

MAASAI WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Hannah Julia Paredes Kilnoski
The College of Wooster

December 9, 2017
Associated Colleges of the Midwest Tanzania Program
MS-TCDC, Fall 2017

Abstract

Historically, all the study done in Maasai language has been conducted by men talking to men, so women have been ignored. This creates a need for studies to be done about Maasai linguistics with a focus on women and education. This paper will look at how women with bilingual education use their language skills for empowerment and how they feel Kimaasai compares to Kiswahili as a tool or as part of their identity. The lack of recent study has created a gap in the literature regarding women and modern educational changes. This paper will explore attitudes of Maa-speaking women from the perspectives of mothers with students in school and teachers regarding language preference in efforts to study women's empowerment. Knowing that Kimaasai is not taught in school with the same emphasis as Kiswahili or at all, this paper intends to define when the women in question use Kiswahili for daily use and how this ability to switch between languages serves as an empowerment tool.

Maa

Ore te elimunoto, ore ena kilikwanare pookin ake etaase te enkutuk oo irmaasae. Ake etaasaki tiatua ilewa kake itu eyasi tiatwa indomonok arashu inkituak. Meetaa eyauwa eyeunoto pee eyasi enkilikuanare te enkutuk oo irrimasai too imbaa oo nkituak oo enkisoma. Ore ena kigerore ake keing'or aajo kamaaa indomonok nayoolo inkutukie are kaja eiko pee eretoki oote, naa kaja etiu eduata enye te engalo e kimasaaai oo kiswahili anaa e ntoki nalimu arashu naitadalu nijnje. Ore enaa enemetii engilikwanare nataasaki tenakata itobirwa erio to te enkutuk oo irrimasae naipirita indomonok oo enkibelekenyaa enkisoma e taata. Ake engoor eduata oo indomonok oo irrimasae oo inkera ee shule oo irrimalimuni te embae naipirita enkutuk natanyorrayeki too imbaa enkilikuanare te eretoto oo indomonok. Ore teyelounoto aajo meiteng'enuni enkutuk oo irrimasai te shule enaa kiswahili, ore naa anakigeroto ake iyey neyelou aajo kanu arashu ke tiakata iro indomonok enkutuk oo sawhili (kiswahili) naa kaja eiko teneibelekeny enkutukie too imbaa naretoki ninje.

Kiswahili

Kihistoria, utafiti wote ulifanywa kwa lugha ya kimaasai. Ilifanywa na wanaume na kuzungumzwa kwa wanaume kwa hiyo wanawake walipuuzwa. Hii ikajenga hoja ya utafiti ufanyike kwa isimu ya kimasaaai kwa lengo la wanawake na elimu. Maandishi haya yatatazama au kuangalia ni kwa jinsi gani wanawake wanaojua lugha mbili watawezaje kutumia hiyo ujuzi wa lugha kwa uwezeshaji na wanaonaje au wanatazamaje kimasaaai kwa kulinganisha na kiswahili kama chombo au kama sehemu ya utambulisho wao. Ukosefu wa utafiti wa hivi karibuni imetengeneza pengo katika fasihi kuhusu wanawake na elimu ya sasa. Itachunguza mtazamo ya wanawake wa kimasaaai, kutoka katika mtazamo ya wakina mama pamoja na wanafunzi shuleni na waalimu kuhusu upendeleo wa lugha katika juhudi za utafiti katika uwezeshaji ya wanawake kwa kutambua kwamba kimasaaai haifundishwi shuleni kwa mkazo kama ilivyo kiswahili. Maandishi haya inadhamiria au yana nia ya kufafanua ni link au ni kwa wakati gani wanawake hutumia kiswahili kwa matumizi ya kila siku na ni kwa jinsi gani inaweza kubadili lugha ya mawasiliano kama chombo cha uwezeshaji.

Acknowledgements

I would like to first thank Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM) for providing this study abroad program and providing the financial support necessary to do this research. I would also like to thank this years' director, Ron Barrett, for teaching the research process through a methods course and for checking my progress throughout the process.

I would like to acknowledge my colleague Abby Vidmar, who conducted interviews with me and supplemented my data, as we both were working on education-related projects.

I also owe a big thank you to our ACM translators, Felista Lekishon, Esther Lazaro, and Leboi Oltimbau. Specifically, I would like to thank Esther for doing the majority of my interviews with me and helping me translate my questions and ideas to the Maasai community. Ashe naleng.

My greatest thank you is to all the people who agreed to do interviews with me, who welcomed me, and agreed to answer my questions. Ashe naleng.

Lastly, I would like to thank Mary Beth Kilnoski for her support throughout the process and for inspiring me to pursue research in language education.

The lack of recent study has created a gap in the literature regarding women and modern educational changes regarding Maa-speaking women in Tanzania. This paper will explore Maasai linguistics with a focus on women and education. It will explore attitudes of Maa-speaking women from the perspectives of students in school and mothers sending their children to school regarding language preference in efforts to study women's empowerment. Knowing that Kimaasai is not taught in school with the same emphasis as Kiswahili or at all, this paper intends to define when the women in question use Kiswahili for daily life and how this ability to switch between languages serves as an empowerment tool for women of the next generation. The majority of the existing literature on the Maasai was written by men, when the category focuses on Maasai linguistics; it is comprised of purely male authors and for the most part, were written about 30 years ago.

Maasai women are a frequently been ignored in research, though in recent years they have become more common. This paper intends to add to this growing pool of literature about Maasai women, while attempting to close the gap in the linguistic literature realm by writing about women. This new perspective will help to update the current ideas of the Maasai and show how education, specifically language education, has served as a tool for Maasai women. This seemingly small practice has allowed women to become chief financial providers within their communities and has empowered them to be independent if they so choose. For purposes of this study, the paper will define empowerment in two ways, the pursuit of higher education and the pursuit of economic independence. While I acknowledge that empowerment can be defined in numerous ways, these will help understand how Maasai women use their language education most and how it benefits them.

Background

There is very little existing literature that explores how higher degrees of education affect the amount of vocabulary that is shared between indigenous languages and larger, lingua franca or official languages. There is also limited literature on women's education; though it has been growing in recent years. In Tanzania, the issue of education contradicting culture and the social stigma that surrounds the Maasai by non-Maasai Tanzanians, is one that has prevented Maasai from attending school for generations. (Lusekelo 2017). There have been some studies conducted that focus on Kiswahili's relationship with other languages in Kenya. These studies show the lack of deeply rooted identity within the Kiswahili language, especially within indigenous groups like the Maasai (Kaviti 2015). This is an interesting point because most of the literature is focused in Kenya even though Tanzania is the only country that uses Kiswahili as its official language.

Throughout time, the Maasai have been viewed as outsiders by other members of society, which has opened doors to rumors and social stigma against the Maasai especially in terms of education and social norms. These oppressive attitudes may sway native Maa speakers to use Kiswahili or English more and lean towards abandoning their indigenous tongue (Brenzinger 1993) (Martinez and Waldron 2006). These stigmas against the Maasai are further expressed by the educational system. In Tanzania today, most schooling is conducted in Kiswahili and English even within Maasai communities. This means that there is little or no education in students' native language Kimaasai (Tibategeza and du Plessis 2012).

The literature that combines the foci of education and the Maasai, for the most part, take place in Kenya, though there are some case studies in Tanzania. The Maasai originally are from Kenya and later moved into Tanzania (Bruner 2001). Recently, women and education are

beginning to enter the literature, but the number of resources about bilingual education are severely limited. None of the articles discuss Maasai learning in their native language, Kimaasai.

In Tanzania, schools are not allowed to teach indigenous languages, (commonly referred to as “mother tongues”) because it goes against efforts to unify the nation (Sarone 2017). The Kiswahili language has since been used as a form of colonialism where it defines educational status and creeps into many indigenous languages throughout East Africa. The widespread use of Kiswahili in education alienates the Maasai. This is additionally complicated by the influence of the use of English, which is increasingly becoming the most socially desired language (Ruhumbika 2015). As the world becomes increasingly globalized, it is becoming easier and more acceptable to abandon one's indigenous language in favor for a more widely spoken language such as Kiswahili or English. This is what I intend to study while speaking to the Maasai. Tanzania is unique in the fact that the government is making an effort to create a "linguistic atlas" to track where different languages are being spoken and therefore attempt to conserve them and observe when they die out (Brenzinger, Heine and Sommer 1991). I intend to find out what Maasai women feel about their native language, and if they want to be sure to preserve it for future generation.

In Tanzania specifically, it is fairly common for indigenous languages to die out because of the increasing popularity and need for Kiswahili and English in professional and educational fields. A potential reason is because schools in Tanzania are not allowed to teach indigenous languages in efforts to meet national education goals. The Ministry of Education and Culture produced a document on Education and Training Policy in which it details that the Education Act of 1962 was put in place to, “abolish racial discrimination in the provision of education;” and “promote Kiswahili as a national language by making Kiswahili and English media of instruction

in schools.” These language-limiting practices were further restricted by The Education Act No. 25 of 1978, when syllabi and curricula became centralized and the Minister of Education was given the power to ban specific books from being used in schools (Sarungi 1995). The document also has some sections that emphasize embracing individualistic identity, though it almost contradicts itself with banning indigenous language education. Section 1.2.1 on Pre-Primary Education states, “The aims and objectives of pre-primary education are... to help the child acquire, appreciate, respect and develop pride in the family, his or her cultural backgrounds, moral values, customs and traditions as well as national ethic, identity and pride.” (Sarungi 1995)

The Maasai, though they may seem a small group of people, actually have one of the largest populations among indigenous Tanzanian groups (Brenzinger 1993). Therefore, the Maasai language is one of the least likely to be bound for language death in the near future (Brenzinger, Heine, and Sommer 1991). The Maasai language and the Maasai as a people have also been changed because of the increased amount of contact with non-Maasai in schools and furthermore in the workplace (Lusekelo 2017). This non-Maasai interaction promotes inequality in language education. If a population perceives the use of Kiswahili and English as successful or as a key to success, there is a tendency to focus highly on learning those languages over their own (Hilliard 2015). These language skills can then be used to pursue a degree in higher education or can be used in market places and today, Maasai women are taking advantage of these opportunities because they are going to school (Takayanagi 2016).

People and Setting

I interviewed members of the Maasai community. These populations of Maasai are from Oltukai and Olasiti villages. These villages are located near Tarangire National Park. This area is in the Northern part of Tanzania. The population sample consists of 25 participants. Most of these participants are Maasai but I also went to a village secondary school where I spoke to teachers and headmasters. These individuals were not Maasai themselves though their students are mostly Maasai.

Contact already exists between this community, Wild Palms, through Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM). I talked to teachers in schools and mothers of students. Those being interviewed are adults over 18, and as the Maasai have a different counting system, this study restricted interviewees to married adults in the community in case of age ambiguity. These results could potentially inform policies and programs that may improve bilingual education aimed at girls or women. Participants received tea and sugar in return for their time and willingness to answer my questions.

Methods

Data Collection

Data was collected by conducting interviews with 25 members of the Maasai community in several different bomas in Northern Tanzania from late October to late November. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format. This method used a list of 29 pre-determined questions that helped to guide the interviews, though not every participant was asked all of the questions. Questions were mostly about individuals' own educational experience, their interactions with education, or the education system in Tanzania. The interviewees were mostly women, though there were some men represented. Of the women interviewed, many are mothers who send their children to school, or teachers. Each interview normally lasted 20 to 40 minutes; some went to about an hour. The interviews conducted with the assistance of a translator; all quotes in this paper are the English translations. See sample questions in Appendix A at the end of paper. I took some notes by hand and used a voice recorder to record interviews. I then went back to transcribe the recordings later. I used the assistance of a translator to help close the language barrier for Kimaasai and Kiswahili speakers. I also spoke to teachers and heads of schools that have Maasai students. I originally hypothesized that women who are confident in more than one language will feel more empowered to pursue a higher degree of education or will feel more confident to become financial breadwinners.

Participants were recruited orally with the assistance of translators who were more familiar with the area. Some teachers at the village school were also contacted to participate in interviews and were asked the same questions from the original 29 question questionnaire as well as an educator-specific group of questions (See Appendix B). The educator-specific questionnaire consisted of 15 questions mostly about their schools' basic demographics and

school-family interactions. The individuals interviewed were all adults over 18, and as the Maasai have a different counting system, this study was restricted to married adults in the community in case of age ambiguity. All interviews were recorded on the researcher's cellular device or a portable voice recorder. The recordings on the researcher's cellular device were deleted once they were transcribed. The transcriptions on my computer will be deleted in 3 years.

There is potential for bias in participants' answers partially because during my introduction, I introduced myself as a college student from the United States, so the answers given by participants may have added emphasis on education to appease the researcher.

Positionality

My view on language education is very positive possibly because I was raised in an environment that valued education highly. My parents both went to college, my father became a doctor and taught while my mother became a teacher, specializing in mathematics. She has been an educator for over 30 years and is still teaching today. I was born in Mexico and raised in the United States, where I would have better educational opportunities. In Mexico, my mother taught at a prestigious high school that is similar to the prestigious English Medium schools in Tanzania. My own educational experience also influenced my research because my education from grade 3 through 12 was conducted in both English and Spanish through a Dual Language program. This bilingual education helped to prepare me to live as a global citizen and have a broad worldview.

People may have given me more education-positive answers since they knew I was a university student. Those who knew I was bilingual may have also felt the need to tell me that they wanted their kids to speak multiple languages that were European such as Spanish and French. I only had one individual who did not express overly positive views on education which

makes me believe that my position did in fact play a role in my data.

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed a modified grounded theory and a constant comparative method. Data was recorded on my personal voice recorder was transcribed on paper partially during data collection and post data collection on return from the field. I used some of the most relevant data and quotes to help to promote my study question. The data was coded in a way that allowed me to better organize my findings. I looked for things to code that answered how women in school view their ability to speak another language, or under which circumstances they are empowered by speaking a language other than their first language, Kimaasai. The other thing I was looking specifically for were attitudes surrounding bilingual education and its relationship with empowerment as defined by the pursuit of a higher degree of education and the pursuit of economic independence. I had a list of 20 initial codes going into the field, but as I was collecting data and transcribing, I came up with an additional 30 codes. I represented these codes as individual colors in my notes. I hope that this analysis will help to promote positive attitudes towards women and girls' education.

Findings

Current Language Dynamics

One of the main goals of my research was to see if there was a relationship between education and languages spoken. Most of the people who talked with me had not attended school (52%). However, of the individuals who did not attend school, 5 individuals learned how to speak Kiswahili on their own or by picking up bits and pieces from native Kiswahili speakers that were around them. Ideally, I would have liked to explore this informal education further, however, there is almost no literature regarding this topic. The main reason for their learning Kiswahili was because of the opportunities it presented in the business sector. Today, women are becoming more important financial figures in the family unit. By participating in the marketplace selling things other than cows, like their husbands, women are bringing in a lot more money. This money is increased when a woman can sell outside of the Maasai community. To do this successfully, the women learn Kiswahili.

In total, I interviewed 17 people who spoke Kiswahili out of 25. These 17 people can be further divided as: six people speak two languages; six people spoke a language other than Kimaasai, Kiswahili and English (Iraqi in most cases). Of the six who spoke a language other than Kimaasai, Kiswahili and English: three spoke three languages and three spoke more than three languages. The six individuals who spoke more than two languages all went to school. Most of these individuals completed Standard 7, where they learned Kiswahili and some English; and Form 4 which is taught entirely in English with Kiswahili as a subject. Two of my participants however, attended part of their schooling in Kenya, where everything is taught in English with Kiswahili as a subject, even in primary school.

Six of the total 25 participants only spoke Kimaasai. These individuals did not attend school. Some of these women expressed a desire to attend school but were not allowed because of their family roles. There are programs that provide adult education commonly referred to as QT. These programs mostly take place at primary schools. Not all primary schools offer this program. Like their children, women would have an extremely hard time getting to the schools because there are only a few schools in rural areas.

Education and Language

I originally thought many people would want Kimaasai to be taught in school. In my own educational experience, I went to a bilingual school where I was taught in both Spanish and English. Spanish is the native language of most of the families in my home community. I assumed that the desire for a native language to be taught in school would carry over, but most people did not want Kimaasai to be taught in school mostly because they wanted their children to focus on the languages that they (the parents) could not teach them; or languages that in their opinion would better prepare them for success. As it turned out, only 10 individuals wanted Kimaasai to be taught in schools. The parents I interviewed wanted their children to learn the languages that they didn't know or could not teach them such as Kiswahili and English.

This preference has made some unintentional changes to the language. Of the 25 individuals I interviewed, 13 brought up that younger generations of Maasai were forgetting how to speak proper Kimaasai, or were mixing in words from Kiswahili; another 3 argued that children knew how to speak Kimaasai just fine. However, of these 16 total individuals who discussed the state of Kimaasai in younger speakers, only six said that this was a bad thing or something that made them scared and uncomfortable. From an outside perspective, this is a little

concerning. According to the literature, Kimaasai is technically not a minority language and it is one of the most spoken indigenous languages of the 126 mother tongues spoken in Tanzania. However, if the trend of forgetting is continued, this could mean a drastic change for the Kimaasai language.

One participant stated that she felt that the Kimaasai language was “broken” because so many children were forgetting how to speak it. Another woman said, “I’m sad, but Maa is only spoken at home. English and Kiswahili for business” (-No school, ~60 years old). Of the 5 who said children forgetting how to speak was a good thing, one woman said, “Kids now are speaking improper Kimaasai. I’m happy that kids are forgetting Maa. They are going to school, that’s why they are forgetting. So, it’s good because they’re getting an education” (-No school, ~40 years old). This is an extreme view, but it does bring up an important issue. Many people insinuated that the children who were forgetting most were those who were sent to school, especially boarding schools. So, the question that needs to be asked is, should education come at the cost of an entire language being lost? This reality may be adding negative attitudes towards education in the Maasai community, but with no way to learn Kimaasai in schools, the Tanzanian Maasai are not having help in fixing this problem. Instead, students in school are learning Kiswahili and English, and sometimes French.

When asked about which languages should be taught in schools, one respondent said, “Why English and not Maa? Just because they left it behind.” (-School, ~35 years old). What makes English more important than Kimaasai? In the views of the Tanzanian education system, teaching only Kiswahili and English as the main language helps to create a unified identity and eliminates further points of division amongst Tanzanians (Sarungi 1995). “When will Tanzania have one professor who is Maasai?” (-School, ~35). Furthermore, there is a shared idea that

English is a superior, because speaking English is now synonymous with financial success.

“English is everywhere, English is everything now” (-School, ~27 years old.) The increasing dependence on knowing other languages may seem like the importance of Kimaasai is being traded in.

Some respondents were open to their children learning other languages, “Let them learn the new language, but never forget the origin language” (-School, ~27 years old.) Others were concerned about what language loss meant for the Maasai culture, “If we are keeping our culture and customs, but we’re forgetting the language, the culture and customs are lost.” (- School, ~35 years old.) Today, mother tongues are being taught in Kenya. This includes Kimaasai. In this way, the Kenyan Maasai are preserving their language.

Challenges

Tanzania’s approach to education makes it difficult for tribes like the Maasai to get an education because there is an immediate submersion into learning a foreign language, namely Kiswahili at the beginning of a student’s educational experience (Sarungi 1995), so education is stunted right from the beginning. The first 7 classes in Standard 7 are taught in Kiswahili with English as a subject. For most students, this is the first interaction with attempting to speak a language other than their mother tongue, yet it is the medium of their education. The negative attitudes may come from this place of language frustrations but furthermore, students in schools are punished for speaking their first language and are rewarded for speaking the lingua franca, Kiswahili or English. So how does this affect views of using mother tongues within individuals?

To add to this issue, there is very limited access to schools and education of any kind in more rural areas, areas where there are high concentrations of Maasai. Challenges for Maasai

children to attend school are not only centered on their being Maasai, but can also be due to a variety of other factors such as parents' education and community beliefs about education (Chege 1983). Parents who have been educated are more likely to send their children to school or acknowledge the importance of education.

In Tanzania, some of the main issues with Maasai education are related to financial and transportation hardships. A good quality school can be expensive. The current president, John Magufuli, made a rule that all children must be put in school and recent legislation has made most education affordable to families with little or no contribution on the family's side. This legislative act is problematic however, because the schools are not receiving the same amount of monetary support as they once were, yet they are expected to uphold their previous academic standards.

The turbulent history between the Maasai and outsiders has also caused several issues that have put Maasai children behind children from other tribes. The value placed on education in the Maasai community and the level of education in those areas is significantly lower when compared to other tribes and countries primarily because of the entire struggle between the Maasai and colonialists. Many of the first schools that brought in Maasai students were harsh environments where students did not feel welcome, and had a number of bad experiences. There are many Maasai who have expressed that there are far fewer members of their tribe who have received education, when they know of other groups that value education greatly and have been sending their families to school for a long time. Many Maasai accounts of school are riddled with negative memories and punishment practices that tainted the idea of schools for many of the Maasai people. These views have made countless Maasai choose not to attend school or run away from school.

Another potential reason for lack of education among the Maasai is because of Tanzania's educational policy which dictates that primary education is to be taught in Kiswahili (Sarungi 1995). Today, Kenya teaches the first four years of school in mother tongueⁱ (Sarone 2017). This required the standardization of those languages. This effort began in the 50s and 60s when intellectuals from various tribes came together to agree upon a standard orthography for their indigenous languages (Sarone 2017)ⁱⁱ. Kimaasai has been standardized since 2013, but this left about a 50-year gap compared to other mother tongues' standardization. Despite the gap, children in Kenya today are taught in Kimaasai and even use books that are written in Kimaasai using the standardized orthography. While speaking to members of the Maasai community in Tanzania, most people did not want Kimaasai to be taught in school because they wanted to focus on languages that they didn't know or couldn't teach like Kiswahili and English.

Girls face not only all the challenges as described above, but also the challenges of being a Maasai girl in general. Within Maasai families that send their children to school, girls are less likely to be sent partially because of the attitudes towards a woman's role in the community as wives and mothers. Traditionally, women bring wealth and status to their families through marriage and dowry. For a family to send their daughter off to school can be seen as losing that money or power that having daughters brings to the families. There is also a misconception in the Maasai community that if you send your daughter to school, they will be helping another family instead of their own or that the girls will run away.

Even once a girl is sent to school, she faces an inordinate amount of gender discrimination. Some Maasai women recalled being penalized harsher than their male classmates. Furthermore, there is an issue of access to higher levels of education. For example, if a female student fails Standard 7, she will not be allowed to continue her schooling on the

schools' part but her family will also see this as an opportunity to take her out of school indefinitely. However, if a male student fails Standard 7, there have been instances, according to some respondents, where the school will lie on their exams and let them continue to the next level. He will also have an opportunity to be put in a private school where he can continue his education. None of the women interviewed recalled this ever happening to a female student.

Furthermore, some girls will be taken out of school by their parents in order to get married, according to tradition. There are also complications within the school. Some schools were said to conduct regular pregnancy testing on female student. This practice was an added stress to female students. If a student was found to be pregnant, she would be removed from school immediately. However, the traditional family views within the Maasai encourage early marriage and childbirth. Children within Maasai tradition are seen as signs of wealth. This means that girls have to fight an internal battle between getting an education and adhering to their culture's values.

Conclusion

Today, there has been a change of attitude within the Tanzanian Maasai community that favors education and is striving to get caught up with other tribes and the rest of the country. Many parents, even those who were not educated, said it was important to them that their children go to school specifically so that they could learn how to speak many languages. Parents recognize that education the key to a successful future for their children. They also shared that they hope their children will go far in education; receive not only the standard primary and secondary education, but also wanted their kids to attain university degrees. These ideas are emerging, but there is a very strong pride within the Maasai of being able to speak their language, Maa. The only question that got the same answer from all the Maasai participants was the question, “Do you plan to teach your children Kimaasai?” and of the 23 Maasai participants, all 23 said yes, and they planned to teach their grandchildren as well.

There have also been changed attitudes concerning women’s education. Whereas previous ideologies thought sending women to school would be a financial downfall, today women have proved to be some of the most influential members of financial politics in the Maasai community. Maasai women are using their education, and specifically their language skills, to sell in marketplaces and become chief financial breadwinners for their families and communities. Because of their newfound success, more families think that sending their daughters to school is becoming the right financial move instead of waiting for their daughters to marry. These actions have set a path that will allow and encourage for Maasai women to attend schools and bridge the gender gap to have more girls attending school in the future.

Significance

Historically, all the studies done in Maasai language have been conducted by men talking to men, so women have been ignored. Moreover, the majority of the existing literature on the Maasai in general are written by men. When the category focuses on Maasai linguistics, it is comprised of purely male authors. Maasai women are a frequently been ignored in research, though in recent years they have become more common. I intend to add to this growing pool of literature about Maasai women while attempting to close the gap in the linguistic literature realm by writing about women. I think this new perspective will help to update the current ideas of the Maasai and show how bilingual education has served as a tool for Maasai women. This seemingly small practice has allowed women to become financial providers within their communities and has empowered them to be independent, if they so choose. I am defining empowerment in two ways, the pursuit of higher education and the pursuit of economic independence. While I acknowledge that empowerment can be defined in numerous ways, these two definitions are the themes of this research.

Future Research

This paper only scratched the surface of Maasai Women's education. It would be interesting to do a study to see if there are specific language training programs that are reaching out to the Maasai community. "Watoto ni taifa kesho" is how one participant described the future for education. This phrase means, 'Children are the nation of tomorrow.' There are positive attitudes and many young Maasai who are striving to give back to their communities by inspiring others to go to school and starting organizations and schools to help children get there. Since language is seen as such a valuable tool for many of the study participants, in my opinion having language trainers come out and teach in Maasai villages would be extremely welcomed and

beneficial. More parents are realizing the importance of education and are sending their kids to school. Today, there are several NGOs that have made it their mission to assist in the education of girls around the world. There are even some local NGOs such as MWEDO and Project TEMBO that not only focus on women's education, but Maasai women specifically.

Endnote

¹ In Tanzania, this would be nearly impossible because of all the mixing of people that has taken place that was an effort to move people all around the country to create unity (Sarone 2017). This act made it so that there are few places that are dominated by any one particular group of people. There will almost always be a mix of people therefore making it feasibly impossible to teach in any one mother tongue.

² Before this agreed upon standard orthography, outside researchers such as Alfred Hollis and Frans Mol had tried to create a version of Maasai orthography but it reached little beyond a very specific group of linguistic enthusiasts.

References

- Brenzinger, Matthias. 1993. "Minority Languages, a Cultural Legacy." *Diogenes* 41 (161): 1–18. doi:10.1177/039219219304116101.
- Brenzinger, Matthias, Bernd Heine, and Gabriele Sommer. 1991. "Language Death in Africa." *Diogenes* 39 (153): 19–44. doi:10.1177/039219219103915303.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2001. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist* 28 (4): 881–908. doi:10.1525/ae.2001.28.4.881.
- Hilliard, Amanda. 2015. "Tanzanian Students' Attitudes Toward English." *TESOL Journal* 6 (2): 252–80. doi:10.1002/tesj.147.
- Kaviti, Lillian. 2015. "From Stigma to Status -- Sheng and English in Kenya's Linguistic and Literary Space." *Matatu: Journal for African Culture & Society* 46 (April): 223–53.
- Lusekelo, Amani. 2017. "Education-Induced Borrowing in Tanzania: The Penetration of Swahili Nouns into Maa (Maasai) and Hadzane (Hadzabe)." *Language Matters* 48 (1): 3–26. doi:10.1080/10228195.2016.1255242.
- Martinez, Doreen E., and Linda M. Waldron. 2006. "My Child Will Have Two Brains, One Maasai, One Educated: Negotiating Traditional Maasai Culture in a Globalized World." *Human & Society* 30 (4): 392–416.
- MWEDO. Accessed November 30, 2017. <http://maasaiwomentanzania.com/post-with-video-example/>.
- Ruhumbika, Gabriel. 2015. "The Role of Translations in the Development of Swahili Language and Literature." In *Habari Ya English? What About Kiswahili?: East Africa as a Literary and Linguistic Contact Zone*, edited by L. Diegner and F. SchulzeEngler, 46:255–66. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B V.
- Takayanagi, Taeko. 2016. "Rethinking Women's Learning and Empowerment in Kenya: Maasai Village Women Take Initiative." *International Review of Education* 62 (6): 671–88. doi:10.1007/s11159-016-9597-y.
- Tanzania. Ministry of Education and Culture. Dar es Salaam. *Education and Training Policy*. By Philemon M. Sarungi, (. February 1995. <http://uil.unesco.org/system/files/tanzania-education-and-training-policy.pdf>.
- Tibategeza, Eustard, and Theodorus du Plessis. 2012. "Language-in-Education Policy Development in Tanzania: An Overview." *Language Matters* 43 (2): 184–201. doi:10.1080/10228195.2011.573801.

Appendix

A. Oral Consent Form

I am a student from The College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio, looking into Maasai women and education. I would like to focus on how or if Kimaasai is being taught and if there are preferences between Kimaasai, Kiswahili and English. I would like to ask you some questions to understand your perspective.

You are not obligated to talk to me and whatever you tell me will be kept in a place only I will have access to that is password protected. If you feel that participating will negatively affect your social standing, understand that you are a volunteer and are not obligated to participate. If at any time you do not want to answer a question, you may say so and we can move on to the next question. You may end the interview at any time and ask for your responses not be used in the study, and I will comply with those requests. If you decide later on even after the interview has taken place, that you do not want your responses used in my study, you will be provided with my contact information so you can contact me. All of your personal information including name will be coded (coding ensures that only I will know identities of interviewees) your identity will remain confidential unless you specifically instruct me against it.

This study will be compiled into a 20-page paper and I will be presenting my findings with other students in my program. Your name and other personal information will not be shared with anyone. You may request a copy of my paper and I will send you a copy once it has been completed. If you have any questions regarding the interview, how your information will be used or anything else, you can ask now before we begin the questioning process.

B. Interview Questions for general participants

1. Are you currently, or have you attended school?
2. Did any of your parents go to school?
3. Do any of your family members speak a language other than Kimaasai at home? Which ones?
4. What language(s) are you taught at school?
5. What language(s) do you speak with your friends or at home?
6. When do you speak your non-native language(s)?
7. Do you feel confident that you could succeed in pursuing a degree in higher education (i.e. secondary or university)? / Do you have plans to pursue an education (QT Program)?
8. Do you feel confident that you could open a small business using your language skills? / Do you plan to open a small business because of your language skills?
9. Are you likely to speak a language other than Kimaasai to your children? Do you plan to teach your children Kimaasai?
10. Do you feel that your language skills empower you to face the world?
11. Can you describe a normal day at school? Which classes were taught in which language?
12. How many languages have you learned on your own (outside of school)? For the purpose of using those skills in a marketplace?
13. How many languages did you learn in school?
14. What languages do you find to be the most useful in your life?
15. What language (that you did not learn in school) would you want to learn?

16. Do you feel your language abilities in languages that are not your predominant language are equal?
17. Would you want Kimaasai to be taught in school with the same intensity as Kiswahili or English? Why or why not?
18. What languages do you think your children will use most?
19. Do you feel that language skills allow more room for independence?
20. What are your opinions on the languages spoken by younger generations today?
21. Is the education system in Tanzania more geared towards men, or are men's and women's education equal?
22. What do you want for your children's future?
23. What would you do to improve Tanzania's education system?
24. Do you think that more Maasai women are educated than men?
25. Are sons and daughters' equal? Why or why not?
26. Is it harder for Maasai children to get an education compared to non-Maasai Tanzanians?
27. Do you have kids in school?
28. Why weren't you sent to school?
29. What do you want for your own future?

C. Interview Questions for Teachers

1. Are you Maasai? How many years have you been teaching?
2. How many Maasai students do you have?
3. Are your students evenly distributed between boys and girls?
4. How many students plan on continuing school?
5. How many students have attended university to your knowledge?
6. How many students drop out of school? Do you know why they drop out?
7. Do more women leave school compared to men?
8. How many Maasai teachers are there at the school?
9. How involved are parents in their children's education?
10. How often do parents and teachers meet?
11. If parents and teachers do meet, is there a language barrier? How does the school handle this language barrier?
12. Have you ever tried to help specific or talented students to continue their education outside of your teacher duties?
13. What do students do with the languages they learn?
14. Who teaches language classes?
15. Do your students have homework? Where can students get help with their homework?

D. Glossary of terms

Kiswahili- Swahili name for Swahili language

Kimaasai- Swahili name for Maasai language

Maa- Name Maasai people's language

Boma- Maasai house cluster that contains a house per each wife, they are normally surrounded by a thorny fence.

Standard 7- First 7 levels of education in Tanzania; primary school. These are all taught in Kiswahili with the exception of English as a subject

Form 4 – Four levels of education after Standard 7; secondary school. These are taught in English with the exception of Kiswahili as a subject.

Iraqu- Tribe of people; Indigenous language in Tanzania.
