellectual and developmental disabilities and is dedicated to giving hope to orphan children around the world. It works in Monduli promoting girls education too.

In fact, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community-based Organizations (CBOs) currently working in Monduli District, have established their own joint network forum, to be known as Monduli Non-Governmental Network (MONGO NET).

The newly established MONGO NET is a District-based network, which works toward building the capacity of its member NGOs and CBOs, formulating a symbiotic coordination and creating a conducive working environment for its members.

The network is also aiming at improving the livelihood of Monduli residents enabling them to play their vital development roles in forging a vibrant civil society.

4.7 Challenges in Addressing Cultural Hindrances to Enhancing Girls' Access to Basic Education in Monduli District

The researcher asked thirty respondents (excluding 40 pupils) to mention some challenges that hamper them from enhancing the girls' access to basic education in Monduli District. The question was asked to the District Education Officer (Primary Education), five head teachers, three ward education coordinators and eleven Maasai elders. They identified the challenges as follows:

Table 4.5: Challenges in addressing cultural hindrances to Maasai girls' education N=30

Challenges	Frequency of responses	
	#	%
Inadequacy or lack of funds	12	40
Some Maasai parents are adamant to change	9	30
Remoteness of some places where the Maasai live	7	23.3
Frequent migration of the Maasai people as many of them live a nomadic life.	16	53.3
Low international support and the local NGOs tend to be focusing on getting money for personal interests rather than addressing seriously the educational problems facing the Maasai	5	16.7

Source: Compiled by researchers from the field, 2011

Table 4.5 depicts that various challenges exist in addressing cultural constraints to enhancing Maasai girls' education in Monduli District. Details of some of the challenges mentioned were as follows:

Inadequacy or lack of funds. Regarding this challenge the head teachers and the District Education Officer (Primary Education) said that there are problems of funds provided to the district education office or primary schools. And when the funds are allocated for the district they normally come late and not in the amount requested. This makes the efforts to organize seminars and other Maasai development projects difficult. One of the head teachers said,

I had intended to start organizing seminars for the Maasai elders in our village in order to educate them. But the problem is that I have failed to do so because of lack of funds. You know, seminars cannot just be organised without funds, there are many things which are needed in order to hold successful seminars. One needs to secure some stationary, experts in areas of counseling and many other aspects. So, lack of funds has been a big snag to me and my fellow head teachers.

Regarding the migratory nature of the Maasai, the District Education Officer (Primary Education) said,

It has been a big problem to work with the Maasai people in as far as education is concerned because they tend to keep on migrating from one place to another in search of pasture and water. It is easy for them to migrate due to the fact that most of them are living in temporary houses called boma. Being in the bomas the only valuable property they have are the cattle; so, when they decide to migrate they have nothing to lose. They just drive their cattle into the bush, off they go.

Regarding the seriousness of the NGOs that operate among the Maasai society, teachers and Maasai elders said that the contribution by NGOs is not felt by many Maasai people because they are too few to serve all the Maasai. At the same time some of the NGOs are not seriously

working for the purpose of addressing the problems facing the Maasai. They are just used by clever individuals to get funds from either the government or international funding organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO and others.

Furthermore, the teachers said that NGOs tend to focus in certain areas that are easily accessible ignoring remote places. That is why there are places where no NGO has ever visited so as to save the people.

5. Summary, Conclusion and Policy Implications

5.1 Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to assess efforts to address cultural constraints that hinder girls' access to education among the Maasai in Tanzania. Specifically the study was designed to: Investigate current perceptions among the Maasai on girls' education; Explore Maasai girls' enrolment in basic education in Monduli District; Find out efforts made by the governments, NGOs, CBOs and FBOs to promote girls' education among the Maasai; and find out challenges in addressing cultural hindrances in enhancing girls' access to basic education among the Maasai in Monduli District. The study was guided by four research questions as follows: What are the current perceptions towards girls' education among the Maasai in Monduli District? What is the status of enrolment of Maasai girls in primary schools in Monduli District? What efforts have been made by the Government and NGOs in promoting girl's education among the Maasai? and What challenges exist in addressing cultural hindrances to enhancing girls' access to basic education among the Maasai in Monduli District?

The study applied human capital theory which provided the theoretical framework of this study. The theory was used in that it explains the significance of imparting knowledge and skills to the population. The theory argues that knowledge and skills promote the productivity of the population in any society and the societies whose people are not educated tend to experience a low development rate and face many problems like diseases and poverty. Thus, it emphasizes for societies to invest in education since this has greater returns, both social and private, in the future.

The major findings of the study were as follows: Firstly, all seventy (100%) respondents said that regarding Maasai's perception towards girls' education there has been some improvement compared to the previous twenty or so years. But the rise in awareness has been slight since a majority of the Maasai parents have a negative attitude towards educating girls. Secondly, there are various factors which contributed to the positive perception of girls' among some Maasai parents; they are government campaigns to educate Maasai girls, radio programmes, female Maasai graduates who sensitise their fellow Maasai, the role of NGOs and CBOs, experience of the Maasai who visit towns and cities, and the influence of Maasai

mothers who have attained primary education. Fourthly, regarding the status of enrolment of Maasai girls in primary school, it was found that there has been an increase in the number of Maasai girls in primary schools such that in some classrooms and schools girls are more than boys. Fifthly, there are various factors that affect girls' basic education among the Maasai society. They include: Poor retention rate/Drop out, absenteeism, truancy, lack of awareness on the importance of education, early marriages, and promiscuous sexual relationships at tender ages. Sixthly, regarding the question as to what cultural constraints affect girls access to basic education, the findings were as follows for Monduli District; The respondents identified various cultural constraints as follows: initiation ceremonies, early and forced marriages of young girls at the age of 12 to 13 years, cattle and goat keeping that require girls to send the cattle and goats to the pasture land, girls being given domestic chores like cooking, taking care of children and traditional dances called ESOTO which take place at night. Another constraint that was mentioned was the low value given to girls in Maasai society as compared to the value given to boys..

Regarding efforts to enhance Maasai girls' education in Monduli District, the findings were as follows: There were projects for raising awareness of the Maasai on the importance of girls' education, and the government was providing funds for building schools near bomas and constructing boarding schools. However, the funds from the government were not adequate such that construction of schools was slow.

Lastly, the researchers found that there were several challenges that hinder the efforts to eradicate cultural constraints to girls' access to basic education in Monduli District. They include: Inadequacy or lack of funds; some Maasai parents are adamant to change; remoteness of some places where the Maasai live; Frequent migration of the Maasai people as many of them live a nomadic life; low international support and the local NGOs tend to be focusing on getting money for personal interests rather than addressing seriously the educational problems facing the Maasai

5.2 Conclusion

On the basis of the findings of this study it can be concluded that awareness of the importance of girls education among the Maasai society has risen though gradually. Currently, a good number of Maasai girls are in schools and some managed to go to secondary schools, colleges and university. Some of those who have reached higher levels of education are participating in promoting girls education in their home places by establishing some projects and NGOs. Following the rise in awareness some of the Maasai elders ask some NGOs to help them in building schools. Likewise the Maasai community members are participating in building schools and contributing food for children in schools. This is a good indicator of the rise of awareness among the Maasai. However, despite the rise in awareness there are some challenges which still exist. The challenges are a lack of funds and adamancy of some of the Maasai people to change. Likewise, not all NGOs are there to help the Maasai, some are for personal gains only.

5.3 Policy Implications

Following the challenges which have been identified above, various policy implications are given by the researchers as follows:

First, the government should increase efforts to ensure that the Maasai and other pastoralists are educated on the importance of girls' education in their societies. This should go hand in hand with formulating strict policy on this aspect.

Second, NGOs, CBOs and religious institutions should really work for the Maasai people rather than focusing on attaining personal gains under the pretext that they are serving the Maasai people.

The government should solicit funds from international organizations in order to establish more projects for educating the Maasai as well as building hostels for girls. Hostels are important because of the migratory nature of the Maasai pastoralists. With hostels, when they migrate, girls can remain in hostels while getting an education.

The fight against early marriages should be intensified by various people in collaboration with the government. When this problem is addressed, girls will have a good chance to go to school and study for their future prosperity.

Lastly, the government and other influential people should work together to discourage the migratory life of the Maasai. The first step should be to encourage them to embark on modern animal husbandry where a farmer keeps few animals that have high productivity.

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