

# Pastoral Maasai's Perceptions of the Value of Education and Completion Rates in Primary School in Longido District, Tanzania

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**Abstract:** *This article aims to reveal the progress of attaining compulsory primary school education among the pastoral Maasai community. It explored the perceptions of the pastoral Maasai of the value and completion rate of primary education in Longido District. The study adopted a social justice theory, which stress equal opportunities to cater for the needs of the disadvantaged members of the society. A qualitative approach and case study design was used to allow an in-depth understanding of pastoral Maasai perceptions and completion rate. A total of 35 participants were involved in the study. Face to face semi-structured interview, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and documentary review were used in the data collection process. The findings revealed that the pastoral Maasai had several negative perceptions of the value of primary education. This made them to attribute higher priority to herding livestock than education. The Pastoral Maasai associated the impacts of formal education with cultural alienation and loss of labour power. The study results showed that in some of the sampled schools, the completion rates were low as more than fifty percent of the pupils who were enrolled in Grade One in the year 2008 dropped out from the school before completing the primary school education cycle due to the value attached to education. The study calls for pastoralists' role models who have benefited from education to organize sensitization campaigns to each individuals, family and pastoral society on the value of primary school education.*

**Key words:** Compulsory education, Completion rate, Value, Perception, Pastoral Maasai, Primary school

## Introduction

There has been a rapid progress in making education compulsory for every individual child globally (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2015). Educational attainment is a crucial factor in determining human development, social-political and economic positions of individuals and countries throughout the world (Moshia, 2006). Through the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development on ensuring attainment of free and equitable education, Tanzania has accorded a high priority to the education sector in bringing social and economic transformation in the lives of individuals and society at large (United Nations (n.d); United Republic of Tanzania {URT}, 1999). Such transformation has been improving social

equality, infant and maternal mortality as benefits of primary education which is one of the targets of the Tanzania Development Vision (URT, 1999). In achieving social equality, for example, education enables children from disadvantaged families to get ahead with their lives in enjoying or competing with those from the well-off families (Omari, 1997).

Further, primary education is a basic human right of every child and has been affirmed in global human rights treaties such as UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education [CADE] (1960), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1981), World Conference on Education for All 1990 in Thailand, The Dakar Framework and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000 (UNESCO, 2007). All conferences aimed at eliminating all forms of disparities in education participation. Also EFA awakened the members of the global states to see education as one of their essential human rights which has a base in social justice theory by Rawls (2009). The Social justice theory stresses on equal opportunities to meet the needs of the disadvantaged members of the society (Rawls, 2009). According to social justice theory education serves as a gateway for every member of the society to obtain the desirable benefits of education such as employment, adequate income and political power.

In spite of the initiatives made to ensure that every individual is educated, progress towards primary school completion is disappointing. For example, among 137 million children who entered First Grade in 2011 in the world, 34 million left before reaching the last grade of primary school (United Nations, 2013). The dropout rate constitutes a 25 percent thus posing a challenge in achieving EFA goals (ibid). Recent evidence suggests that in the Sub Saharan Africa, the survival to last grade in 2016 was 55.11 (World Bank Group, 2019). In Tanzania the national statistics shows that, only 56.3 percent of boys and 54.8 percent of girls of 13 years old for example, reached Grade VII in 2014 (URT, 2017). Therefore, in Sub Saharan Africa, participation in education seems to be confronted by inequalities which impact negatively on the marginalized communities, including the pastoralists.

According to Dyer (2010), the pastoral society is one of several groups that are confronted with discrimination in education. In his study, she therefore demanded active commitments so as to be able to remove the educational disparities. There have been several thoughts on the causes of educational disparities of pastoralists in formal education. Such thoughts are related to practical challenge such as distance from brick and wall classroom and mobility in search of food for their animals. The enrollment rates of pastoralist in formal education, for example, were consistently lower than

the national average (Dyer, 2010). Other thoughts were related to traditional values and attitudes of formal education and pastoral culture, which demanded knowledge, and values to be passed on to the younger generation through informal education. Such thoughts have made Pastoral communities to be under-represented in the provision of services particularly primary school and education at higher levels. The village surveys report conducted in Monduli District revealed that nearly half of the adults (aged 15 years old and over) had no formal primary education (Sandet, Adolf, Mollel, et al., 2010). Specifically, the surveyed villages of Kimoukuwa, Elerai and Eworendeke had 55.9 percent, 61.1 percent and 75.8 percent respectively of adults who had no formal education (Sandet, Adolf, Mollel, et al., 2010). It is therefore obvious that, the presence of large numbers of adults without primary education poses a barrier to achieve benefits of compulsory education for children from such community.

Studies such as Bishop (2007) have shown that in Tanzania, pastoral Maasai had experienced inequalities in education with very little attention to address the situation compared to other countries such as Kenya and Mongolia where pastoralists are found. The existence of inequalities in education participation among pastoral Maasai might pose a challenge to sustainable development of Tanzania to the extent that, it could remain marginalized. As pointed out in a study with pastoralist community in Monduli district in Tanzania (Sandet, Adolf, Mollel, et al., 2010). Having a community where nearly half of the adults have no formal education is a threat to the nation. This has therefore aroused the researcher's interest at exploring the pastoral Maasai perceptions of the value of primary education; and assessed the completion rate of primary school education for the cohort enrolled in 2008-2014 among the pastoral Maasai in Longido District in Tanzania.

## **Methodology**

The qualitative research approach informed the study through a single case study design. The qualitative approach offered an effective way of capturing the actual voices of the pastoral Maasai value of the perceptions on education (Creswell, 2012). A case study was used to allow an in-depth account of the pastoral Maasai perceptions and completion rates on education within the natural settings (Zainal, 2007). Further, the nature of the study demanded more on the use of intensive interviews and focus group discussion, which were some of the unique features of a case study (Yin, 2011). In particular, a single case study was conducted in which the unit of analysis was primary education in Longido District.

The study was conducted in Longido District of Arusha region in Northern Tanzania, which was purposively selected for historical reason. It was

historically referred to as the Maasai land (Semali, 1994). Therefore, the researcher found the informants in their natural setting. Also more than 90 percent of its people were pastoralists with low response to schooling (Regional Administration and Local Government, 2013). Therefore, it was expected that sufficient and more reliable/valid data regarding the nature of the study would be obtained from this area compared to other areas where pastoralists were found.

The target population of the study consisted parents and pupils found in study area. The researcher employed purposive sampling technique in Longido District to obtain the required participants for the field data and in the selection of schools. Out of the 38 government schools, only 31 schools had pupils who had completed Grade Seven in 2014. Those schools, which had no pupil and had reached Grade Seven were new with classes in lower grades and were not included in the sampling process. Among the 31 primary schools, five schools were purposively selected based on the criterion of having the highest number of pupils' dropout rates in Longido District. Further, grade seven pupils' class was purposively involved in the study to provide information on the challenges and views held in participating in primary education. Grade Seven pupils were selected because they were mature enough and had longer experience at primary school such that they could provide the needed information compared to those in lower grades. Six pupils from pastoral families were selected through the use of stratified random sampling. In each school where pastoral Maasai children were more than six pupils, pieces of paper written "Yes" and "No" were put in a box and shuffled. Both boys and girls were divided into two groups, whereby in the boys group three papers written 'Yes' were provided, likewise to the girls. Each pupil from a pastoral family picked a piece of paper. Those who picked the papers labelled "Yes" were automatically selected to participate in the study. A total of five parents and 30 pupils were involved in answering the questions for the study. Pupils from the sampled five primary schools were organized into small group discussions.

The data collection methods used included semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and documentary review. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to be flexible in making the clarification of ambiguous issues, which were raised by the participants during the data collection process, and to compare the unique experiences of different respondents regarding the perceptions of the Maasai pastoralists on the value of primary education. Five parents who were also Maasai village leaders with their children in the respective sampled schools were purposively selected to represent other parents in the society. They were purposively selected to give their views on the value attached to primary

education. In Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), small groups of six pupils are brought together by a 'moderator' (the researcher) to explore attitudes and perceptions, feelings and ideas about a specific topic (Denscombe, 2007). Five Focus Group Discussions with six pupils in each group were conducted in the school compounds.

Various documents, which provided data on completion rates, were reviewed. Appropriate written official primary documents were used as one of the sources of data collection methods. Such documents had pupils' records about personal profiles on enrolment, attendance, dropout and completion rates. They were provided by the school heads who clarified some issues which were not clear to the researcher especially where some relevant information were missing or not seen. The attendance register for the pupils enrolled in Grade One in 2008 until their completion in 2014, monthly school reports for the respective cohort for seven years, the transfer book, disciplinary book and completion rates charts were reviewed to obtain relevant information on completion rates. At national levels, several documents were reviewed such as The Education and Training Policy (1995 and 2014), The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (1999) and Brief Statistics for Pre-Primary, Primary, Secondary, Adult and Non-formal Education (2017).

Thematic data analysis techniques were used in analysing data for this study. Thematic analysis refers to qualitative analytic method for 'identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within 'data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data analysis procedures started by making familiarization (data reduction) which involved transcribing and summarizing data from all sources on a daily basis. The process of data analysis conformed to the proposition advanced by Huberman and Miles (1994) that the analysis of qualitative research data involved data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification

The study observed several ethical issues including respecting the research sites, informed consent and confidentiality. First, permission was sought from the University of Dar es salaam before the process of data collection. All other administrative procedures for research clearance were followed. Second, a consent form provided to participants guaranteed some of their rights such as willingness to be involved, withdrawal from the study and the right to know the purpose of the study. For pupils who participated in the study, their parents signed on their behalf. In the consent form, the study objectives were made very clear to the participants to guide their decision on whether to participate or not. Third, participants were assured of their anonymity such that, their names were not requested during the data collection process and the sampled schools were assigned

pseudonyms. Every study participant in each interview and focus group discussion was assigned a numerical number whereas schools were assigned alphabet letters. The process of using anonymous names was completed at the early process of data analysis i.e during data cleaning.

## **Results**

### ***Maasai Pastoralists' perception of the value of primary school education***

The first research objective sought to explore the pastoralists' perceptions of the value of primary education. The findings are presented in four points:

**First, education is less prioritised than livestock:** The study revealed that pastoralists attached little value to formal primary education compared to livestock keeping. For them, livestock meant everything to their lives. The ownership of livestock seems to influence and shape pastoralists' lives. Every Maasai pastoralist, for example, fight to add up the size of herds and not the number of individuals with primary education in the society which was revealed by parent three who said:

“Our community values livestock compared to education. A parent wishes each group of livestock to get someone to look after, one for the cows, another for goats, etc. Then the remaining children can be sent to school (Interview with parent 3, June 2015)”

This assertion was further echoed in FGD 3 who argued that “Any Maasai pastoralist with a vision would prefer cows/goats to education. Cows are everything in the Maasai community. Even if you want to send your child to school, you must have cows (July, 2015)”. The FGD views imply that the value attached to ownership of livestock cannot be compared with anything such as education. It seemed that the setup of Maasai life rests on livestock ownership. Parent 5 for example, had this to say:

“When you give a chance to Maasai to select or opt for either education or cows, the Maasai will prefer cows. Awareness in education is very low. When you discuss with them, they will say education, but in the real sense, that is not the case (Interview with parent 5, July, 2015)”

This is to say individuals with a large number of livestock were more valued and respected than those who had the education or had sent their children to school. Additionally, in accessing the scarce resources such as water, livestock are given the highest priority. This was pointed out by one parent who stated that ...In this place, there is a shortage of water. But in few places where water is available, a higher priority is assigned to animals even before taking water for family use (September, 2015). A similar view was echoed by parent 4 as follows:

“If in the Maasai *boma*, when it happens that there is a sick cow and a sick child, normally the Maasai will first look for medicine to treat the cow and then consider the child (Interview parent 4, July 2015).”

The quotations above confirm the seriousness of Maasai pastoralists on livestock rearing. Other life aspects or items are side-lined after livestock, including the value for the child and education.

Moreover, the findings from the FGDs revealed that if children were asked to choose between continuing with education and cows, they would prefer to choose cows. The majority of pupils who participated in FGDs preferred to possess or acquire cows rather than education. The pupils insisted that, they would reap more tangible benefits from cows than from education. This entails that within their community; individuals with large numbers of livestock are more valued and respected than those who attended schools.

Possession of livestock is given a high priority among the Maasai pastoralists. The situation of not enrolling some children in order to take care of the livestock attest to the fact that less priority is attached to education. Likewise, parents' behaviour of dedicating more attention to livestock than pupils' school needs shows they value livestock than education. This is contrary to the perception of many people in Tanzania and elsewhere in the world where primary education is considered a means to attain personal fulfilment of their dreams and life (Tamasha & Twaweza, 2010). Contrary to pastoralists, many other communities viewed primary education as a key tool for economic growth and the greatest single factor that affects the nation's economy as well as its people's development (Mosha, 2006; Omari, 1997).

Additionally, the individual is respected among pastoralists based on the size of the herds. Many pupils wished to own livestock rather than possess primary school education certificate. Livestock ownership, rather than primary education, is believed to raise their status thus, many pupils were not proud of being at school. This was also experienced in Uganda among the Karamajong pastoralists in Kotido District where animal wealth has been more highly prioritized than education (Namukwaya & Kibirige, 2014). These results differ from the situation in Ethiopia where pupils of pastoralists' parents perceived education as a way toward success and really want to go to school in order to learn (Kidane, 2012). Children do not value education in the community around and they feel that possessing primary education does not add any value or status to their life and community around. This situation is a threat in achieving the Tanzania Development Vision 2025, which focuses on having a nation whose people

are ingrained with the development mind-set and competitive spirit (Planning Commission, 1999). This implies that some of the pastoralists such as those studied in Longido have not yet recognized the value and rationale of primary education. There is a long way to go in a pastoral community where primary education is not a priority in achieving a well-educated and a learned Tanzanian society.

**Second, school as a source of cultural alienation:** The study pointed out that parents had negative attitudes towards primary school education. They believed that sending their children to school would expose them to behaviours, which would distort the Maasai pastoralist culture. One parent, for example, had this to say:

Parents who sent their children to school are regarded as losers. The society is facing a challenge for the new things, which pupils learn at school, which affect the Maasai daily life (Interview with parent 4, June 2015).

This was echoed by one student in FGDs who narrated the story shared by her father as follows:

My daughter....I feel so heart-broken and rejected when a child after completing her education, refuses the man prepared for her. We feel so ashamed when the man prepared for her who could also be the source of income and a gift to her is rejected. Some of such girls move here and there which is shameful to the society. Even after getting a formal education, girls should accept the husbands prepared for them (FGD 5, July 2015).

The foregoing quotation denotes that, pastoral parents expressed fear in sending their children to school because education will negatively compromise their culture. This discourages parents who need to send a girl child to school. This, however, is a very unfortunate situation indeed. Since education transforms individuals, pastoralists described the transformation process as an introduction of new cultural norms to pastoralists' pupils which may eventually lead to erosion of their culture. The education attained made pastoral children uncomfortable with their traditional norms and customs such as accepting husbands prepared for them and the practice of female genital mutilation. This was also observed among the Somali pastoralists who viewed both school and schooling as divorcing their children from the pastoralists' way of life (Bishop, 2007).

In Kenya, Sifuna (2005) indicated that many pastoralists regarded school with great suspicion as it caused many children to abandon their culture. Similarly, Abdi (2010) reported that among the Wajir pastoralists in Kenya, some parents expressed fear that, their culture and religion might be eroded

if they took their children to school. In Uganda, among the Kalangala pastoralists, parents viewed education to have no positive returns and the society had a saying that “the one who keeps livestock generates income while educated young men do not even respect their own culture” (UNESCO, 2005). This implies that the children who attended formal schooling learnt new aspects of culture due to interaction with other groups, which threatened the preservation of pastoral culture.

Culture is dynamic, thus in the aspect of learning, some of the pastoralist children in schools acquired new aspects of culture. UNESCO (2005) report on pastoralists of East Africa showed that the early school goers appeared to have been disconnected from pastoralists after losing the indigenous knowledge, skills, attitude and values. This implies that, the new aspects of culture acquired in the process of schooling affected the traditional values of the Maasai culture. This is contrary to the aim of education in promoting the acquisition and appreciation of culture, customs and traditions of the people of Tanzania, particularly pastoralists (URT, 1995; Katola, 2014). Evidently, this influenced pastoralists in deciding on leaving some of the children at home doing grazing activities. Probably, it aimed at reducing the extent of damage or cultural alienation and supporting grazing among the pastoral community. This implies that education should give a chance to equalize cultural aspects of different societies in primary education. Thus, a proper way of ensuring promotion and acquisition of pastoralists' culture in education is vital in improving the pastoral participation rates of primary education.

**Third, sending children to school reduces labour force:** The findings revealed that pastoralists believed that sending their children to school to acquire primary education would reduce their labour force. Majority of the participant indicated that pastoralists keep several species of livestock such as cattle, goats, sheep and camels, which require intensive and constant availability of labour force. It was revealed that the cultural division of labour adversely affects school age children as they had to perform grazing activities. Parents who participated in the study argued that taking all of their children to schools would interfere with the pastoral activities in the society. One of the parents remarked:

A family, which has cows, goats and sheep, may decide to send four out of six children to school. Two children will be assigned the role of handling pastoral activities. In this scenario, it may be difficult to choose between going to school and performing pastoral activities. (Interview with parent 2, July 2015)

The foregoing quotation helps to explain that not all pastoralists' children are sent to school. The labour force is reserved for cattle grazing activities.

The findings indicated that there is a probability that pastoralists with several species of livestock denied their children's right to education so that they could engage in cattle grazing activities. In one of the visited schools, it was found that the decision about who should be sent to school or not was based on the child's ability. Pastoralists grouped their children into bright/obedient pupils and slow learners. Those who seemed to be bright and obedient are assigned grazing activities. One parent was quoted saying:

Children perform pastoral activities. When it comes to sending children to school, bright children are hidden at home to look after livestock while slow learners are allowed to attend primary education. (Interview with parent 5, July 2015).

The quote signifies that the value of primary education influences parents' decision to determine the number of children to attend schooling and those to be left at home for grazing activities.

During FGDs, each pupil who participated was asked to mention the number of relatives or nearby *bomas* who had never been to school and engaged in grazing activities. It was revealed that several school aged children from areas around the sampled schools engaged in pastoral activities instead of going to school. The participants indicated that such pupils were doing grazing activities for their families. This was rooted in the pastoralists' perception that pastoral life gave them prosperity rather than primary education.

Education consumed pastoralists' labour power. Pastoralists complained that sending their children to school wasted their labour power to be used in grazing activities. One of the indirect costs incurred by parents in sending a child to obtain education was the opportunity cost of labour power at home (McEwan, 1999; Avenstrup, Liang & Nellesmann (2004). This implies that pastoralists were not aware of the indirect costs incurred in sending a child to school. However, pastoralists in Uganda have a saying that children go to school empty and come out empty, something which made the adults refuse to enrol their children so as to retain the labour power (UNESCO, 2005). Similar findings among the Kotido pastoralists in Uganda revealed that the parents' decision to withdraw their children from school was attributed to the value they attached to education and the failure to see the immediate impacts of primary education (Namukwaya & Kibirige, 2014). This implies that the perceived value of education influenced pastoralists to associate education with loss of labour power. The immediate expected returns were also low in a way that pastoralists were not attracted to send their children to school. These findings are contrary to findings

reported in other areas in which parents willingly volunteered time as watchmen, cooks for school meals and were happy with the foregone contribution of the child at home. The study revealed that wise children were reserved for grazing activities while unwise ones were sent to school, which affected their right to participate in education as reflected in social justice theory. When the participation of individual in education is influenced by parental values on education, the social justice theory is violated (Rawls, 2009). This was also common in Kenya among the Wajir pastoralists where some children were sent to school, while others were kept at home to look after animals and be responsible for looking after the house (Abdi, 2010). Clearly, pastoralists' decision on who should go to school is contrary to what philosophers such as Plato argued regarding an ideal society which consists of three main classes of people: producers (craftsmen, farmers, artisans, etc.), auxiliaries (warriors), and guardians (rulers). According to Plato, society is just when relations between these three classes are right (Ishumi, 2002). This creates an impression that the participation of the pastoral society understudy was unjust. Some of the learners dropped out of school due to low interest in education and the low level of understanding. This is in line with the completion rates of the pastoralists for 2008-2014 cohort. For example, the findings on Table 1.1 as in many of the surveyed schools indicated that, more than half dropped out before completing the primary education cycle. This implies that the decision of continuing to send some of the children to school and leaving others behind would increase inequality of opportunities in education among the Maasai pastoralists.

**Fourth, education reduces pastoralists' wealth:** It was further found that pupils were abducted from continuing with secondary education so that they could engage in pastoralism. The reason behind this was to avoid a reduction of the family wealth. Parents seemed to develop the thought that, taking their children to secondary education would add extra costs with limited return thus reducing family wealth. During the FGDs, one pupil narrated the following:

Last year my father warned my sister who was in Grade Seven... father had said that it was a curse for a child to continue with secondary education. My father said further that passing the Grade Seven examination at the school was sacrificing the wealth of the *boma* because so many cows would be sold in order to cover the secondary school costs (FGD 4, July 2015)

This experience reveals that pastoralists do not want to send their children to secondary schools because they are afraid of reducing the size of their herds. In order to avoid selling their livestock to cover school costs, parents

convinced their children to put little effort in education. Pupils are threatened not to concentrate on their studies while in primary education as a strategy to limit their desire to continue with the other levels of education. Therefore among the Maasai pastoralists, education is regarded as reducing family wealth. This is simply related to the cost-benefit analysis on the returns of education experienced by pastoralists.

Although primary education was free, there were other costs covered by parents such as uniforms, exercise books and meals. However, the education returns received from primary education influences pastoralists to participate in education. A research carried out by Boyle et al (2002) in Hunt (2008) showed that in Sri Lanka, Zambia and Kenya pastoral communities often did not send their children to school because they thought there would be no job after graduating. This reveals that pastoralists were afraid of using their wealth in financing the education of their children due to little knowledge on the multiple benefits that abound in education. This indicates that, lack of pastoralist readiness in financing the education of their children is attributed to the value placed on education.

***Completion Rates of Pastoral Maasai in Primary Education***

The second research objective sought to assess the completion rates of pastoralists' children in primary education for the cohort enrolled in Grade One in 2008 and completed in 2014. Data for this objective were obtained from the attendance registers and monthly school reports. The pupils' completion rates are presented in the Table 1.1 below:

Table 1.1  
*Percentage of Pupils Completion Rate in Five Sampled Schools*

Name of the School	Boys' Percentage	Girls' Percentage
A	28	42
B	32	35
C	57	42
D	56	58
E	57	58

Source: Field Data, 2015

Table 1.1 shows the percentage of pupils' completion rate in the sampled primary schools. The table indicates that many pupils dropped out from the school before completing the primary education. Generally, the results show that in two of the five sampled schools more than fifty percent of the pupils who were enrolled in Grade One in the year 2008 dropped out from the school before completing the primary education. For example, in primary school A, only 28 percent of the enrolled boys completed primary

education in 2014 compared to 42 percent of girls. Majority of the pupils who participated in the study revealed that many pastoral Maasai school children aged seven years and above were not attending school, which were around their living places (around their *bomas*). The findings show that the realization of universal primary education among the pastoral Maasai remains a dream. Furthermore, the completion rates of 100% as an obligation to many countries, particularly among the pastoralists around the world, remained an unattainable dream (Dennis & Stahley, 2012; Woldesenbet, 2015). Generally, completion rates remain a critical problem in pastoral schools despite the increase of the number of schools and higher enrolment of pupils into Grade One.

### **Conclusions**

Several issues can be drawn from the findings of this study. First, despite the efforts and movements both at the international and national level to promote the programme of compulsory education for all, pastoralists still have negative perceptions of the value of primary education. The perception has practically made the value of primary education to contribute to low participation in education. This has further increased the pastoral inequalities in education opportunities.

The study findings revealed that pastoralists' completion rates in education are low. There is a long way ahead in attaining the goal of compulsory education among the pastoralists due to low completion rates. The completion rates have remained a critical problem among the pastoralists. There is, therefore, a definite need to put in place, retention mechanisms and policies to ensure that, every enrolled child is able to complete the primary school.

### **Recommendation**

First, this study calls for all pastoralists' role models who have benefited from education to organize sensitization campaigns to each individual, family and pastoral society on the value of primary education. This would enable the pastoralists to develop positive attitudes towards education.

There is a need to integrate the social justice theory ideas in making the curriculum to be relevant to a Maasai society so as how to improve cattle grazing in pastoralist societies. If this is done, it would reduce the Maasai perceptions of seeing formal education as irrelevant.

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