

The Impact of Tourism on the Maasai Culture

A Case Study from Ole Keene,
Narok County, Republic of Kenya



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Abstract

Since more and more people travel (especially from the western world and second world countries), less remote areas remain untouched. Indigenous people and their cultures are under pressure. Tourism introduces new goods, values and techniques which might have an influence in traditional societies.

This thesis explores the impact of tourism on the culture of one of these indigenous peoples: The Maasai. The main question is as follows: How is the Maasai culture influenced by tourism? This research has a case-study approach and focuses on the Maasai village of Ole Keene. The Maasai village of Ole Keene is situated close to the biggest tourist hotspot of Kenya, the Maasai-Mara National Reserve.

Using a qualitative method, combining semi-structured interviews with (participant) observations, the research tried to get an understanding of the influence of tourism on the culture of the Maasai from Ole Keene. Six villagers participated in the research. The participants gave equal perceptions using different examples.

Due to less grazing grounds for their cattle, which are caused by the establishment of national parks and conservancies, the Maasai community had to search for alternative livelihoods. Key findings suggest that tourism was the new factor which introduced money which can be used to buy food and other necessities. The Maasai discovered that tourists are willing to pay to experience the culture; the Maasai became dependent on the money earned with tourism. The culture got commodified and tourism changed the lifestyle. The men are waiting for tourists to entertain them with dances and songs and the women make and sell traditional crafts. The participants mentioned that the culture should stay traditional to meet the needs and expectations of tourists. Otherwise, the tourists will leave their village behind and the Maasai will lose their income source. However, the Maasai from Ole Keene are benevolent to stay traditional.

According to the Maasai, the commercialisation did not change the cultural meanings. The cultural aspects have two meanings since the arrival of tourists. First, cultural aspects like dances and traditional crafts play still an important role within their culture and second these things are sold to tourists to earn an income with it. Furthermore, the Maasai are happy with all the help, introduced western goods and financial benefits from the tourists. The culture becomes stronger while they add modern values and goods but still manage to preserve their culture to earn money in the tourism industry. Their opinion is that tourism is a way to preserve their culture.

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1 Introduction

Since more and more people travel (especially from the western world and second world countries), less remote areas remain untouched. In the last decades many indigenous cultures have been transformed and commodified because of tourism and tourism development. Tourism introduces new goods, values and techniques which might have an influence in traditional societies.

This thesis explores how one specific indigenous culture, the one from the Maasai people, is influenced by tourism. The Maasai are semi-nomadic pastoralists living in the border-region of Tanzania and Kenya. Traditionally, they are highly dependent on their herds of cattle, goats and sheep. Their herding traditions are fundamental to their subsistence and an important aspect of their culture (McCabe et al., 2010). Local communities occupy enormous tracts of grasslands which they share communally, nowadays known as group ranches. The livestock is considered as individual or family property (Fratkin, 2001). Cycle-wise, the Maasai move with their cattles through the rangeland to cope with environmental variability throughout the year (Scoones, 1994 in Butt, 2012; Goodman, 2002). Following the rain-fed grasslands in the heterogeneous landscape in their rangeland, their cattle would normally be supplied with enough nutrients and resources.

In the last decades, the governments of Kenya and Tanzania have developed national parks in favour of the wildlife and to attract more tourists. Because of the wildlife-conservation, the Maasai had to move outside the established national parks. This development led to the situation that the Maasai had to change their nomadic life to a sedentary existence and to diversify their livelihoods (Fratkin, 2001; Brokensha & Little, 1988 in Fratkin, 2001; Homewood and Brockington, 1999; McCabe, 2003a; Brockington, 2001; Igoe, 2003a; Igoe, 2003b; Goldman, 2003).

Tourism is mainly settled in the so called dispersal areas, the areas just outside the national parks (Honey, 2009). As tourism settles in these areas and the Maasai seek other ways of income resources, the Maasai are likely to adapt tourism as a new livelihood. This change of livelihood to tourism-related activities and the increasing contact with (western) tourists may have positive or negative impacts on the culture of the Maasai (Williams, 2009).

This research explores the impacts of tourism on the culture of the Maasai as perceived by the Maasai themselves. It is important to get an understanding of how indigenous peoples experience tourism and cultural change. Does tourism bring benefits or is it changing the culture?

This research will contribute to the scientific literature on the impacts of tourism on indigenous peoples. There is a lot research done on the Maasai and the impacts of tourism on the Maasai culture in Tanzania (see for example Buzinde et al., 2013; Snyder & Sulle, 2011). The processes and livelihood changes caused by evictions due to the establishment of national parks are well-researched on cases in Tanzania (see for example McCabe, 2003b; Fouad & Ibrahim, 1995). However, there is a lack of knowledge about how the Maasai culture has changed in the context of Kenyan national parks, conservancies and tourism as it may differ from situations in other

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countries. In this thesis, the impacts on the Maasai culture will be explored by investigating a specific case-study near the Maasai-Mara National Reserve (see chapter 2).

§1.1 Research question

The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of how tourism impacts the Maasai culture as perceived by the community from the Ole Keene village, adjacent to the Maasai-Mara National Reserve in Kenya. The main research question is as follows:

How is the Maasai culture influenced by tourism?

This can be achieved by answering the following sub-questions:

- How did the Maasai used to live before the arrival of tourism?
- How and when did their traditional (semi-nomadic) life change?
- How are the Maasai involved in tourism?
- How does commodification change the meaning of traditions and customs?
- How does tourism influence the Maasai lifestyle?
- What is the viewpoint of the Maasai towards the goods and values which are introduced by tourists?

2 Maasai-Mara National Reserve and Ole Keene

Unless otherwise specified the information below is provided by the inhabitants of Ole Keene and the staff from Mara Explorers Camp. Refer to Appendix I for a detailed description.

This research has a case-study approach as mentioned before. The perspectives from the Maasai of the village of Ole Keene, near the Maasai-Mara National Reserve (MMNR) in Kenya, is used to illustrate the impacts of tourism on their culture. The MMNR is a national reserve located in southwest Kenya and borders the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania (see figure 2.1). Both conservation areas are part of the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem, famous of the yearly Great Migration of millions of wildebeest, several hundred thousand zebras and a few thousand antelopes. This migration attracts many tourists every year (Bhandari, 2014); the MMNR in general attracts around 50% of all tourists visiting Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2006 in Honey, 2009; Akama, 1999). The reserve is property of and managed by the Narok County Council (NCC) since 1961. This is also the period in which the tourists started to visit the Maasai villages as part of their safari holiday. 19% of the tourist entry fees to the national reserve goes to the local Maasai communities surrounding the reserve. The 19% is re-distributed among all the different villages. The village of Ole Keene receive furthermore 5% of the tourists' entry fees from the surrounding conservancies (private nature reserves; e.g. Siana Conservancy).

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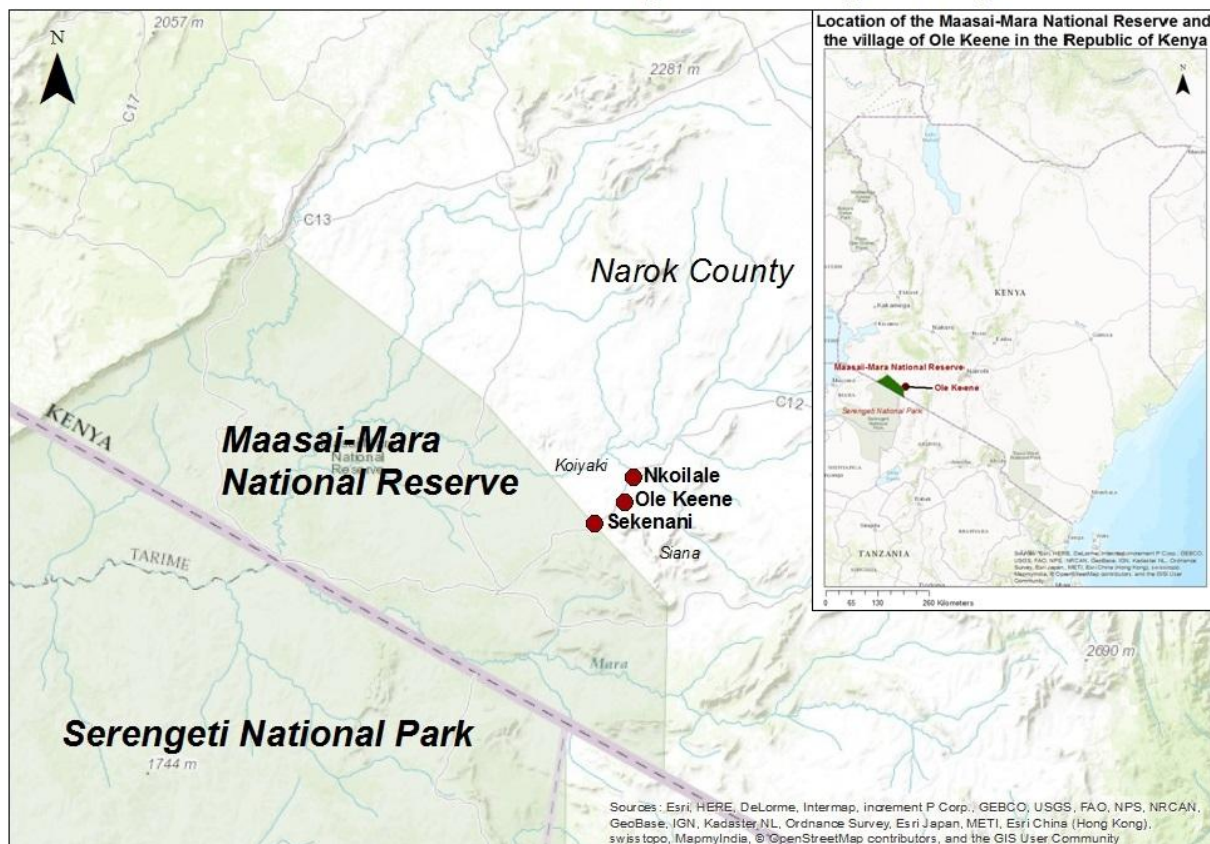
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Ole Keene (located north and east of the villages of Sekenani, south of the villages of Nkoilale and west of Siana Conservancy; see figure 2.1) consists of a cluster of three main small villages (called *boma* in Swahili or *enjang* in Maa) and several scattered houses. These three main villages are called Ole Keene, Empukel and Kimelok (see figure 2.2 for an overview of the villages and figure 2.3 for an aerial view of the *enjang* Ole Keene). Formerly, the villagers used to live in one village called Ole Keene but the village has been split in order to include more grazing grounds for their cattle. The villagers did this in a way to build a settlement in the Siana region and two in the Koiyaki region. This allowed them to let their cattle graze in both areas. The cluster of villages, examined in this research, will from now on be referred to as Ole Keene. The traditional Maasai houses are called *emanyatta*.

Ole Keene is often visited by tourists because of its proximity to the MMNR and the main entry gate to the MMNR. The location and context of the village makes it suitable for exploring the impacts of tourism on the Maasai culture.

Figure 2.1: Location of the Maasai-Mara National Reserve and the village of Ole Keene in the Republic of Kenya

Map of Narok County with the location of Ole Keene and neighbouring villages

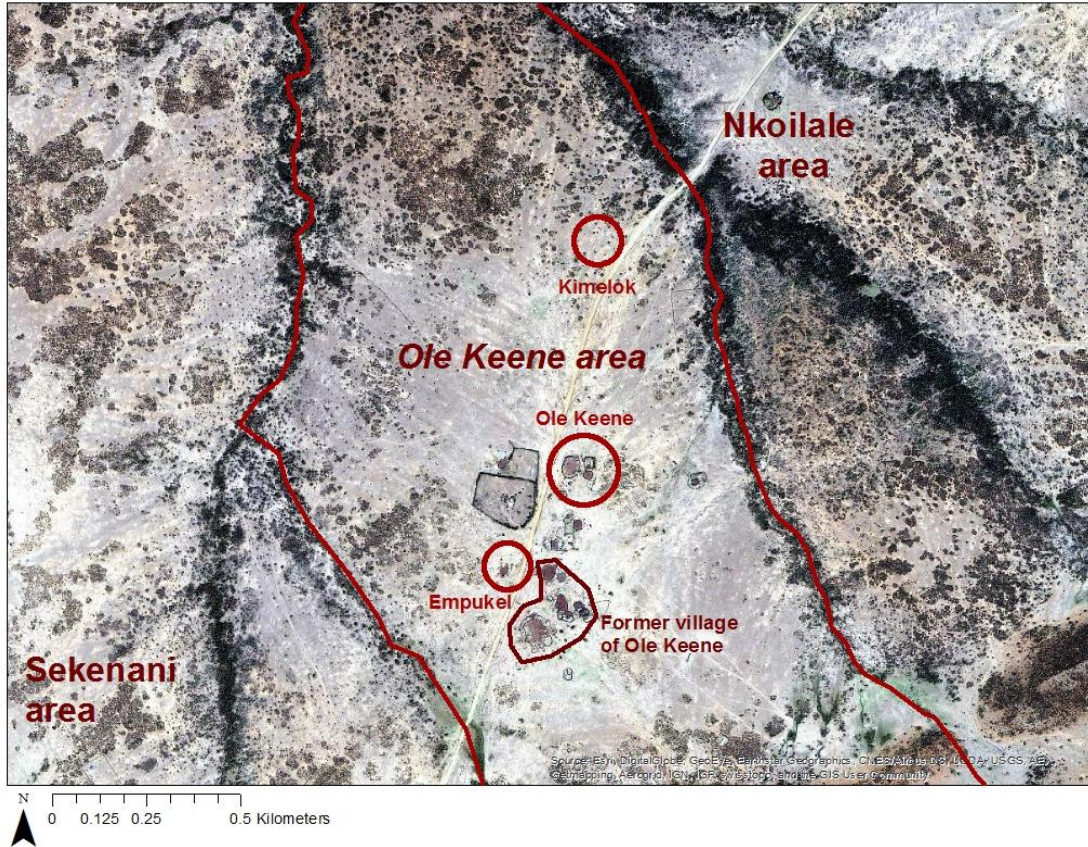


Source: Created by Rick Brinks in ArcGis; based on the information of Jackson Lepore.

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Figure 2.2: The villages of Ole Keene.

The villages of Ole Keene



Source: Created by Rick Brinks in ArcGis; based on the information of Jackson Lepore.

Figure 2.3: Aerial view of the enkang Ole Keene



Source: Picture taken from Siana Hill, south of Ole Keene, by Rick Brinks.

3 Theoretical framework

§3.1 Cultural aspects

Culture is a broad term; in this research we focus on the aspects of culture who define a culture and differentiate it from another culture. This is expressed in the beliefs, customs, traditions, arts, lifestyle, food, traditional livelihood and language (Texas A&M University, 2016). In this research, lifestyle is an umbrella concept, what means that all the other cultural aspects contribute to the shaping of the typical Maasai lifestyle. All the cultural aspects together shape the culture of a group of people and define who they are (Williams, 2009). A group of people (e.g. a tribe or a nation) represent their culture to the outside world by showing the cultural aspects. Turton (2004) investigated the cultural dissimilarity between the tourists and the Mursi tribe from Ethiopia. A common practice among the Mursi is cutting their lips and stretching it till it can fit a lip-plate. This tradition is one part of the whole set of cultural aspects who define who they are, as this practice is different compared to cultural aspects from other cultural groups.

§3.2 Livelihood diversification: its cause and consequences

Traditional cultures are undergoing changes caused by external factors. One of the cultural aspects of the Maasai culture which are impacted is the livelihood. The livelihood of the Maasai was traditionally depending on their livestock, i.e. pastoralism. The establishment of national parks resulted in that the Maasai had to find other sources of income. Depending on the surrounding available livelihood opportunities, the Maasai may end up working in agriculture, tourism, wage labour, livestock trade or real estate (Goodman, 2002; McCabe et al., 2010). Livelihood diversification is mostly examined on Tanzanian Maasai communities (e.g. Maasai living next to the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, McCabe et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the change in livelihood causes a change in the traditional lifestyle. A new livelihood has an impact on the daily activities and thus transforming the lifestyle which the Maasai used to have; depending on their livestock. The diversification of livelihoods might also have an effect upon other aspects, such as traditions and food (Homewood et al., 2009).

§3.3 Tourism and its impacts

In the context of this research, the Maasai tend to diversify their livelihoods in the tourism sector. Although the livelihoods might have changed, tourism as a new livelihood can bring further changes towards the culture. Past research found out that tourism can be beneficial for indigenous peoples as they start earning money from tourism which can be invested in the community (Honey, 2009; Sindiga, 1999 in Williams, 2009; Karanja, 2003). However, the reality can be different on local scales and within the social hierarchy (Homewood et al., 2009; Honey, 2009). Goodman (2002) argued that those with language skills, entrepreneurial experience and education have an advantage in the tourism industry. As a consequence of this, the local elite is often more in the beneficial position than the poorer individuals

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(Goodman, 2002). This difference in background indicates that it can increase inequality and can fragment communities (McCabe et al., 2010).

§3.3.1 Cultural (dis)similarity and respect towards the host community

Tourism can even bring, apart from economic prosperity and financial income, other changes within the host society. The extent of a certain positive or negative impact depends on two factors:

(1) Cultural (dis)similarity

A tourist encounter, a cultural interaction between the tourist and the host community, can impact the culture of the local community when the tourist culture is significantly different than the local culture. Levels of cultural similarity (e.g. similar customs and practices) or dissimilarity are significant in shaping the socio-cultural impacts. Williams (2009) refers to the cultural 'distance' which is of great importance to determine the level of effect. People who interact with other people that has the same socio-economic background and technological development will have less impact than people with a total different structure of culture. For instance, the socio-cultural impact of tourists from the USA will be larger on a host-culture from a small, isolated African tribe than Thai tourists visiting Bali in Indonesia or Indian tourists visiting Mauritius (Williams, 2009). In the case of Americans visiting an African tribe, the socio-cultural and socio-economic difference is larger. Thai tourists visiting Bali or Indian tourists visiting Mauritius share cultural characteristics (e.g. food and religion). Thus, the consequence of a tourist encounter between dissimilar cultures is of a greater size than an encounter between similar cultures.

(2) The respect of tourists towards the host culture

According to the concept of sustainable tourism, local cultures can only sustain as they are treated with respect. Significant for a success of tourism without impacting the local culture in a negative way is that tourists, but also tourism developers and governments, should follow ethical principles that respect local cultures, livelihoods and customs (Williams, 2009; Murphy, 1994)

§3.3.2 Positive and negative impacts of tourism

Impacts of tourism can be positive or negative, the extent of the impact depends on the factors mentioned above. Williams (2009) listed the general impacts tourism can have on host societies.

The introduction of new or modern values and practices is seen as a major positive impact for the local culture. However, the introduction of new goods might tend to replace traditional goods. Another positive impact according to Williams (2009) is the revitalisation of traditional crafts, performing arts and rituals. The interest of tourists in the local culture encourages the local people to sustain their culture. Furthermore, the local community earns some income with selling traditional souvenirs and performing dances. However, this seems to be in conflict with the negative impact. As mentioned by Williams (2009), the culture becomes

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commercialized. The original meanings and values of the different cultural aspects are removed through commodification of the culture. Research in the last decades argue that informal work in tourism like cultural performances and souvenir selling leads to indignity and weakening of traditional cultural practices (Goodman, 2002). Akama (1999) states that the Maasai is used in a commercial way by juxtaposing the Big Five (Elephant, Lion, Leopard, Buffalo and Rhinoceros) with the Maasai culture to brand Kenya as the perfect authentic African destination. In the advertisements, the Maasai are dressed in their traditional red *shuka*, carrying their spears and wearing their jewellery. Marketing agencies use these characteristics to promote destinations in Kenya. The promotion constructs an image of the region and the indigenous people for tourists. Image-building has a tendency to misrepresent societies and cultures (Williams, 2009). The use of characteristics simplify the local culture. Williams (2009: 146) describes this major problem as:

“The image obliges local people to present their traditional rituals and events, folk handicrafts, music and dance, religious ceremonies or sporting contests – all of which are capable of attracting tourists and forming a central element in their experience of the destination – in ways that accord with the image, rather than reality.”

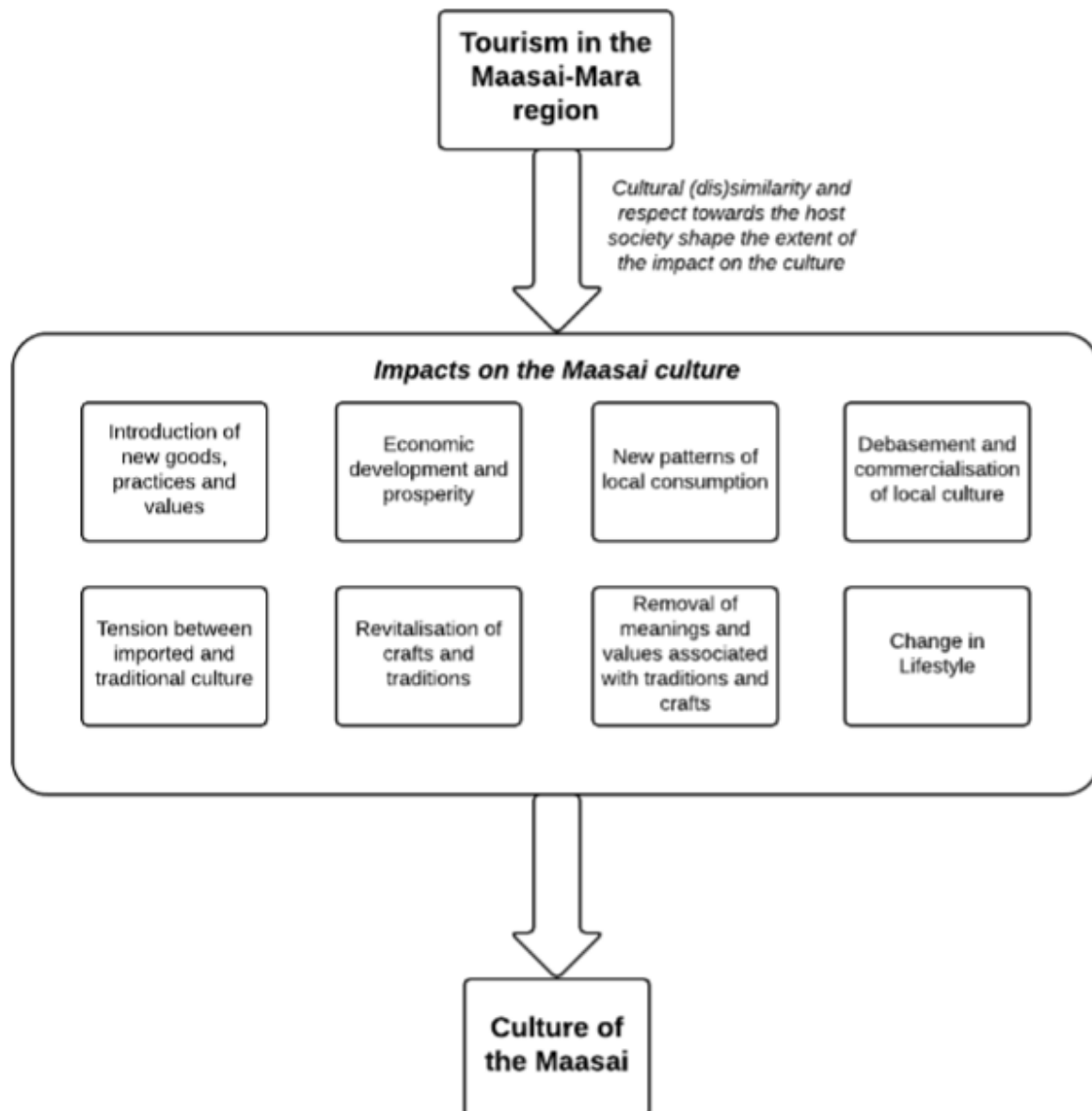
The traditional culture is replaced by a staged-representation. This commodification of culture changes the original meaning of the culture and its customs.

Another impact which arose within other indigenous societies is that the money earned with the souvenirs and staged dances is spent on a variety of things which develops a new way of consumption within the community. The new consumption pattern increases the debasement of different cultural aspects and the lifestyle in general. The lifestyle changes among certain individuals might cause tensions with the traditional lifestyle and can fragment the social structure of the community. New lifestyles replace traditional ones which lead to the abandoning of the traditional culture (Williams, 2009).

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4 Conceptual model



The conceptual model above represents the research focus and cycle of this thesis. Tourism influences the culture of the Maasai in different ways. The extent of a certain impact depends on the factors cultural (dis)similarity and the respect (e.g. etiquette) of the tourist towards the Maasai community.

5 Method

This research is based on a case-study approach as mentioned in chapter 2 of this thesis. Because of the nature of this research, a case-study was the most suitable approach to explore how the Maasai perceive the impact of tourism on their culture.

§5.1 Interviews and observations

A combination of semi-structured interviews and observations are used in order to explore the cultural change indigenous peoples undergo when tourism is developed in the region where they live.

The nature of this research required an in-depth information and the perspectives of the participants. The different story-lines from the participants contributed to an in-depth understanding of the impacts of tourism on the Maasai culture. Interviews are used to study complex social phenomena like cultural change within the Maasai community and attitudes and behaviours of the Maasai towards tourism to gain new insights (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010 in Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). Conducting interviews together with observations of the local environment and the people results in rich in-depth information (Patton, 2002 in Stewart-Withers et al., 2014).

Since interviews are very flexible it ensured space for improvisation in case the interview went different than expected. Thematic key questions for the interviews are defined and functions as a guideline (see appendix II for the interview guide), but there is a space for improvisation in order to obtain more information about a certain topic. The aim is that the interviews are like natural conversations instead of a question-answer session. Each key-question in the interview guide is relevant to the sub-questions seen in paragraph 1.1. The key-questions are thematically organized, based on themes. The interviews started with questions related to how the Maasai used to live, followed by how and when their culture changed. Afterwards, I asked what the contribution is of tourism to a cultural change. The third theme focused on what the relation is of the participant with the tourism sector. Depending on what the participant mentioned in the interview, I asked whether a certain tradition or craft has changed in meaning. The last themes were about how the participant perceives the introduced goods and values and how the participants see the culture in the future (in relation with tourism).

The language of the Maasai is called Maa. The language problems are solved by hiring an interpreter who speaks Maa, Swahili and English. The interpreter translated the questions for the interviewees to Maa and translated the answers to English for the researcher. The language of interaction with between the interpreter and the researcher is English. In order to avoid misunderstandings, the interpreter is firstly familiarized with the research and the research questions. The key questions are asked in simple words and are straightforward which should avoid misunderstandings among the interpreter, participants and the researcher.

The interviews are conducted in the personal environment of the participants (e.g. their house, ground surrounding their house). The participants were encouraged

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to show me the village and objects related to their culture and tourism during the interview.

The interviews are conducted on not predefined days between the 1st of April and the 10th of April, and between the 4th of May and the 14th of May. The broad range of possible days allowed me to make myself familiar with the Maasai and the village and to let the locals make themselves familiar with me. The interviews are conducted as early as possible which created spare time.

The interviews are recorded, after asking for permission from the participant, in order to allow myself to fully focus on the interaction between me and the participants and the interpreter, and between the interpreter and the participants. The interviews are transcribed afterwards on the same day. The transcripts are analysed using different types of codes according to the Codebook in Appendix III. Coding is done with the computer software Atlas.TI (see Appendix V for an example of the interview with Naiswaku).

Observations acted as a visualization of the information gathered during the interviews and the observations developed new interview questions. I focused on the focus points to get an understanding of the people, the culture, behaviours, activities, places, and processes. These focus points are structured in an observation guide (see Appendix IV) and functioned as a leading guide. A day-to-day record of events, experiences, work and observations is written down in a fieldwork diary (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014; Brockington & Sullivan, 2003 in Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). The data is analysed using codes in the same way as the interviews (see Appendix III for the Codebook). The information is partially used to make sense of abstract phenomena and problems which arise in the interviews (Cope, 2012). Participation in traditional practices and customs, for example dances and fire making, contributed to the understanding of how the culture is organized and how it is presented to the tourist. The observations are written down in the fieldwork diary (see Appendix VI for an example)

§5.2 Participants

The proposed participants for this research are the Maasai from the three villages which together form Ole Keene. The participants consist of four men and two women of which four participants are 40+ years old and two are younger than 40 years. In this way, elderly and younger Maasai are included to create a more varied response that will increase the reliability of the results. The division in men and women can create different views of how the culture is impacted by tourism as men and women have different functions in the community and do different activities typical to their culture (information provided by the guide). The division in elder and younger participants gives an overview in how they perceive the cultural change as the elderly have probably more idea of how the culture and traditions used to be; furthermore, the elderly are usually seen as the wise and are the head of the community (information provided by the interpreter). The interpreter functions as the gatekeeper in this research. He is from and still living in the village and knows who are

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willing to participate. The interpreter approached the participants and introduced me to his fellow villagers.

§5.3 Ethical issues

There are several ethical issues I had to take into account because this research deals with sensitive information, deals with indigenous peoples, deals with different power relations and deals with large cultural differences between me and the participants. The ethical issues are explained below.

§5.3.1 Positionality and power relations

I played two major roles during the research; insider and outsider. In most cases, I was an insider who was accepted by the villagers and spent a lot of time in the village. Unlike the tourists, I did not have to pay village entry fees. I became a friend of the villagers and the community. The villagers gave me presents as an act of hospitality and friendship. However, my white European background made me an outsider. I felt that sometimes the villagers stared at me and they also called me *mzungu* (Swahili for white people). Furthermore, I had to pay for the dances and fire making practice. Although I spent a lot of time in the village, the Maasai tried to sell me souvenirs a few times.

I was introduced to the Maasai and the participants by the interpreter as a neutral academic student who had not the intention to share the information with other institutions other than the University of Groningen.

I did not feel that my position as an insider and outsider at the same time had an influence on the outcome of the interviews since the participants were very open and seemed comfortable during the interviews. I was well aware of the culture and the cultural differences between the indigenous culture and the Dutch culture. In order to deal with this, the participants were made familiar with the research and with me prior to the interviews. The interpreter was of great value in this process to familiarize his fellow villagers to me and my research.

Furthermore, it was important to take the power relations between me and the participants into account. Another power relation is the relation between the interpreter and the participants. The interpreter was well-instructed before the interview and well-informed and familiar with the research content. The participants seemed to feel comfortable during the interview while a familiar person took part in the conversations. The relation between the participant and the interpreter was equal, so the participant was comfortable to speak freely.

§5.3.2 Permission and confidentiality

Prior to the interview, I asked permission from the interviewees to record the interview and for using the provided information and publishing the results. The interviewees were allowed to stop the interview at any time but nobody did. The recorded interviews may be deleted if the interviewee wishes so. The information will be processed as confidential. Names were not to be mentioned if the interviewees wish to do so. However, the interviewees allowed me to publish their names and ages.

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The villagers were asked for permission to take pictures in the village and publish the pictures in this thesis. The faces of the children on the pictures are blurred to make them anonymous as they could not give me permission themselves.

6 Findings

This case-study research explored the Maasai culture impacted by tourism. After asking the question if there is any change in the culture caused by tourism, the answers were identical. It seemed that the Maasai from Ole Keene agree that tourism is no factor which changes their culture directly when tourists visit the villages. Tourism is seen as a way to preserve the culture. The most significant changes in the Maasai culture are the dependency on tourism since the Maasai earn their income with it (see paragraph 6.1), the change in lifestyles (see paragraph 6.2, having two meanings for several crafts and traditions (see paragraph 6.3) and adding western goods and values to their culture (see paragraph 6.4).

§6.1 How the Maasai became dependent on tourism and money

This paragraph explains how the Maasai from Ole Keene became dependent on tourism. Traditionally, the Maasai used to live a nomadic way of life and were fully depending on their livestock.

Naiswaku (85 years old; translated by Jackson Lepore): *She mentioned that they were moving from one place to another for pasture and because they were depending mostly on the animals, they need the animals to be healthy and been fed and able to produce like milk. So they were following the rain season, so like if uh they are staying in this area and the rain is about uh 500 kilometres or in another part of the area, even in the border region of Kenya and Tanzania they have to move and they had to live there for a couple of months and till the time the rain come back.*

Naiswaku explained how they lived before the arrival of tourism to the Maasai-Mara region. The livestock provided the Maasai all the nutritional needs by eating the meat and drinking the blood and milk. They moved from one place to another together with all the members of the village or family, also the women and the children. The daily tasks, as Naiswaku explained, were divided between the men and women; the men used to herd the cattle during day time while the women collected firewood (used for cooking) and drinking water, did the laundry in the rivers, milked the cows using the calabashes and cared for the children. The nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai stopped with the establishment of national parks and conservancies. This had a consequence for their daily needs of food.

With the start of tourists visiting the national reserve and surrounding conservancies, the Maasai from Ole Keene came into contact with tourists. Tourists started to visit the villages as they were very interested in the traditional cultures. Tourism started to introduce money in the local Maasai community which had a massive impact on them. The villagers were able to participate in the monetary

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system and started buying food other than their traditional food. The introduction of money in the Maasai community began as the start of a transition from a livestock dependent self-sufficient culture to a tourism and money dependent culture. Tourism is a new way to make a living as they cannot depend just on their livestock (see also the quote from Jack Ole Moniko in the next paragraph). All the Maasai of Ole Keene are in one way or another involved in tourism and the community shares all the money earned with tourism (based on interviews with participants, see quotation from interview Evelyn Narok for an example)

Evelyn Narok (28; translated by Jackson Lepore): ... she is in touch with tourism and what she normally do in tourism she is actually making some bracelets and some beaded things and do display it in the market to sell them so they [all the Maasai from Ole Keene] can earn their income from that.

This is not in line with the arguments of Goodman (2002) and McCabe et al. (2010) which said that only the elite of the community benefits as they have more skills and experience. This is not true for the case of Ole Keene.

§6.2 The dependency changes the lifestyle

Through the years the Maasai became highly dependent on the income made in tourism. The earned money allows the Maasai to buy things they never had. The Maasai learned that they could sell beadwork and woodcarvings to tourists and that they can earn money with attracting tourists to their village to teach them about the Maasai culture and to entertain tourists with dances. This paragraph explains how the dependency on tourism and the tourism activities changes the traditional lifestyle of the Maasai.

Observations in the villages made clear that the division of tasks within the community are different compared to how it used to be. Furthermore, the daily activities are changing. The warriors for example are a large part of the day waiting at the entrance of the village alongside the road for tourists who would like to visit the village. The warriors are now the one who entertain the tourists by performing dances instead of herding the cattle. The little boys are now in charge of looking after the livestock. Jack Ole Moniko explained why the warriors are now waiting for tourists instead of herding the cattle.

Jack Ole Moniko (35; moran): Because we have these people who visit the village and they really like entertainment that is why the warriors stay here. It is a source of economy. You see the economy here is very minimal, we don't do any farming. So everyone have to go to the shop. This how can get daily bread. [...] The cattle are producing very low milk. So that is why people are waiting along the road, so they can get these money for children and family.

Many factors contribute to the changes in the community. The Maasai depend on incomes from tourism since they cannot depend anymore on their cattle. The products of the cattle are minimal due to lesser grazing grounds. That is why they sell

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their culture to get an income to support their family and especially their children. It is not only the men who are changing their daily activities, even the women are busy in tourism, day after day. Noteworthy is the situation of Maasai women near the Sekenani Gate, one of the entries to the MMNR.

A Group of around 40 Maasai ladies are desperately trying to sell their handmade beadwork (e.g. bracelets and necklaces) to tourists who are waiting in front of the Sekenani Gate. While the safari jeep, full of tourists, is waiting in front of the gate to get permission to enter the reserve, the Maasai ladies throw their handmade souvenir into the car and ask for money, pesa. 10 bracelets for 1000 Kenyan Shillings is what they ask. The ladies tried it also with me, si na pesa was my answer. After twenty minutes of pushiness of the ladies and my refusing answers I bought 10 bracelets. I contributed to their income was what I thought. – fieldwork diary, 4th of April, 2016.

The desperation for earning money with selling souvenirs makes it clear that the community is fully dependent on the tourists. The women used to be busy for the whole day with collecting firewood and drinking water, doing laundry in the river, care for the children and milking the cows. According to the observations, the women are a large part of the day making beadwork to sell in the souvenir shop. When tourists visit the village and the souvenir shop, all the women goes to the shop to try and sell the beadwork.

Today a group of around 10 American tourists were staying in the enkang [village]. In the morning they visited the souvenir shop. All the women of the village were present at the shop. They showed the souvenirs to the tourists, dressed the female tourists with beautiful necklaces and bracelets. The Maasai ladies were constantly saying oh you look beautiful and mentioned the prices. Eventually, the tourists bought most of the stuff the Maasai showed. The whole life of the Maasai ladies is about making beadwork to earn their income. – fieldwork diary, 3th of April, 2016

Another visible lifestyle change is concerning the houses. While driving from Nairobi to the Mara, it was remarkable to see the villages in Maasailand (from Maai Mahiu to Narok and till the tarmac road stops) are modernised. The houses are mostly made of bricks and iron sheets instead of cow-dung. When nearing the Maasai-Mara, the houses are traditional made of cow-dung, even when the houses are close to the main road and not remotely located. Some modern houses are located outside the villages. Jack Ole Moniko explained that the younger generation who studied or worked in the big cities (e.g. Nairobi, Mombasa or Kisumu) and towns (e.g. Narok, Nakuru) cannot live anymore in the *enkang* because of the hard living circumstances. After living in the city, they are used to modern lifestyle and western culture. In the case they want to go back to the region they used to live before, they start constructing modern houses outside the traditional *enkang*. It is not allowed (according to agreements between the Maasai) to build modern houses inside the *enkang* as it can harm the tourism business (see figure 6.1 for an impression of a traditional *emanyatta* and a modern *emanyatta*). This is a typical

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example of tensions between the imported western culture and the traditional culture as argued by Williams (2009). The Maasai can only benefit from tourism if they stay in traditional *emanyatta*, otherwise it is not interesting for tourists to visit the villages. Modern buildings do not meet the image tourists have of the Maasai culture. The authentic experience seems to be of great importance otherwise the tourist is not satisfied. The authentic image the tourists have is created by promotion and marketing of tourist destinations and other media (Akama, 1999). The creation of a certain image of the culture in combination with the dependency of the Maasai on tourism prevents the Maasai from undergoing changes. This seems to be in line with the statement of Williams (2009) that a created image local cultures obliges to stay the same in certain aspects. However, the Maasai community from Ole Keene does not feel obliged to live inside the traditional village, it is their own choice to live in *emanyatta* inside the *enkang* or build modern houses outside the *enkang*. The older generation still prefers to live in the traditional houses (personal conversation with interpreter).

Figure 6.1: Traditional *emanyatta* (left) and a modern *emanyatta* (right).



Source: Picture taken by Rick Brinks.

§6.3 Crafts and traditions, both have two meanings

Despite the fact that several cultural aspects are being sold to tourists, it does not change the traditional meaning of the cultural aspects. The participants replied to the questions related to the dances and the necklace as follows.

Naiswaku (85; translated by Jackson Lepore): ... the meaning of the wedding necklaces they only change is that we now sell them. She says they are very important within the Maasai community. This is also very special necklace to the ladies as they use for the wedding and as well in any ceremony within the area ladies have to wear these wedding necklaces and is used to make you look beautiful [...]. And with the wedding necklaces [...] they can just make you be look on the distance look beautiful. Because this necklace was with the hanging beads maybe to the legs. So the only change is that now they can sell to the tourists, but it is still very important in the Maasai community.

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Peter Narok (45; translated by Jackson Lepore): .. he said that the songs actually done for welcoming the tourists to the village are still tradition but they change a little bit because when they normally have a ceremony in the village these songs are really well arranged like they start singing in some hours. Not that short young guys now sing for the tourists [lasts for 10 minutes]. Like if someone wants to come and like to experience and you stay here in this village and you find there are well arranged songs in the evening because that is our own leisure time, even when without staying anyone here. So there are just little changes, because they make it shorter because of entertaining. During the song they got two different tunes of the song. The fast song is used for jumping [originally the greeting dance is used for welcoming, the jumping dance is used for attracting girls; information provided by Jackson Lepore].

All the participants replied that the meanings of traditions, ceremonies and crafts have not changed since the arrival of tourism. They still use the traditions and crafts in their own society; it is still very important for them. The crafts for example got two meanings for the Maasai. First, they use the crafts in their culture, e.g. the bracelets. Second, the crafts function as an income source by selling it. This is in line with the positive impact of revitalisation of traditional crafts mentioned in Williams (2009). The two meanings also apply to the dances; the Maasai seem to have two versions of the dances. The shorter version is used in day-time to entertain visitors and earn money with it (see figure 6.2 for an example of performing the jumping-dance) and the longer version is used for themselves during leisure time and ceremonies. This is against the argument of Goodman (2002) and Williams (2009) that commercialisation debases the local culture and that it removes traditional meanings since the Maasai got two versions.

Figure 6.2: Warriors from Ole Keene performing the jumping-dance.



Source: Picture taken in Ole Keene by Rick Brinks.

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§6.4 Introducing goods and values

Evelyn Narok (28; translated by Jackson Lepore): ... normally when people visit the village they bring help. Some of them improve their lifestyle, some become friends and they go with them outside of Kenya and some sponsor kids, some also help with buying souvenirs and some bring books for children. So her opinion is that people visit the village bring advantage.

Ntato Ole Sankok (78; translated by Jackson Lepore): ... they [tourists] give out things like cloths, trousers and t-shirts as well shoes, books and pens. They [the Maasai] use all those things. For example the kids can use the things at school as well they can wear the cloths, so they use them.

The quotes above summarize the kinds of goods the tourists introduce and what help they bring when they visit the villages. These goods are welcomed by the Maasai as it helps them and especially the children a lot. Although the goods (e.g. western cloths) are used by the Maasai, it does not fully replace their own goods and practices. However, due to education there is a tendency that the youth are mostly wearing western cloths (see figure 6.1 for an impression). After a while they start wearing their own cloths or only wear western or their own cloths on special occasions; mzee Ntato Ole Sankok explains this.

Ntato Ole Sankok (78; translated by Jackson Lepore): He said they [the Maasai] do not actually replace because they only wear during especially they can wear [western cloths] when they go to a town and when they go around traditional ceremonies they use shuka, so they like wearing both.

The introduction of western things make our own culture bigger and stronger, it is an added value. We take those things from the western world but do not set our own culture aside. Tourists are interested in our culture, so why would the Maasai change the culture? We benefit from it. – **Conversation with Evans (teacher at Ole Keene Primary School), fieldwork diary, 5th of April, 2016.**

Partly because of the dependency on tourism, the Maasai from Ole Keene do not abandon their own traditional goods and cloths. The visitors appreciate an authentic experience and the Maasai from Ole Keene are, compared to other regions in Maasailand, benevolent to keep their culture. The Maasai welcomes western goods and practices. Although they use both the Maasai goods and practices as well as the western ones. Their own culture grows because of the introduction of new goods and values. This is a positive impact, in line with the argument from Williams (2009) concerning about the introduction of new goods and values. The Maasai can add western goods and values to their own culture as long as they stay attractive to tourists in order to earn their income with tourism.

One of the most significant benefits of the introduction of western goods and values like mobile phones and social media is that it helps to promote the Maasai culture in the outside world. The communication between the Maasai-Mara and the tourist improves with this modern technology. This increased knowledge and

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reputation of the Maasai in the world eventually might attract new visitors which contribute to the income of the Maasai.

7 Conclusion

§7.1 Conclusion and discussion of the key findings

This research aimed to explore the impacts of tourism on the culture of the Maasai, an indigenous ethnic group living in the border region of Kenya and Tanzania. The aim of the research is achieved by studying the Maasai from Ole Keene, a village near the Maasai-Mara National Reserve in southwest Kenya.

Since the establishment of national parks in Kenya and Tanzania, the Maasai were not able to migrate anymore with their cattle in search for fresh grass and water. The Maasai settled down and as a result of this their livestock does not produce enough food for the community. In order to seek other sources of income, the Maasai diversified their livelihoods from a pastoral livelihood to, for example, tourism or agriculture (Fratkin, 2001; Brokensha & Little, 1988 in Fratkin, 2001; Homewood and Brockington, 1999; McCabe, 2003a; Brockington, 2001; Igoe, 2003a; Igoe, 2003b; Goldman, 2003). Ole Keene adapted tourism as a new income source as their villages are closely located to the Maasai-Mara National Reserve which attracts half of the tourists visiting Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2006 in Honey, 2009; Akama, 1999).

The tourists started to introduce money in the Maasai community on which the Maasai became heavily dependent. This dependency on the money earned with tourism changed the lifestyle as the daily activities are devoted to tourism. Another lifestyle change is embedded in housing. The younger generation who adapted modern lifestyles while living in cities for work or education start constructing modern houses when they return to the home region. They cannot live in the circumstances of the *enkang* and have to build their new homes outside the traditional village so that the *enkang* stays traditional to attract tourists. Akama (1999) mentioned the authentic image tourists have of indigenous peoples. Although the Maasai from Ole Keene do not feel obliged, they stay traditional in order to attract tourists. The lifestyle changes bring tensions between the traditional and imported lifestyles which is also found in contexts of other researches according to Williams (2009).

Despite the culture being commodified for tourists to earn a living, the traditional meanings of the cultural aspects stay the same. Actually, each thing in their culture which is commodified got two meanings or versions nowadays. Each cultural aspect plays still an important role in their culture and it now functions also as their source of income by selling it to visitors. This is controversial with past research in which is concluded that the main impacts on indigenous cultures are the debasement and weakening of cultural aspects such as traditions (Williams, 2009; Goodman, 2002). However, it is not possible to generalize this conclusion to other Maasai communities since it might be a different context.

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The Maasai added introduced western goods and values to their own culture without replacing or abandoning their own culture. The Maasai see the western goods and values as an added value which makes their culture stronger. New technologies, such as mobile phones and social media, improve the communication between the Maasai and the tourists which increases the knowledge and reputation of the culture and attracts new visitors. This positive impact is also seen in the context of other indigenous peoples according to Williams (2009).

§7.2 Reflection and recommendations

Since I worked with an interpreter, the expectation was that the results might be different in nuance or I might miss some information because of the language barrier. However, I did not feel this was the case. The participants were very direct and clear in their formulations and the interpreter explained everything in detail. The interpreter also explained issues if I had further questions.

Remarkable in the research was that the participants never talked directly about a cultural change. They all seemed to be unanimous in their views concerning the issues we talked about. Tourism is a benefit to their culture as it preserves it. However, analysis of the interviews and observations made it clear that many things are changing, positive or negative, but the participants do not notice this directly. Since they are all involved in tourism and are highly dependent on the income from tourism, they are used to the fact that their culture is commodified and that their daily activities are all devoted to tourism.

Despite this research is meant to be exploratory in nature, the results contributed to the understanding of tourism impacts on indigenous peoples and cultures. The research is conducted in a village which is dependent on tourism, which has a different context than villages in remote areas without any encounters with tourists. The impact over there might be very minimal to none. Further research is needed in relation to impacts on Maasai in other contexts and environments. The participants mentioned that the biggest change in their culture is not caused by tourism but by education and religion. Research on these topics are needed to get the full image of cultural change the Maasai undergo. Furthermore, it would be interesting in future research to make comparisons with a modernised Maasai village and a traditional *enkang*.

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Appendix I Description of Ole Keene

This appendix contributes to chapter 2; however the content of this section is not necessarily relevant to the research it gives a more detailed description of how the Maasai village of Ole Keene is organized and sketches the hierarchy in the community.

The traditional Maasai villages are called *enkang*. Each village is surrounded by a fence, called *orpashe*, made out of acacia branches and thicket bush to prevent the cattle being killed by predators during the night inside the village. The village is made up of huts which are called *manyatta* in Swahili or *emanyatta* in Maa. The houses are made of branches, twigs and cow dung, see figure 1a below. Dry cow dung on the roof absorbs rainwater and prevents the house from leaking.

Figure 1a: Cow-dung made *emanyatta* surrounding the *boo onkisha*.



Source: Picture taken in the village of Kimelok by Rick Brinks.

All houses have a similar structure, consisting of one entrance called *kutukaji*, a living area with bed (*endapash*) and open fire (*enkima*; see figure 1c) used for cooking, a room for the new born calves (*olale*) and a room for the little goats and lamb (*elenkut*). The houses are dark inside; a small window (*elusie*) is made in the wall for ventilation. See figure 1e for a schematic overview of an *emanyatta*. The *emanyatta* are located in a circle, surrounding a kind of square (called *boo onkisha*; see figure 1a and 1d) used by the cows during the night. A small enclosure called *emwatata* houses the goats and sheep during the night (see figure 1b).

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Figure 1b: emwatata with goats and sheep.



Source: Picture taken by Rick Brinks.

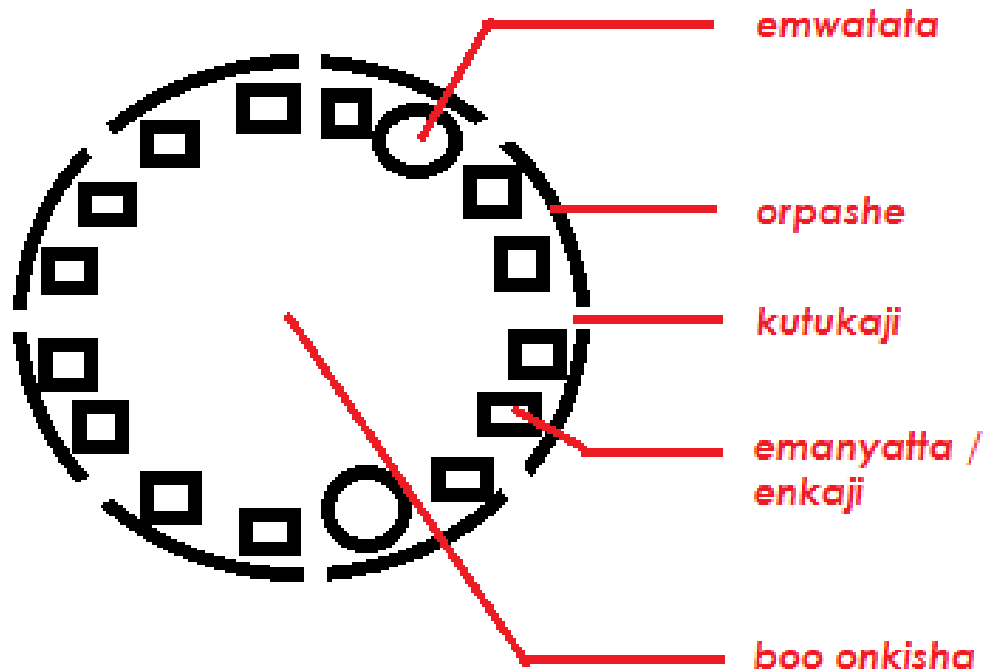
Figure 1c: enkima, used for cooking.



Source: Picture taken by Rick Brinks.

Figure 1d: Map of a traditional Maasai village: enkaang.

Map of a traditional Maasai village: enkaang

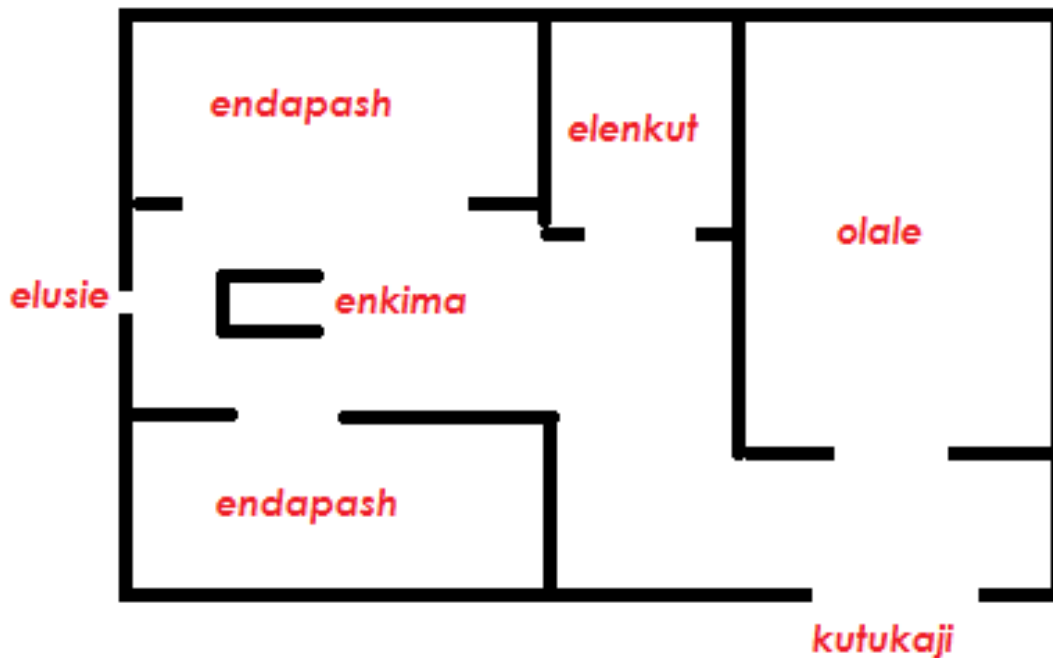


Source: information provided by Jackson Lepore and Jack Ole Moniko. Figure created by Rick Brinks in Paint.

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Figure 1e: Map of a traditional Maasai house: emanyatta.

Map of a traditional Maasai house: emanyatta



Source: information provided by Jackson Lepore, Kelvin Arusey and Jack Ole Moniko. Figure created by Rick Brinks in Paint.

The population of each village is made up of around three families consisting of approximately 80 people in total per village. A village is 'governed' by a chief. Multiple wives per man and having an average of 5 to 6 children per woman is usual in the Maasai community. When boys reach the age of 13 they become warrior, or *moran*.

Appendix II Interview guide (final version)

Thank you very much for participating in my research! My name is Rick Brinks, a student in Human Geography at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. For my graduation I am doing research on the Maasai culture and the influence of tourism on the Maasai culture. I want to learn about the characteristics of the Maasai culture, about tourism in this region and the influence of tourism on your culture. The provided information is treated confidentially. The information will not be shared with other parties other than my home university. You are allowed to stop the interview at any time.

- How do the Maasai used to live in the past before the tourist came?
 - What were the cultural characteristics?
 - What was the lifestyle?
 - What were the original traditions?

- When did the culture change and how did it change?

- What is the influence of tourism on a possible cultural change?

- How are you involved in tourism?
 - What kind of job?
 - What kind of tourism-related jobs are the other Maasai doing?
 - How many tourists visit Ole Keene?

- What are tourists doing here when they visit the village?
 - What kind of activities are they doing?
 - What are they buying?

- What is the original meaning of (e.g. a dance)?
 - How and when has the meaning of the practices changed?

- What is the behaviour of tourists towards the Maasai?
 - What do the tourists bring to the village? (e.g. cloths, mobile..)

- What do the tourists introduce (bring with them) to the village? (e.g. mobile phones, cooking utensils, cloths ..)
 - Do the Maasai take over these goods?

- What are the advantages / disadvantages of tourism?

- How do you see the future of the Maasai culture? Will it survive? And how?

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- Do you think the culture has changed if there was no tourism?
- Imagine the Maasai can take all the decisions. How would you change tourism in a way the community benefit from it?

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Appendix III Codebook

Code	Subcode	Type	Explanation	Theory
CChar (Cultural Characteristics)	CCharLifestyle	Deduct.	Lifestyle before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharTraditions	Deduct.	Traditions before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharCrafts	Deduct.	Crafts before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharFood	Deduct.	Food before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharLivelihood	Deduct.	Livelihood before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016; Goodman, 2002; McCabe et al., 2010
	CCharLanguage	Deduct.	Language before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharBeliefs	Deduct.	Beliefs before introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CCharCloths	Induct.	Cloths before introduction of tourism	
CChan (Cultural Change)	CChanLifestyle	Deduct.	Lifestyle after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016; Homewood et al., 2009
	CChanTraditions	Deduct.	Traditions after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016; Homewood et al., 2009
	CChanCrafts	Deduct.	Crafts after	Texas A&M

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			introduction of tourism	University, 2016
	CChanFood	Deduct.	Food after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CChanLivelihood	Deduct.	Livelihood after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016; Goodman, 2002; McCabe et al., 2010
	CChanLanguage	Deduct.	Language after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CChanBeliefs	Deduct.	Beliefs after introduction of tourism	Texas A&M University, 2016
	CChanCloths	Induct.	Cloths after introduction of tourism	
CultMeaning	-	Deduct.	Meanings of the cultural characteristics.	
TourJob	-	Deduct.	Kind of jobs where Maasai are involved in. E.g. safari guides, hotel employee.	Williams, 2009
CultInteraction	-	Deduct.	The way of interaction between tourist and Maasai. Do the tourists follow Maasai etiquette?	Williams, 2009; Murphy, 1994
TourAct	-	Deduct.	Tourism oriented activities. For example: staged dances, local dinners.	Williams, 2009
Commodification	-	Deduct.	Commercialization of traditional goods and practices. The meaning of a good or practice has	Williams, 2009; Akama, 1999

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			changed as a consequence	
IntroGoods&Pract	-	Deduct.	Western modern introduced goods and practices in Maasai community. Do the Maasai takeover or use western goods, practices, values?	Williams, 2009
EconomicBenefits	-	Deduct.	Economic prosperity because of tourism.	Honey, 2009; Sindiga, 1999 in Williams, 2009; Karanja, 2003
PersExperiences	-	Induct.	The personal experiences of Maasai considering tourism and tourists.	
CultPreservation	-	Induct.	Preservation and Revitalisation of the local culture	
CultPromotion	-	Deduct.	Cultural Promotion	Williams, 2009; Akama, 1999
CultTension	-	Induct.	Tensions between imported and traditional lifestyles	Williams, 2009
NewConsPat	-	Deduct.	New patterns of local consumption after the introduction of tourism	Williams, 2009

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Appendix IV **Focus points for observations**

- Cultural characteristics (crafts, rituals, food, cloths, buildings, et cetera)
- Maasai lifestyle / daily routine (tourism and non-tourism related livelihoods)
- Interaction Maasai vs. Tourist
 - Maasai manners / etiquette
- Jobs in tourism
- Introduced practices and goods
- Economic development (newly bought/constructed/received goods and buildings + growth in livestock amounts)

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Appendix V Example of interview transcript

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01 Interview with Naiswaku (85)

02 Mother of Jackson Lepore

03 Ole Keene

04

05 Interpreter: Jackson Lepore (25)

06 5th of April, 2016.

07

08 Rick: I am Rick Brinks, a geography student from the Netherlands. I am doing research about the Maasai and their culture and the impact of tourism on the Maasai culture. You have the right to stop the interview at any time you wish. If you want to stop it is alright. Do you want me to share the research results with you? I will sent my research to Jackson and he can tell you about the research I have done. So the first question... Can you tell me about how the Maasai used to live in the past before the tourists came to the Maasai-Mara region? And can you tell about the cultural characteristics, the lifestyle and traditions?

09


10 Jackson: So right she just mentioned some things they used to do before the coming of the tourist and the changes they brought like money. So she started by mentioning they used only they are depending on the domestic animals [livestock] and what they were doing is to slaughter a sheep on week basis. So mostly they had to slaughter sheep to eat meat. And they were getting milk mixed with blood and they had something like yoghurt inside the calabashes. And later on she just mentioned they never had cloths like now that time. Even these shuka's that we are wearing at the moment. So what they used to wear apart from the shuka, because you can only have one piece of shuka and then you can have a cow skin. So the cow skin she said were made of beads really made it really slight and smooth. So you can just wear like uh cloth. And she mentioned that they were moving from one place to another for pasture and because they were depending mostly on the animals they need the animals to be healthy and been fed and able to produce like milk. So they were following the rain season, so like if uh they are staying in this area and the rain is about uh 300km or in another part of the area, even in the border region of Kenya and Tanzania they have to move and they had to live there for a couple of months and till the time the rain come back. And later on she said that uh they were having some kind of ceremonies like uh wedding, and like sackamsession and also naming of children.

11


12 Rick: When you were moving following the rain season did only the men participate in the moving or also the women in the moving with the animals to other regions? [because normally the men herd the animals].


13


14 Jackson: Okay right. During the time of moving to one place or another because of pasture she said that both men and women they were to move with the cows and even they had to take children.

 # CCharLifestyle

 # CCharFood

 # CCharCloth

 # CCharLifestyle

 # CCharTraditions

 # CCharLifestyle

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And the reason that women also participate on the moving is that they were the one to milk the cows. So the men don't do that because they are very tired herding the animals. So the women were milking the cows. And during that time they also had to move because this far distance they can walk kilometres and the donkeys were the one who participate to carry the luggage. Like uh mostly they didn't have the iron cooking utensils like now you can see they have many and she said that time they can only have two. So the big luggage they were having is the cow skin used for their beds and uh the calabashes. And she said they were carrying about 100 calabashes for to put in the milk. So those are the things the ladies had to move too.

15

16 Rick: So during the rain season they moved to other places but at the moment, since the coming of tourism, there are conservancies and national parks established [around Ole Keene]. So nowadays the Maasai cannot move during the rain season, right?

17

18 Jackson: Yeah, so now at the moment we still have our animals move to get to new grass. And because of now the changes come like we have conservancies everywhere and we have also the park so what we do is just between the border of Kenya and Tanzania [no-man's-land], there is this land there where by also the Maasai of Tanzania who live there, so sometimes we have to migrate and live there. The men go with the cows and the women have to stay with the children because of the schools.

19

20 Rick: So, you might expect there is a cultural change going on in the Maasai culture. When and how did it change and what is the influence of tourism?

21


22 Jackson: Okay right so she said uh that changes also occur but most changes are not only because of the tourism. But for her she mentions mostly that like some things that they were doing that time like the cutting of the ears and tooth clipping and she also said uh when you look on her arms there are some small decorations of tattoo. They used to put on those things using a fire, they burned and that's just to decorate their bodies. And at the moment nobody, the young generation growing up don't do it, it stopped. And she mentioned also like uh most things are like the church or Christianity she said that this most now changing the culture because people joining the Christianity. They [Maasai] have been stopped to do the traditional cultural things or uh the believes now for them is different. So she mentions the churches around the area and Christianity are the one which changes the culture at the moment now.



23

24 Rick: How are you involved in tourism? So what kind of job or how do you contribute to tourism in this area?

25

26 Jackson: Right what she doing when the tourist coming uh she made

 # CCharTraditions

 # Commodification
 # Tourjob

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bead things for example the wedding necklaces where by she mentioned it takes about one week to make one and bracelets, small bracelets and also things like uh sometimes she make different thing like a shirt and put on the beads around it. So most she do is beadwork.

27

28 Rick: When tourists are coming to visit the village, what are they doing? What kind of activities and what are they buying?

29

30 Jackson: So she mentioned uh what tourist normally do when they visit the village. Some of them they come for cultural experience and she said that uh some of them just jump with the warriors and some of them they can join the ladies like lady songs and start singing with them and also she says there was students here and they showed them how to put cow dung on the houses. So they learn also how like what we normally do in the culture. And mostly they buy different kinds of cutting things and bead things.

31

32 Rick: So uh she mentions she is making the wedding necklaces. Did the original meaning of wedding necklaces change because of tourism as they are now sold to tourists?

33

34 Jackson: Okay right so the meaning of the wedding necklaces they only change is that we now sell them. She says they are very important within the Maasai community. This is also very special necklace to the ladies as they use for the wedding and as well in any ceremony within the area ladies have to wear these wedding necklaces and is used to make you look beautiful even when the time like she is putting herself the earrings. And with the wedding necklaces and the earrings they can just make you be look on the distance look beautiful. Because this necklace was with the hanging beads maybe to the legs. So the only change is that now they can sell to the tourists, but it is still very important in the Maasai community.

35

36 Rick: What is the behaviour of tourists towards the Maasai of Ole Keene? Do they show respect for example?

37

38 Jackson: So towards the Maasai old people she said the tourist visited here at Ole Keene they have respect and even she just said that we like them because some of them give help towards the community and some tourists, so European people, doing just like on their own especially to the Maasai community. The Maasai tribe normally we are very respect people and we have never seen here any tourist coming maybe doing something we didn't like. So most of them they are very respectful towards the villages and the people.

39

40 Rick: So when those tourist visit the village, they often bring some goods with them to the village. Do the Maasai also take over those goods, do they use those goods?

☀ | Commodification
☀ | TourAct

☀ | Commodification
☀ | CultMeaning

☀ | CultInteraction

☀ | CChanCloths
☀ | IntroGoods&Pract

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- 41
42 Jackson: right, so she said there are some goods that we use and we don't use. Not because we don't like or we don't want them. Just that some things we have some things we don't eat but for them they never know that we don't eat so some we take them but we don't use them and some we take them but don't eat them. And actually just the same like for us we have some animals we can collect from the bushes and we can sell to them and also same way they can buy and people take them back to their countries. So the same way, some we use, some we don't use.
- 43
44 Rick: If the tourist bring goods and the Maasai use those goods, does it change a part of the culture. So if the goods replaces Maasai goods?
- 45
46 Jackson: Okay right she said that like she doesn't think the change .. some tourist bring cloths and already the young generation are wearing western cloths. So that doesn't mean that is changing the culture because they already do by themselves.
- 47
48 Rick: Who were the first who brought western cloths to the Maasai? We're they tourists or other people?
- 49
50 Jackson: Okay right, she just mentioned not tourist brought western cloths. But the one who started to sell western cloths to the Maasai were the Kikuyu. So the Kikuyu tribe were the first who introduced and sold the Maasai western cloths because before they [the Maasai] were only used to wear this kind of shuka.
- 51
52 Rick: What are the advantages or the disadvantages of tourism?
- 53
54 Jackson: So the advantage of the coming of tourists actually is very big even in the Maasai community because that in the beginning some times back we didn't know about the use of money and later on after the coming of tourists now they can have money and the tourist seem also make most of the people within the community to do other businesses like uh some of them own some cars and they carry the tourists and we have also now people making the camps around here and also they benefit from the camps. And also like uh later on even some tourists come out when they build schools, paying for children school fees and other things and also they donate some things like books and pens for the children. So she said there is a lot of advantages coming with the tourists. The only disadvantage she says on the part of the activities being done by the young warriors, now they mostly take their time waiting on entertaining the visitors coming to the villages. Where before these young guys have to follow the cows and herding them in the bushes. And now they have to wait for the tourists. And also on part of the ladies as well during day time they used to collect wood and drinking water and also even sometimes they have leisure time just

 EconomicBenefits

 CCharLifestyle

 CCharLivelihood

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by their own and then they get together in one village and start making dancing or songs. So a few disadvantages she sees on part of the activities.

55

56 Rick: Do you think the Maasai culture will change in the future because of tourism?

57

58 Jackson: Right so she just mentioned about like uh during the come of tourism they have not really changed the culture but the culture itself is being changed by the young generation as after they went to school and get more education in the cities they stay there. Some of them prefer after they finish to come back to the village and later go back to find some jobs in the cities because it is hard for them to stay in the village. But in some ways also the coming of tourism she mentioned some ways or some parts also being changed like now some of the young guys are trying like to adapt the culture of the tourist as after they work in the camps or said just like some of them didn't know how to speak English and now they wanted to stay like the tourist. To speak English or maybe starting to travelling to other places. So those are the little changes of the young generation in the culture.

59

60 Rick: imagine the Maasai can take all the decisions about tourism. So the Maasai are the owners of tourism lodges, of the hotels, the conservancies and the national parks. How would you change tourism if the Maasai had the power?

61

62 Jackson: Right, she just said that uh when the Maasai rules over everything in the Maasai conservancies, parks and also the lodges around here, she says on the way she sees there will be more tourists coming because the Maasai themselves owning all the things here and they see that uh .. Even at the moment now most of them want to help us or the money or income of all the projects around here goes back to the community. So there will be more people coming. And also more often they will be very happy of now that the Maasai will rule over everything inside the area.

63

64 Rick: Maybe one more question.. Do you think the culture has changed if there was no tourism in the Maasai-Mara region?

65

66 Jackson: So she just mentioned that if the tourist did not come to the Maasai-Mara or they have not come to the Maasailand they could just have been continuing with their life like before and has to depend on their livestock and could just have been using things like milk and blood and meat and even there are some parts of the area like eh the Maasai between Kenya and Tanzania there are still people living on the border and even some of them have never seen the tourist and what they are doing is the same way as before depending on their livestock.

67

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68 Rick: Thank you very much for the interview. Ashe. I will send the
results to Jackson.

69

Appendix VI Example of fieldwork diary

Ole Keene, Kenya

5th April, 2016

In the morning I went to Ole Keene. Because of the heavy rain of yesterday afternoon and evening many buildings were damaged. All the women of the village were busy with repairing the roofs and walls. In the Maasai community it is the task of the ladies to construct houses and repairing it. In case a new house need to be constructed all the ladies help each other and work together on the project.

Around ten in the morning I had the interview with Naiswaku, Jackson's mother. It took place inside her *emanyatta*. During the interview she was busy with preparing lunch. Everyone felt very comfortable during the interview. We also drunk a cup of tea, chai, together.

After the interview I went to the souvenir shop to buy some presents for dad's birthday and Arjen's birthday. I was remarkable that even though I felt to be part of the community, all the women went to the souvenir shop and tried to sell me souvenirs. That moment I felt I was a tourist.

From the souvenir shop Jackson and I walked to the Ole Keene Primary School. I had a very interesting conversation with Evans, one of the teachers. He is from Kisii, near Lake Victoria and is not Maasai himself. He said that tourism is a huge benefit for the Maasai people. The introduction of western things make our own culture bigger and stronger, it is an added value. We take those things from the western world but do not set our own culture aside. Tourists are interested in our culture, so why would the Maasai change the culture? We benefit from it. Tourists brings money. They introduced it into Maasailand. Education and religion are the factors which changes the culture the most.

Children will be wearing western cloths also in the future since they are wearing it during their childhood. They get used to it. When they continue studying in big cities than there is a great chance they will still be wearing western cloths instead of *shuka*. The older Maasai realize that.