

## Chapter 7

### Tourism and the Maasai of Kenya

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**Abstract:** The Maasai people of Kenya have for a long time remained outside mainstream tourism development. However, recently they have increasingly started to invest in tourism and to assume an entrepreneurial role. This chapter provides an overview of the extent and level of Maasai involvement in tourism in Kenya, including a discussion of the type of involvement that is typical of Maasai tourism enterprises. The paper will also present a brief discussion of research conducted to examine what the Maasai were doing in their engagement with tourists and the tourism industry in the Amboseli region of Kenya.

**Keywords:** (Tourism, Maasai, Involvement, Amboseli, Kenya )

The international tourism and travel industry is one of the largest and fastest growing sectors in the world's political economy (UNWTO 2013). Today, the tourism industry is increasingly becoming an important economic sector in many developing countries, including Kenya. Modern tourism has been hailed as a catalyst for economic development and its impact is now being felt in virtually all tourist destinations around the world. These dynamics have turned tourism into a powerful force for socio-economic advancement on the basis of the sector's contribution to foreign exchange earnings, job creation, economic growth and poverty eradication (UNWTO 2010). The industry also has enormous potential to contribute meaningfully to conservation and sustainable use of both natural and cultural resources and to play an important role in rural development particularly in the developing countries. As human populations continue to increase and natural resources become scarce, it is increasingly becoming imperative for host communities in destination areas such as the Maasai to be involved in tourism development.

The involvement of local communities in tourism development cannot be ignored or overlooked owing to their vital roles. Jamal and Stronza (2009) have asserted that involving local communities in tourism development within and around protected wildlife reserves and national parks is important in bridging the gap between governance and use of biodiversity resources in a tourist destination. Apart from the economic benefits that local communities can derive from tourism, their involvement in tourism development can also be beneficial to tourism development because they can assist rural communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas to earn a livelihood and provide incentives for them to conserve and preserve their natural and cultural heritage resources. Generally, involvement of local communities in tourism development can create an "effective environmental

stewardship” that builds on indigenous, local and scientific knowledge, economic development, social empowerment, the protection of natural and cultural heritage, as well as support local culture, tradition, knowledge and skill, and create pride in community heritage (Lacy et al., 2002; Jamal and Stronza, 2009). This has proven to be the case for the Maasai people living in the group ranches that surround Amboseli National Park in the Amboseli region of Kenya.

## **1. Tourism in Kenya**

Kenya is one of the world’s most popular tourist destinations owing to its rich diversity of tourist attractions and dependent on tourism as a key driver of its national economy. Today, tourism is Kenya’s third largest single source of foreign exchange earnings after horticulture and tea. The sector also contributes approximately 10% to GDP, 10-12 of total wage employment, and 19.2% of export earnings (Kenya, 2013). The industry has also brought a host of other social and economic benefits to Kenya including useful contributions to the reduction of the country’s balance of payments, generation of revenues and employment, distribution of incomes to regions and communities, poverty reduction and national development. Tourism has also promoted conservation, encouraged local communities to realise the value and economic significance of their cultures, arts and crafts, environment and natural resources. The Kenyan government continues to promote tourism as one of the key drivers for the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) and Vision 2030 in the country. Kenya’s tourism policy, planning and development are inextricably linked to sustainable rural development. Tourism is therefore one of Kenya’s most important economic sectors.

Kenya is the 7<sup>th</sup> most popular tourist destination in Africa (UNWTO, 2013) and with a diversity of tourist attractions. These include idyllic sandy coastal beaches, animal orphanages, museums, snake parks, admirable climate, magnificent scenery, historical sites, magnificent wildlife and colourful tribal cultures (Ikiara, 2001; Kenya, 2007). However, the main tourist attraction is a game safari to one of the country’s national parks and game reserves. It is estimated that more than 80 percent of tourists visiting Kenya come for its excellent opportunities to view a wide range of unique wild animals in pristine natural environments. With its numerous national parks and game reserves, covering approximately 10 percent of the country’s total land area, Kenya continues to maintain its reputation as one of the leading countries in Africa that is committed to wildlife conservation. Human-wildlife conflicts and poaching however remain major challenges for conservation and tourism in Kenya.

Kenya’s tourism sector has experienced strong growth in volume, revenues and investment since independence. The number of tourist arrivals has increased steadily from 65, 000 in 1964 to over one million in 2010, with corresponding increase in revenues. For example, the number of international inbound tourist arrivals in Kenya increased at an annual average growth of about 9.8 per cent from slightly above 1,036, 500 in 2000 to 1,478.9 in 2005. In 2007, the country received 1,816.8 visitor arrivals which reflected a 12.5 percent increase from 1,600.6 in 2006 (see Table 1). The sector however recorded a 40% slump in 2008 primarily due to the post election violence in late 2007 and early 2008.

Nonetheless, the industry is on a recovery path and the government has continued to promote tourism as one of the potential sectors for stimulating economic growth and development. The industry features prominently in all government policy statements and national development plans including in poverty eradication strategy papers (PESP). Tourism in Kenya is however largely owned and controlled by companies from the tourist generating countries in the west which along with the state and a few local elites appropriate a lion's share of the benefits that accrue from the industry.

A large majority of tourists who visit Kenya come for holiday. While holiday tourists come to the country for pleasure and recreation, attending conferences is also becoming a major pull factor for international tourists to the country (Kenya, 2013). The country's main source markets are Britain, Germany, United States, Italy, Switzerland, France and the Scandinavian countries with some new markets emerging around Africa in countries like South Africa, Namibia, Kenya, and Uganda (Kenya, 2013). The majority of international tourists come to Kenya for a wildlife safari to view the country's enormous wild animals in their natural habitats. An increasing number of people on transit and business trips to other countries in Africa also visit Kenya. This is basically due to Kenya's strategic position as a transport hub in the region and headquarters for international organisations such as the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS - Habitat) and United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and multinational corporations operating in the African region.

Table 1 Tourism Performance Indicators (2002-2008)

<b>Arrivals</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
Holiday	732.6	684	885.6	1,063.1	1,087.4	1,278.5	936.1
Business	86.6	182.1	246.4	206.1	226.2	242.2	109.1
Transit	163.3	219.1	162.2	79,800	137,16	130.9	62.00
Other	19	61	66.5	130,00	149,82	165.2	95.8
<b>Total Arrivals</b>	<b>1001.3</b>	<b>1146.2</b>	<b>1360.7</b>	<b>1,479.0</b>	<b>1,600.6</b>	<b>1,816.8</b>	<b>1,203.3</b>
Departures	1,013.4	1,023.0	1,320.2	1461.0	1578.4	1772.2	1143.1
Length of Stay (days)	8.5	8.4	13	12.3	12.1	11.9	10.4
Hotel Occupancy	42	33.6	37.8	41.3	45.5	-	-
Visits to parks and reserves	1784.1	1575.9	1820.2	2,132.9	2,363.7	2,495.1	1633.9
Visits to museums, snake parks and historical sites	603.1	686.3	699	765.2	594.1	598.6	493.2
International Conferences	115	126	145	186	209	234	232

Source: Kenya, (2009).

The Kenya Wildlife Services has over the last two or so decades been encouraging communities living near wildlife protected areas to undertake entrepreneurial activity in tourism as a means of reconciling the otherwise intractable conflicts between conservation and development. Maasai pastoralists living around Amboseli national park represent one of communities being encouraged and supported to undertake conservation as a form of commercial tourism enterprise. The reasons for this are threefold: one, the realization that the survival of more than 70 percent of the wild animals that live seasonally or permanently outside the protected areas depend on the goodwill of the landowners and therefore there is need to involve them in tourism as encouraging sustainable natural resource conservation outside protected areas (Mburu 2004; Rutten 2004); two, reduce human wildlife conflicts by providing local communities with diversified economic alternatives that would reduce the day-to-day pressure livelihood activities place on protected areas and three, deal with escalating levels of poverty and unemployment amongst pastoralist communities. There is therefore a need to evaluate how and in what terms the Maasai are involved in tourism development. This chapter will briefly outline past and present Maasai involvement in tourism in Kenya, including a discussion of the type of involvement that is typical of Maasai tourism ventures. This will be followed by a discussion of research conducted to examine what the Maasai were doing in their engagement with tourists and tourism in the Amboseli region of Kenya.

## **2. Maasai and Wildlife Tourism**

The Maasai people are an indigenous group of subsistence nomadic pastoralists living in the arid and semi-arid rangelands of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania. In Kenya they constitute about three percent of the country's estimated population of 42 million people and in Kenya they largely live in Kajiado and Narok counties (KNBS, 2014). These two counties are famous for their rich diversity of large mammalian wildlife, which are a valuable tourist attraction that forms the backbone of Kenya's tourism industry. Tourists from the industrialized nations throng to these preserves for a wildlife safari and opportunity to view wild animals in their native habitats. These protected areas also promote conservation of the ecosystems and wildlife resources they encompass both of which are important assets for Kenya's tourism industry.

Most wildlife conservation and tourism areas in Kenya are located in the arid and semi-arid rangelands (ASALs) on land presently or formerly occupied by pastoralist communities especially the Maasai (Ondicho, 2005; Honey, 2008). During the process of establishing these wildlife protected areas, as the case is in other developing countries, the Maasai communities were displaced and pushed to marginal areas without compensation (Norton-Griffiths, 2006; Adams & Hutton, 2007). They were also banned from extracting vital forest products, grazing and watering their livestock in wildlife protected areas and they receive very little of the money generated from wildlife tourism in their territory (Pearson & Andrews, 2002; Ondicho, 2006; IPAR, 2005). However, wild animals from the park were allowed to forage on Maasailand thus competing with livestock and people for vital range resources including water and pasture. This has often produced various types of hardships for Maasai pastoralists who have been forced to adjust their lifestyles to

accommodate this national initiative. This has led to resentment from many Maasai people especially those who believe that despite being original custodians of wildlife resources, they have not benefited economically and socially from the tourism industry.

Maasai resentment is accentuated by the general feeling that the government cares more for wild animals than their (Maasai's) welfare and wellbeing. Norton-Griffiths(2006) report that in anger and frustration, the Maasai started to spear and destroy wildlife which they believe, are responsible for their suffering and misery. As a reaction to the destruction and decimation of wildlife, the government of Kenya in 1990 established the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) to coordinate all matters regarding wildlife conservation and wildlife tourism in Kenya. KWS was quick to realize and recognize the necessity to reconcile the needs of the communities living around protected areas with the needs of conservation embraced a participatory approach as one of the most feasible strategies for reconciling the otherwise intractable needs of conservation and development. The approach stresses the need to open up the tourism industry for greater participation particularly by previously disadvantaged groups while at the same time enabling them to derive direct benefits from the presence of wildlife on their lands (Mburu 2004; Rutten 2004). The Maasai represent one the communities that have pioneered the participatory approach and therefore provide an interesting case study.

### **3. Maasai Tourism**

Tourism in Kenya is known internationally for its unique cultural features, primarily with regard to Maasai culture. With increasing attention being focused on Maasai culture, it can be argued that that a new type of tourism has emerged: Maasai tourism. Today, the people are at the forefront in the development of so-called Maasai cultural tourism. Maasai cultural tourism involves experiences that incorporate the Maasai people as objects of the 'tourist gaze' and certain aspects of their cultural heritage as a tourist attraction. Cultural aspects central to Maasai tourism include ritual song and dance, beadworks and handicrafts, traditional ceremonies such as wedding and circumcision, and cultural bomas (traditional homestead). Increasingly international and domestic tourists are encouraged by tour operators to visit cultural bomas and experience the exotic cultures of the Maasai people. Indeed, many western tourists and a few domestic ones looking for an authentic cultural experience visit Maasai villages to have a glimpse of these exotic people and experience their cultures before they disappear. These experiences range from staged to authentic.

Though the Maasai have been forced to abandon some of their rituals, they continue to attract a high degree of curiosity and fascination in the west where they are famed for their reluctance to accept the trappings of modernization, co-existence with wildlife and strong adherence to their traditional livestock-oriented lifestyles and culture (Ritsma & Ongaro 2000). As Azarya (2004: 957) aptly states,

*... Maasai are prominent objects of tourism attention because the area they inhabit is also very rich in wildlife and is relatively accessible (not too distant from big cities, airline links, etc). The great numbers of visitors flocking into Maasai inhabited areas do not come to see only, or primarily, the Maasai. Their attraction is mainly to the wildlife and a visit to the Maasai is combined with a*

*more general safari in the African savannah.*

The Maasai and their cultural heritage are therefore important tourist attractions and asset for the Kenyan tourism industry. For instance, Maasai cultural props have been used and still continue to be used particularly in tourist hotels and game lodges to welcome, entertain, and farewell international tourists (Ondicho, 2010). Stereotypical images of the Maasai people clad in colourful costumes are also used, usually by non-Maasai, to market and promote Kenyan tourism. Images of Maasai *morans* juxtaposed with wild animals and their livestock grazing in harmony have historically been used on the Internet, brochures, post cards, and electronic media to portray Kenya as a kind of 'primitive paradise' where man and beast coexist peacefully, unaffected by the many changes taking place around them to market Kenya internationally as a unique tourist destination from other similar destinations (Akama, 1999; Bachmann, 1998). Thus, when international tourists visit Kenya they also want to see the Maasai and experience their culture, photograph and film them in their traditional regalia, purchase locally manufactured handicrafts, and postcards adorned with Maasai photographs to remind them of their encounter (Azarya 2004). As Dorsey (1997: 23) aptly observes,

*This romanticized attitude is evident still in the tourist's fascination with everything Maasai, their ornaments, their artifacts, and the plethora of picture books, ethnographies, and wooden sculptures (made by other Kenyans) depicting Maasai men and women in stereotyped poses, features, and clothing.*

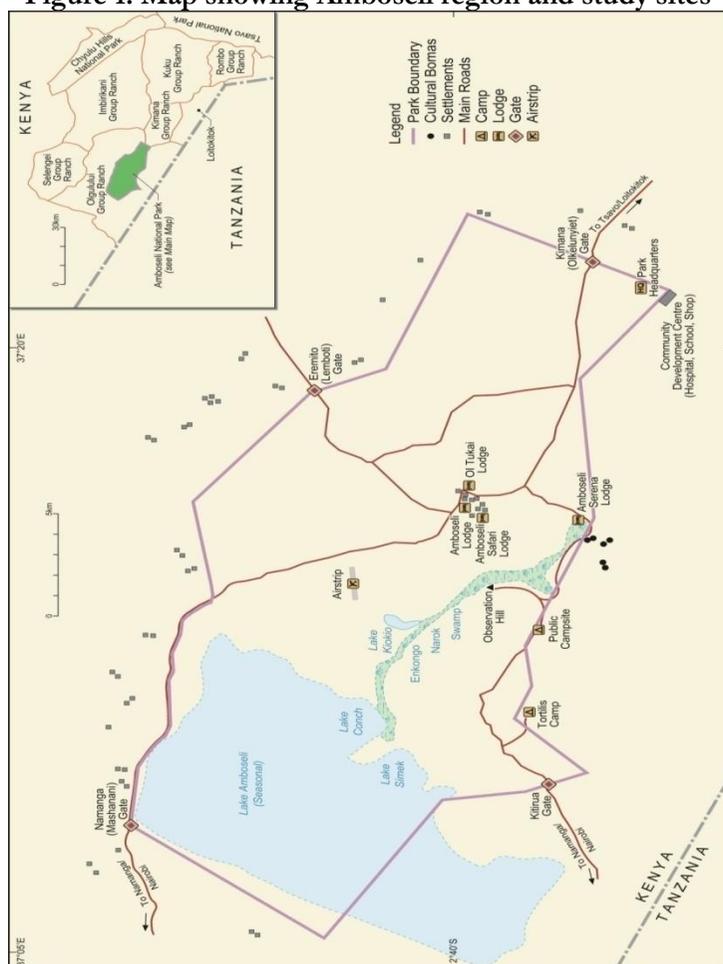
Despite the use of Maasai culture as a unique tourist attraction and tool for promoting and marketing Kenyan tourism, the Maasai people have not benefited in any meaningful way from tourism (Ondicho 2010). Traditionally they have also not been directly involved in tourism development and entrepreneurship. However, faced with the challenge of an ever diminishing land base which must support a burgeoning population, declining livestock production, and great pressure from the government to change their lifestyle, the Maasai are gradually becoming integrated into the national economy (Kituyi, 1990). Some have abandoned their livestock oriented lifestyles in favour of tourism as an alternative source of livelihood and for some as a means to diversify and supplement their sources of livelihood as well as to stimulate development in their homelands.

#### **4. Study Sites**

The study was between November 2003 and August 2005 among Maasai communities living in Kimana Tikondo and Olgulului Ollolarrashi Group Ranches. The two group ranches are located in the Amboseli region which lies approximately 240km south of the city of Nairobi. Administratively the region is situated in Loitokitok sub-county of Kajiado County, Kenya. Both group ranches border Amboseli National Park (ANP) and Tanzania. The land on which the park is situated originally belonged to the indigenous Maasai people who were evicted without compensation or resettlement to create room for the park. Due to their proximity to the park human-wildlife conflicts are a major challenge for local people in the two group ranches.

The indigenous Maasai people constitute a large majority of the inhabitants of the two group ranches. However, there are also people from other Kenya communities, majority of who are recent migrants, who have bought land and settled in the two areas. While the group ranches were originally owned communally by Maasai families, recently they have been subdivided and each member family allotted a piece with individual title. Both ranches fall within an arid and semi-arid zone. Livestock herding is the main economic and livelihood activity carried out largely in the group ranches. Pastoralism thus is the way of life that also provides income to families to buy food and meet other basic needs such as school fees and health. However, some households in the two areas engage in some form of crop production. Maasai people in the two group ranches also benefit from over-flow of tourism from ANP through leasing conservancies and community wildlife sanctuaries to tour operators and cultural activities such as handcraft selling, cultural performances and employment as game scouts and guides.

**Figure 1: Map showing Amboseli region and study sites**



Source: Ondicho (2010).

## 5. Methods

This paper draws on material from large ethnographic research project titled: “Tourism, Power and Politics: The Challenges of Maasai Involvement in Tourism Development” (see Ondicho, 2010). Three research questions which formed part of the main study were deemed crucial in understanding Maasai involvement in tourism in the Amboseli region: How, under what conditions and on what terms are the Maasai involved in tourism? What initiatives have the Maasai undertaken to enhance their participation in tourism? What steps have the Maasai undertaken to secure closer local control over tourism? This paper serves three purposes: One, it provides baseline data on Maasai involvement in tourism in the Amboseli region; Two, evaluate the nature and type of Maasai involvement in tourism and three, explore the avenues through which Maasai involvement in tourism could be enhanced.

Data were collected in three main phases. In the first phase fieldwork was conducted in Kimana Tikondo Group Ranch where the local people were involved in wildlife tourism. In the second phase fieldwork was conducted in Olgulului Ollolarrashi Group Ranch where members are involved cultural tourism. The third phase involved conducting key informant interviews with selected individuals with expert knowledge on the issues under investigation and researchers who had previously worked in the area. The research incorporated a multi-sited ethnographic approach. The resulting data were largely qualitative stemming from participant observation, in-depth informant interviews, text analysis of documents and focus group discussions. To get a better understanding of Maasai involvement in tourism and what was happening in the study sites, rather than just rely on reported information, the author lived in different places in Amboseli with the Maasai people throughout the one year research period and participated in the daily activities of the local people. It was therefore possible to observe and document/record what the Maasai were doing in their engagement with tourists and the nature of their involvement in tourism.

To gather views on local involvement in tourism development an interview guide was used to conduct in-depth interviews with several of Maasai villagers including those who were directly and indirectly involved in tourism. Probing was done to gain deeper insights and to find out why a respondent held a certain point of view on a particular issue. This helped to provide a wider picture of their views regarding their involvement in tourism development in the study areas and allowed for emerging issues not initially envisaged in the interview guide to emerge and to be discussed exhaustively. Key Informants Interviews were also conducted with people drawn from various organizations including the Kenya Wildlife Services, Ministry of Tourism, African Wildlife Foundation and local development workers. The interviews yielded a veritable amount of empirical data and information on the various dimensions and angles of Maasai involvement in tourism. Information from participant observation and in-depth interviews has been supplemented by a thorough literature search

and review of available published and unpublished documents including journal papers, books and dissertations.

## **6. Results**

The study determined that slightly more than 60 percent of the residents of Amboseli region are the indigenous Maasai pastoralists. Due to the arid and semi-arid climatic conditions making even a subsistence-level living is difficult. As a response an increasing number of Maasai villagers have recently started to invest in tourism and assume an entrepreneurial role. One of the motivating factors for their involvement in tourism is economic gain. It was explained that with the increases in human population, privatization of landownership, human-wildlife conflicts and hostile climatic conditions, and decline in livestock production, there was need to embrace alternative livelihood activities. Thus, tourism provided a welcome opportunity for Maasai to diversify and supplement local sources of livelihood, to protect their natural resources and preserve elements of their traditional culture.

The study also determined that the Maasai were involved in tourism in three main ways: wildlife tourism, cultural tourism and employment. A case study of Kimana Community Sanctuary (KCWS) was undertaken to determine the nature and level of Maasai involvement in wildlife tourism. Situated 15km east of ANP on the northern foothills of Mt. Kilimanjaro, KCWS covers 4200 hectares of land jointly owned by 845 families, members of Kimana Tikondo group ranch. The sanctuary was leased to the African Safari Club which was responsible the day-to-day operation of tourism. The level of local participation here was passive even though a few community members were employed in the sanctuary. The sanctuary is therefore a perfect example of a partnership between the community and a foreign tour operator. The study determined that the though Maasai involvement in wildlife tourism has the potential to generate additional income and employment for local communities, the Maasai still remain marginalised from tourism benefits associated with wildlife tourism. It was found that rather than partnership engendering mutually beneficial relationships with control firmly vested in local hands, tourism in the sanctuary had become a source of bitter struggle for political control over tourism benefits within the community.

The second level of Maasai involvement in tourism was in the cultural bomas. Cultural bomas are an indigenously homegrown Maasai tourism initiative. Cultural bomas are set up by Maasai entrepreneurs as tourist attractions and commercial enterprises (Charnley 2005; Ritsma&Ongaro 2000). Such villages give tourists the chance to meet the Maasai on their own terms and to learn more about their exotic culture, to photograph them in their traditional costumes and perhaps, purchase some of their carefully designed handicrafts (Bachmann 1998; Mutahi 1991). The entrepreneurs not only offer cultural entertainment in the form traditional song and dance but also willingly display themselves to be photographed and observed as an additional tourist attraction to the wildlife as well as sell their cultural artefacts to tourists. Interestingly, cultural bomas in Amboseli had been

in existence for fewer than twenty years, suggesting that the Maasai have only recently moved into direct ownership and entrepreneurship of tourism ventures.

The third level of Maasai involvement in tourism was in tourism related employment. The study determined that the Maasai were involved both in formal and informal tourism employment. However, the research was unable to establish the total numbers of Maasai people both in the formal and informal tourism ventures in the Amboseli region, since employers or most companies were either unable or unwilling to disclose this information. However, personal observation suggests that Maasai involvement in the informal tourism sector was relatively high than in the formal sector because it was easy to join as it did not require any formal education. Unlike formal employment, many people stated that they preferred to work in the informal tourism sector because the hours of work were flexible, no special skills were required and it was easy to combine with customary activities.

The study also determined that local involvement in tourism depends largely on access to the market. Frequently, Maasai involvement in tourism was high in the informal tourism sector where the scale of investment was low. It was also revealed that interest groups outside the Maasai community (tour operators, hoteliers and government agencies exercise more power and control over the within the formal tourism sector because of their strong command over financial resources. The ability of the local people to gain access to the tourist market depends in part upon the expectations of the tourists themselves and local suppliers. Certainly, the Maasai were not directly involved in marketing their culture as a tourist attraction because they have little control over the way their culture is packaged and sold to tourists.

The study revealed that Maasai involvement in community based organizations (CBOs) linked to conservation and tourism development was high in both group ranches. This was largely because CBOs served as a conduit through which Maasai villagers access donor funds and loans to facilitate their participation in tourism development and entrepreneurship. For example, The African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) was working with CBOs in the Amboseli region that are engaged in community based wildlife conservation and tourism. AWF was in particular providing financial and technical support to CBOs to facilitate ownership, management and payment of salaries for community based wildlife rangers. Support from donors also included capacity building and training of Maasai villagers to gain priority status for the growth of a Maasai presence in tourism and strengthening Maasai institutions and initiatives directed at cooperation between the private and public sectors.

The study found that instead of local involvement in tourism development bringing economic benefits (income and employment) and spurring rural development, and induce local support for conservation, the study found that political rifts and conflict between clans, age-sets and power struggles between various interest groups and actors within the community for control over tourism benefits, decision making processes and resources posed serious obstacles to successful Maasai involvement in tourism development, equitable sharing of benefits and resources (land). Rather than participation empowering communities to take control over tourism and their own development, the study found

that power dynamics within the research communities had facilitated exploitation of Amboseli's tourism potential by outside forces (foreign tourism investors, tour operators, and the government) working in close collaboration with a few local elites. As a result of external domination a majority of the local Maasai was not able to take economic advantage of their participation in tourism and conservation to gain in any meaningful way from the immense tourism potential in their area and the adjacent Amboseli national park.

## **7. Conclusion**

Using a case study of the Maasai of the Amboseli region in Kenya, this paper contributes to the understanding of community participation in tourism development by piecing together local perspectives. It examined the nature and extent of local community's involvement in tourism. The findings have revealed that local people acknowledge the need to be involved in tourism development and benefits. However, they also recognize and acknowledge the need to involve tourism experts to assist them bring tourists to their enterprises. They also want to have a voice in deciding the face and pace of tourism development in their communities. This will enable them protect their community interests. Although the findings through this case study have revealed that local communities wish to play an active role in tourism development, there is a need to conduct similar studies among various Maasai communities in Kenya. Such studies would provide the basis for policy formulation in relation to tourism establishments at local levels.

The paper has implications for local communities, decision-makers and development specialists. The lack of financial capital remains the greatest hindrance for local communities to invest in the tourism industry. A mechanism for financial assistance including provision of soft loans needs to be in place in order to encourage local communities to invest in the industry. In turn, this would create employment opportunities to local communities, reduce poverty, improve living standards and make them much more supportive for conservation and tourism development. Also, there is a feeling that community leaders are reluctant to involve the rest of the community in decision-making process thereby creating 'blue sky' to community members of what is going on. This implies that transparency needs to be enhanced.

In sum, the Maasai were not passive victims of tourism development. The study has shown that they have tried to manipulate and refine tourism to achieve their own ends and development, they have a great deal of control and they creatively design events and use staged authenticity to shield their culture from harmful effects. The study found that the Maasai were continuously bargaining the margins of their involvement in tourism development through the provision of new products such as camel rides, nature walks and new types of curios and souvenirs.

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