Bachelor Thesis

Staging "Authenticity" in Cultural Tourism of the Maasai.

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Abstract:

The notion of authenticity plays a role in cultural tourism of the Maasai, an African indigenous group. The ambiguous concept of authenticity is constructed based on ethnic boundaries that are negotiated between the Maasai people and the expectations of the tourists. It will be analyzed how aspects of the Maasai culture are commoditized by the tourism industry. Furthermore, how do ethnic ascriptions construct and reconstruct a homogenous image of the Maasai ethnic identity. The image of the authentic Maasai experience that is marketed in tourism disregards the plurality to the collective identities of the indigenous group. Although the gaze of the tourists may exoticize the Maasai, they are able to assert agency in tourism by staging the tourist's expectations of authenticity to gain economic profit.
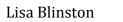
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The market of cultural tourism has facilitated the emerging fascination with other cultures and the desire to exchange with people in distant lands. What is it about these foreign environments that attract people? How are different cultures portrayed in an exotic light, and how does this circulate among the global community and entice people for cultural vacation. These intrigues provoke a more practical question regarding to what degree of realness and foreign outsiders can experience "authenticity" of a culture? Perhaps within these questions, the motives of the actors are unknown, but what can be analyzed is how "authenticity" plays a role in cultural tourism. The Maasai, an indigenous group from North East Africa, has developed popularity among tourists, whereby their cultural uniqueness is celebrated and consumed through tourism (Akama, 2000; Hodgson, 2001; Bruner, 2001).

Acclaimed scholars in the filed of tourism studies, postulate that "authenticity" is the object of the tourist's desire when visiting foreign places or people (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1988; Redfoot, 1984). There are a wide variety of conceptual and theoretical approaches as to how "authenticity" adds value to any object or experience (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1988; Redfoot, 1984; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Zeppal & Hall, 1991). "Authenticity" can be defined in objects as a point of origin, however in the case of culture it is subjected to perception (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Heidegger, 1996). The perceived "authenticity" is used in Maasai cultural tourism as a measure of product quality and a determinant of tourist satisfaction (Chhabra *et al.* , 2003, 703; Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). The notion of "authenticity" in tourism is constructed through a process of narrative structures and imaginaries from various actors (Galaty, 1993; Eriksen, 2002; Cohen, 1988; Bruner, 2001).

In the analysis will be evaluated how these narratives are influenced by the hegemony of the tourists. Understanding how the concept of the Maasai's "authenticity" has been formed and used as an evaluative measure for tourists will bring forth the issues underpinning cultural tourism. Single narratives of the Maasai emerge in tourism, which portrays them solely as an indigenous, 'untouched' pastoralist community (Bruner, 2001; Akama, 2000; Hodgson, 2001). The Maasai community is an extremely complex and intricate culture that transgresses beyond the essentialist parameters established by the tourism market (Galaty, 1993; Hodgson, 2001; Akama, 2000; Homewood, 1984). The tourism industry circulates

and reproduces symbolic identifiers that construct a general image of the Maasai community as a whole, which disregards the many complexities of the Maasai collective identity (Hall, 1990; Urry, 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff; Akama, 2000). This general image of the Maasai is based on ethnic ascriptions that are produced and reproduced in marketing, until cultural attributes placed out of context or re-appropriated (Hall, S., 1997; Hall, S., 2001; Hall, C., 2007; Huggan, 2002). The tourism industry exhibits selective cultural attributes, while neglecting others, to form a general identity of the Maasai that is deemed to be "authentic" (Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993; Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1976). Due to the ambiguous expectations of "authenticity", the tour operators therefore create the aura of "authenticity" for tourist's consumption of the exotic Maasai people and their cultural materials (Greenwood, 1977; Akama, 2000; Cohen, 1988; Urry, 1990; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006). It will be evaluated how the general image of the Maasai that is constructed and reconstructed in tourism marginalizes the group as the "other" (Hall, 2001; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2002; Lester, 1998; Cave, 2005).

The objective of this study is not to describe what the identity of the Maasai is and how it has come to be, but rather explore how their identity can not be confined to the dichotomous symbolic structure of being 'authentic' or not. In the research on indigenous tourism, the literature depicts the Maasai as having little agency, and subjected to the exploitation of external actors (Urry, 1990; Akama, 2000; Hall, 2007; Hollinshead, 2007; Talle, 2001). However, the analysis will deconstruct tourism's fabricated notion of "authenticity and reveal its implausibility. From there, it is hypothesized that the Maasai establish agency by staging the constructed concept of "authenticity" to tourists.

The Maasai tourism will be evaluated, through ethnographies and a semiotic analysis of tour advertisements, to determine how the concept of "authenticity" is constructed and used in the cultural tourism industry.
The analysis of "authenticity" in cultural tourism of the Maasai will be supported by a theoretical review from a breadth of literature. To provide background to the Maasai, an introduction to their culture, social organization, historical development and interaction with global tourism will be given. The complexities to the Maasai identity will be analyzed through a theoretical evaluation of what constitutes cultural identity and ethnicity (Barth, 1969, Eriksen, 2002; Galaty, 1993; Sen, 2006; Hall, 1990; Spear, 1993). The contingencies of a collective identity are anchored to ethnic signifiers, which act as instruments to social organization (Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993; Spear & Waller, 1993). Furthermore, a brief scope of theories in tourism studies will be introduced in order to analyze what "authenticity" is and

how it is constructed (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1988; Taylor, 2001; Chhabra *et al.* 2003). Ethnographies and qualitative studies on the Maasai will be used to evaluate how tourism commoditizes culture and creates a homogenous identity of the Maasai (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2002; Karpik, 2010; Appadurai, 1986). The image of the Maasai that is created through tourism will be deconstructed in a semiotic analysis of Internet advertisements of tours with rural Maasai communities. A semiotic analysis entails evaluating the discourse that is used, images that are projected, and activities offered in order to discern what kind of image is created around the Maasai community. The trends in the semiotic analysis will reflect the tourist's expectations of "authenticity", while also illustrating how tour operators reinforce the constructed image of the Maasai. The semiotic analysis provides a concrete example to illustrate the narratives to which the mass market of tourism commoditizes and consumes culture. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge how tourism is perpetuated and advertised through the Internet, which contributes to the reproduction of archetypes of the exotic other in a globalized world (Appadurai, 1986; Urry, 1990; Hall, 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009).

Throughout the literary review, it is important to be critical of the assumptions made and be consistently culturally reflexive. It will be assumed that the tourists under analysis are foreign and therefore are not fully aware of the historical and cultural context of the Maasai people. Furthermore, for the purposes of explain the phenomena of cultural tourism through theories, research and semiotic analysis, the expectations, desires and experiences of the tourists are generalized. Spatiality is a huge limitation because that study is not conducted in the field of analysis, thus relying on sources of literature and interviews for data collection. I will have to be extremely careful of the discourses used due to the sensitivities of representation. Postcolonial criticism inherently has a conflicting paradox in representation of marginalized groups, because by even using the term 'Other' further marginalizes the group (Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994). I aim to analyze the commodification of culture, however this can easily be interpreted as '*meta-fetishiziation*' of the exotic other (Bhabha, 1994; Urry, 1990). It is important to be sensitive to the relativity of the Maasai's culture, however only so far it is not perceive to be a product of a greater social structural violence. I hope to overcome the challenge of representation by being sensitive in my writing and also addressing the postcolonial discourses on the matter.

The concept of "authenticity" is an intriguing exploration within the market of cultural tourism. The question remains, how is authenticity constructed and

reconstructed from the perception of collective identity within the Maasai culture and from outsider actors? Although this study cannot trace the motives and experiences of the tourists, understanding how authenticity manifests in tourism underpins the power dynamics of tourism of indigenous people. It will be interesting to explore how the construction and reconstruction of cultural identity and authenticity in tourism can be instrumental to the agency and social organization of the Maasai.

Chapter 2: Who are the Maasai?

2.1 Introduction to the Maasai

To provide a historical and cultural context to the study of the Maasai, a brief picture of the community will be illustrated through socio-cultural dynamics, geographic, historical and economic parameters. The identification of Maasai is often attributed to ethnicity, which is in turn based on a fixed set of markers deriving from a shared sociocultural and historical origin (Barth, 1969; Hodgson, 2001). Levis-Strauss suggests that defining systems of stratified classes and historical features can classify ethnicity, which can be instrumental to anchor the complex and changing social matrices of individuals (Levis-Strauss, 1963, 16-17; Galaty, 1982).

Within the contemporary postcolonial context, the identification and representation of the Maasai as an indigenous community is highly political (Hodgson, 2011, 8). The postcolonial discipline analyzes how the Maasai revise and construct their fluid identities for instrumental political purposes when required (Hodgson, 2011, 8). This means that the Universalist term 'indigenous' sweeps the essentialist values of many particular and complex communities to retain a political cohesion for the protection of their rights (Siapera, 2006, 6). Although the identity of the Maasai is a complex dynamic that cannot be thoroughly represented through basic indicators, an attempt will be made upon the basis of linguistics, socio-cultural structures, territory, economy, and ethnicity.

The Maasai are a Nilo-Hamitic tribe in East Africa's highlands along the Great Rift Valley (Saitoti, xxv). Due to the sprawled nature of the Maasai population across Tanzania and Kenya, the population is estimated to be approximately 1 million people (Population and Housing). In 1981, the Maasailand measured approximately 39,476 square kilometers of primarily semi-arid grasslands that spans across the Kenyan-Tanzanian border (Crosby, 2013, 4). Although the Maasailand spans across Tanzania and Kenya, this study's analysis will be using data sourced from multiple literary sources that focus mainly on Kenya with some references to Tanzania. Due to colonial landownership laws implemented by colonial forces, much of the Maasai land has decreased over time (Rutten, 1992, 87). These land laws disadvantaged the indigenous communities across Kenya because they favored the colonial settlers, thus structurally stratifying the peoples (Spear & Waller, 1993; Rutten, 1992). The pastoralist lifestyle of the Maasai has been put under pressure by colonial and global forces, thus resulting in alternative methods of subsistence (Galaty, 1981, 68). The Maasai is a rich and diverse community that has been historically perceived to be in

a precarious position between modern civilization and traditional pastoralist lifestyles.

The socio-cultural structures of the Maasai can be historically traced in three major stages of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial societies. The ambiguous term *traditional* implies there is specific origin, which tourism denotes to be how the Maasai lived pre-European colonization (Akama, 2000; Amin *et al.* 1987). Since the age of colonialism, the economic modes of production and livelihood of the larger Maasai community have been influenced by modern capitalism and technology (Spear & Waller, 1993). Researchers argue that the Maasai are conservative of their traditional ways of life, despite the growing influence of modern imperialist structures (Crosby, 2013; Spear & Waller, 1993; Rutten, 1992; Saitoti, 1984; Coast, 2001; Tignor, 1976; Rigby, 1985). Throughout the sections below, the historical description of the Maasai will illustrate how the Maasai have been adaptive to their environment due to geographical, political, and economic conditions.

2.2 Sociological structures of the Maasai

The Maasai social system is divided into sections (called the *iloshon*) and follows three coexisting organizational structures based on territory, clans, and age-sets (Spencer, 1993, 140). Across the sixteen different geographical sections of the Maasailand, the people share similar institutions, value patterns and ritual systems (Crosby, 4, 2013). However, they are distinct in having their own name, territory, dialect, ceremonies, leadership, building styles for homes (called *Inkajijik)* and kraals (circular enclosure of homes), and dress and beadwork (Crosby, 2013, 4). It is important to note the categorization of tribes and sub-tribes in Kenya were constructed from the colonial encounter with the indigenous peoples (Spear, 1993). The patrilineal system of Maasai pastoralist society divides labor among age-sets and gender (Hodgson, 2001, 31,). The males are categorized as the junior warrior, senior warrior, junior elder, and senior elder through different initiation ceremonies (Crosby, 2013 5). For example, the junior warriors are circumcised before they consummate in marriage (Hodgson, 2001, 31). Although men are given dominant political positions in the community, women are central to the domestic sphere while still retaining influence in communal affairs (Hodgson, 2001, 32).

The socio-economic structure of the Maasai have changed temporally and spatially due to many factors, however contemporary influences include nation states, monetization of traditional economy, formal education, land tenure changes and demographic factors (Coast, 2001, 45). In academic literature, the Maasai are highly

correlated with pastoralism and nomadism (Spear & Waller, 1993; Holland, 1987; Hedlund, 1980; Jacobs, 1979; Galaty, 1992; Coast, 2001; Homewood, 1984). As a fundamentally pastoralist community, the Maasai signify wealth and determining status based on how many and the type of cattle a family inherits (Spear & Waller, 1993; Rigby, 1985; Crosby, 2013, 5). Through folklore, it is narrated that the Maasai would have cattle raids on neighboring tribes, which encourage protective measures to be taken by the young warriors (Saitoti, 1986, xxvi). Furthermore, the Maasai have shown not to be exclusively pastoralists for there are many communities that have individual landownership and commercialized and diversified household economies (Rutten, 1992, 40; Galaty, 1992). The age of colonialism in Kenya has left many structural residuals that introduce economic, social and cultural pressures on the Maasai peoples (Rigby, 1985).

2.3   Historical development of the Maasai

Pre-colonial Context

Most historical records of the Maasai community prior to colonial documentation are oratory communication through myths, folklore and symbolism (Mol, 1978). A collection of authors, early travellers, missionaries, anthropologists, historians and geographers has added to the pre-colonial history of the Maasai (Rutten, 1992, 167)[1]. The Nilotes are one of three major tribes in Kenya, along with Bantus and Cushites (Galaty, 1982). The Nilotes are originally from the southern part of current Sudan, where it is believed that the Maasai migrated from, towards Lake Turkana around the 15th century (Galaty, 1982). This land is extremely volatile and constantly changing from a fertile landscape to a barren land of drought (Rutten, 1992, 126). The Maasai lead a semi-nomadic life, since they move according to the dry and wet seasons of the area to grazing grounds for their stock of cattle (Crosby, 2013, 4). Dry seasons are time for locations with more permanent watering holes, opposed to the wet seasons where mobility is favorable (Crosby, 2013, 4). Hostile encounters with other tribes are not the only concern for the Maasai moving across great amounts of land, but the natural predators are also a threat (Saitoti, 1986, 79). The Maasai community is highly adaptive to their environmental pressures, as they can adjust from pastoralists to agriculturalists when necessary (Rutten, 1992, 40; Coast, 2001, 48; Galaty, 1982). By the 19th century, the colonial interventions in North East Africa greatly shaped the lifestyles and cultures of the indigenous peoples, including the Maasai (Coast, 2001, 36).

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[1] Rutten names the pre-colonial documenters as: Thomson, Krapf, Fosbrooke, Jacobs, Mol, Berntsen, Sorrenson, Tignor, and Waller.

Colonial Context

Colonial expeditions of European and Arabian decent intensified in East Africa due to commercial trade, slave trade and missionizing (Crosby, 2013, 6). The Maasai community maintained peaceful relations with the colonial explorers, however did not have much to offer as customers or slave suppliers (Crosby, 2013, 6). In 1840, two German missionaries named Dr. Ludwig Frapf and Reverend John Rebman had first contact with Maasai people in Kenya and Tanzania (Saitoti, 1986, xxv). By 1891, the British Empire had control over Kenya and the German empire controlled German East Africa (Coast, 2001, 36). The territorial conflict of imperial powers catalyzed the encroachment of Maasai territory due to land ownership laws (Crosby, 2013, 6). The British government divided Kenya's Bantu, Nilotic, and Cushitic-speaking peoples into categories based on linguistic variations and spatiality (Rutten, 1992, 173). The term *tribe* is a colonial instrument to categorize the ethnic subgroups of the region for administrative purposes (Ojoo, 2005, 31). From 1904-1911, the Kenyan Maasai were displaced from their best highland dry season pasture into a government-controlled reserve in southern Kenya (Crosby, 2013, 7). The boundaries placed on territory by colonialism led to drought and famine, with the introduction of smallpox, leading to a loss of half of the Maasai population (Coast, 2001, 36).

By 1918, the British took over administration of German territory (largely Tanzania) and returned some land to the Maasai (Crosby, 2013, 7). The British instituted the prevention of agricultural encroachment, but soon fell short when the demands of traditional livestock economies emerged (Crosby, 2013, 7). The Maasai were continuously moved around and enforced to participate in livestock marketing schemes and commercial cultivation (Rutten, 1992, 171). The colonialists intervened in the lifestyle practices of the Maasai by demanding monetary currency in exchange for their treasured livestock (Crosby, 2013, 7). The emergence into the modern economy imposed poll and cattle-head taxes on the Maasai (Crosby, 2013, 7). Political tensions amongst the Maasai rose and they became spatially and economically alienated from the rest of the Kenyan nation (Spear, 1993, 22). In 1921, the Maasai Reserve Annual report acknowledged the culture's struggle during colonialism by stating, "The Maasai are a decadent race and have survived through being brought under the protection of British rule. But one that could certainly have been exterminated by more virile and numerous African tribes" (Coast, 2001, 37)[2]. The intervention and imposed governance by external colonial forces largely

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[2] Quoted in Kuczyinski (1948)

impacted the habits and lifestyles of the Maasai, where a large part of the population adopted a certain measure of modern civilization (Crosby, 2013, 8; Galaty, 1992; Rigby, 1985).

Postcolonial context

Independence for many African indigenous peoples led to strife and political conflicts due to residing colonial structures (Kituyi, 1990). After World War II, the liberation movement panned across African states and independence was declared in Kenya in 1963 and Tanzania in 1961 (Rutten, 1992, 12). The integration of technology, modern economy and globalization in Kenya and Tanzania has diversified the lifestyles of Maasai individuals (Sindga, 1992). The Maasai people who have persisted in traditional pastoralist livelihoods are subjected to an impoverished position due to political structures resulting in unequal distribution of resources (Hodgson, 2001, 182). Data collected through interviews, observations and statistical data has suggested that the pastoralist districts (Arusha Region, Monduli, Ngorongoro, and Longido, new Manyara Region, Kiteto and Simanjiro region) foster disparities and structural inequalities amongst majority of the inhabitants (Hodgson, 2001, 182). The inequalities stem from insufficient redistribution of resources towards landownership rights, indigenous rights, and access to infrastructure such as healthcare and education (Hodgson, 2001, 182).

Land is an integral part to Maasai livelihoods, although now many Maasai are considered to be landless or near landless due to factors such as densely populated areas, low economic activity, indebtedness, colonial legacy, maldistribution of land, and exploitative foreign economic investors (Rutten, 1992, 41). The Kenyan and Tanzanian governments have legally conserved a majority of pastoralist land as a Natural Reserve (Homewood, 1984, 434). For example, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), in Northern Tanzania, is unique geographical site with huge amounts of ecological and wildlife diversity, which supports up to 18,000 Maasai pastoralists and their stock, is a UNESCO World Heritage site, and is a world-famous archaeological and paleontological site (Homewood, 1984, 434). Homewood points out that the NCA is a mutually beneficial area for pastoralists and sustainable ecosystems (Homewood, 1984, 439). Amongst the many uses, these fertile areas often serve as main geographical attractions for tourism (Akama, 2000, 45).

 Due to the many factors previously mentioned, Rutten concludes "the Maasai pastoralism of today has evolved from nomadic subsistence milk-oriented cattle

keeping towards a mixed situation of group ranching, individual landownership and commercialized and diversified household economies" (Rutten, 1992, 40). It can be discerned that pastoralism and traditional livelihoods are preserved amongst parts of Maasai community, however many people are integrating towards the modern economic system (Rigby, 1985; Rutten, 1992; Crosby, 2013; Hodgson, 2013; Coast, 2001; Spear, 1993; Galaty, 1982; Talle, 1999; Gulliver, 1969; Tignor, 1976). This study will focus on the how the Maasai have utilized the tourism industry in Kenya and Tanzania as a means of income and how the image of their traditional culture has been commoditized.

2. 4. Conclusion

An attempt to illustrate the unique historical and cultural dynamics of the Maasai has been made in order to preface the sociological conditions surround the cultural tourism industry in the area. The Maasai are traditionally identified as a pastoralist nomadic group with a strong set of values and social structures that are similar to other neighboring tribes (Galaty, 1993; Hodgson, 2001). That being said, over the course of history the presence of colonialism has introduced new sociological and economic structures to North East Africa and greatly impacted the Maasai community (Spear & Waller, 1993; Galaty, 1993; Hodgson, 2001). Many Maasai people have demonstrated preservation of their traditional roots, while many have integrated with the influences of the modern and global society (Galaty, 1992; Homewood, 1984; Kituyi, 1990). To define the Maasai as a categorical indigenous group unique to specific cultural markers and norms serves to be a large challenge due to the breadth of lifestyles amongst the people (Galaty, 1993). However, identifying as indigenous group can be an act of solidarity to protect their rights to land and resources (Hodgson, 2001). Furthermore, the rise in ecotourism within Kenya and Tanzania has opened up opportunities for foreign tourists to visit indigenous groups like the Maasai (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Homewood, 2009). Despite the material disadvantages of many pastoralist Maasai people, they have utilized their cultural capital in attracting tourists and generating an income (Spear & Waller, 1993). The image projected to the tourists as the 'authentic' Maasai culture has anchored onto essential features of being traditional pastoralists, which can overlook the many facets of Maasai culture and livelihoods (Burner, 2001; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003).

3. Authenticity: *Meaning and Importance in Tourism*

3.1 What is Culture and Ethnic Identity?

In order to discuss cultural tourism of the Maasai, that first requires a conceptual understanding of how each individual relates to one another to form a homogenous cultural identity, which can subsequently be marketed. Cultural identity is a social construct that oscillates between particularity and universality (Hall, 1990; Galaty, 1993; Spear, 1993; Hodgson, 2001; Eriksen, 2002). In Kwame A. Appiah's book *Ethics of Identity*, he argues that cultural identity is a social conception, whereby a group identifies with homogenous structures and is subsequently treated under this paradigm in relation to political and ethical matters (Appiah, 2010, 69). Amartya Sen adds the idea that identities are plural, meaning the diversification of sociocultural memories and identities coexist and are contingent to each individual within the collective (Sen, 2006, 19). Stuart Hall further illustrates the binary ways to approach 'cultural identity' by first arguing that all individuals are homogenized as a collective who share a common ancestry, history, and cultural codes that has "unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning" (Hall, 1990, 225). Secondly, cultural identity recognizes the discontinuities and differences among experiences throughout history (Hall, 1990, 225). The latter position acknowledges 'what we have become' but is also a matter of 'becoming as well as being', whereby the 'essentialised' history undergoes constant transformation (Hall, 1990, 225; Spear & Waller, 1993).

What is Ethnicity?

When using ethnicity as an instrument for characterizing a collective identity, one must be critical of its propensity to define the members but also who the non-members are (Spear, 1993, 137). The ideology of ethnicity is contested due to its capacity to assume the defining characteristics of people are 'natural', which neglects the moral foundation of these boundaries established by structural power dynamics (Spear, 1993, 137). As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the postcolonial power structures have an impact on how the Maasai can be represented through differences by westerners as the foreign and unknown 'other' (Said, 1979; Hall, 1990). The criteria upon which ethnicity is established does not exclusively depend on shared cultural traits, language, biology, or economic system, for those determinants transcend the group boundaries (Eriksen, 2002, 42; Barth, 1969, 11).

The articulation of a collective identity is inherently ambiguous, however for the purposes of this analysis the Maasai will be referred to as an ethnicity. Galaty frames how the Maasai identity can be a multitude of different things but there are boundaries that have been set based upon certain identifiers, known as ethnic 'shifters' (Galaty, 1993, 175). Galaty aims to understand how identity shifters can transform and construct the boundaries that enclose the Maasai ethnicity (Galaty, 193, 179). Fredrik Barth, in his book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, theoretically dismantles the notion that ethnic groups are rigid and bound entities based on factors such as ecological and territorial boundaries, biologically determined, objective cultural traits and values, and consistent social organization (Barth, 1969, 11). Barth argues that the relations of affinity that delimit and constitute the boundaries do not focus mainly on the 'cultural stuff' it encloses (Barth, 1969, 12-15; Eriksen, 2002, 44). Barth criticizes definitions of ethnicity as problematic for it "allows us to assume that boundary maintenance is unproblematic and follows from the isolation which the itemized characteristics imply: racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language barriers, spontaneous and organized enmity" (Barth, 1969, 11; Eriksen, 2002, 44). Cultural groups are not isolated, for there is a process of continuous contact and assimilation with other groups that offers variation and uniqueness (Barth, 1968, 11; Eriksen, 2002, 44; Galaty, 1993, 177).

Social Organization and Function of Ethnicity

The process of identifying as a particular ethnicity acts as a vehicle for social interaction, whereby boundaries of exclusivity are established and articulates people as members or nonmembers (Barth, 1969, 11; Eriksen, 2002, 42). Spear argues that although ethnicity is a social and cultural construct, it can provide an institutional structure to how people navigate their lives (Spear, 1993, 138). Galaty interprets the identification of ethnicity not as an organizer of behaviors but of discourse "implied is that ethnicity is not a state of affairs or a quality of persons; rather, it is a process in which identities are fashioned through the creative use of signs to constitute notions and intuitions of selves and others" (Galaty, 1993, 176). Sociologist, Emile Durkheim also argues that social signifiers can serve a formal, functional, and/or evaluative distinction among groups of people (Durkheim, 1893). Donna Klumpp and Corinne Kratz study how identity can be socially communicated through the symbols and aesthetics of beadwork in East Africa (Klump & Kratz, 1993, 195). Klumpp and Kratz observe how many other pastoralist ethnicities in North East Africa (Okeik and Samburu) also wear beaded-ornaments (Klumpp & Kratz, 1993, 196). It is observed that the forms and uses of beads are negotiated to

demonstrate "an inferiority or deviance to the pastoral ideal" (Klumpp & Kratz, 1993, 196). The Maasai women make and wear "beaded ornaments" in a particular style that identifies people within the ethnicity, and more so communicate a Maasai cultural hegemony (Klumpp & Kratz, 1993, 196). That being said, the bead ornaments are what Galaty would define as an ethnic 'shifter' because their symbolic interpretation can vary among individuals and communities and transform meaning over time (Galaty, 1993, 178; Klumpp & Kratz, 1993, 195). Furthermore, Wanjohi illustrates that the beadwork of the Maasai can serve a double function when sold to tourists because it generates an income, while symbolically signify a material that is "traditionally" Maasai (Wanjohi, 2000, 87). Moreover, the negotiation of form and symbolic meanings of the Maasai beads can also be influenced by the desires and expectations of the tourists (Wanjohi, 2000, 87). The factors that guide the inclusivity of members are contextually dependent upon the aims and motives of the social interaction; therefore ethnicity is 'situational' (Barth, 1969, 13; Cohen, 1988, 388).

Plurality and Particularism

Defining the content of these ethnic boundaries should be problematized because the 'general identity' overlooks the multiplicity of individual identities and the changes over time (Barth, 1969, 15; Galaty, 1993, 174). Barth postulates identity is structured at a macro level, however this can constrain the individual and how they conform to certain roles in order to position themselves in society (Barth, 1969, 17; Appiah, 2010). The boundaries of ethnicity may be ambiguous and subject to blurring, however remain fixed at a macro level, despite the fluidity of people's pluralistic identities within this spectrum (Barth, 1969, 17). Galaty outlines through the concept of ethnic 'shifters', how the many facets of the Maasai have transformed over time and space, yet the identification of ethnicity appears to remain a constant anchor (Galaty, 1993, 177; Homewood, 2009). The distinctions between groups of people, pillared by these boundaries, meet through the individual's pluralistic identity.

Due to assimilation and interaction, the signifiers that articulate ethnicity can be interpreted, accented, disputed, reinterpreted, transformed, and ultimately negotiated (Spear, 1993, 138; Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993; Klump and Kratz, 1993). According to Thomas Eriksen, the fluidity and relativity of identity requires negotiation among agents of the collective in order maintain ethnic boundaries and social organization (Eriksen, 2002, 38). Negotiation can be instrumental to the diversity of a collective which requires some ethnic dimensions to be pronounced or

neglected depending on the context (Eriksen, 2002, 38). Waller theorizes how the Maasai have been socially and rhetorically classified as "people-of-cattle", and exclude those who fall outside boundaries of the pastoralist ideal (Galaty, 1993, 175; Waller, 1985b). That being said, Waller continues to explain how the Maasai people have adopted other subsistence strategies when demanded (Galaty, 1993, 175; Waller, 1985). There are many 'shifters' in the complex and ambiguous nature to ethnic identity that rely on contextual relation to the past and present (Cohen, 1978, 389; Galaty, 1993, 175; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Ethnicity can serve to categorically differentiate people, but there are also assimilative qualities over space and time that can shape groups of people (Waller, 1985a, 367; Galaty, 1993). While the boundaries are negotiated among the members of the Maasai, this also creates a framework for nonmembers to negotiate (Spear, 1993, 139). In the next chapter, it will be discussed how tourism influences the dynamics of representing and interpreting the Maasai identity to nonmembers.

A collective consciousness navigates the articulation of the essential aspects composing the image of the 'authentic' traditional Maasai culture (Barth, 1969, 16). The Maasai have distinct qualities to their traditional culture, however these 'authentic' qualities are selected and pronounced in relation to social settings (Barth, 1969, 13; Cohen, 1978, 388). The cultural boundaries between authentic and not authentic are liminal due to the plurality of identities of the Maasai and their engagement with modernity through tourism. In order for heritage tourism to operate, there must be a degree of cultural homogeneity amongst the Maasai to base the attractions on (Akama, 2000; Hodgson, 2001; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). However, the cultural identity that is marketed to tourists can take essential aspects of the culture that disregard the plurality of the individuals that make up that culture. Arjun Appadurai (1988) observes that the tourism of a particular ethnicity is represented and identified mainly through topic and place, where other defining characteristics are overlooked (Appadurai, 1988, 47; Bruner, 2001, 881). Prior to analyzing what kinds of images of the Maasai are produced and reproduced in cultural tourism, a brief introduction to the literary field of tourism studies will be summarized.

3.2. Tourism and Authenticity

A brief introduction will be given of the conceptual framework of tourism studies that identifies the types of tourism and tourists that engage in specific locations and/or people. Among the various types of tourism, Valene Smith categorizes the typologies as ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental, and recreational tourism

(Bruner, 2001, 881; Smith, 1989, 4-6). Furthermore, the types of tourists have been generalized (not exclusively) as explorer, elite, mass, individual traveler, backpacker, and charter tourist (Cohen, 1979; Pearce, 1982; Smith, 1989, 11-14; Bruner, 2001, 881). Although the concept of fluid identities suggests that the tourists and the types of tourism are not the same, however scholars have methodologically reduced the phenomenon of tourism to typologies in order to create a conceptual framework (Redfoot, 1984; Cohen, 1978; MacCannell, 1976; Smith, 1989; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Dean MacCannell deduces through qualitative research that within the range of tourism, tourists are seeking the 'authentic' experience (MacCannell, 1976). Theorists like Cohen and Redfoot, and Clapp, think that cultural tourism is enhanced by authenticity (Cohen, 1988; Redfoot, 1984). Zeppal and Hall and Bruner believe that tourism is driven by the tourist's desires to experience diverse cultural ways and nostalgia of the past (Zeppal and Hall, 1991, 49; Bruner, 2001). Poria, MacCannell, Chhabra *et al.*, and Amoamo**,** postulate that tourism is mainly driven by the motivations and perceptions of the tourists (Poria, *et al.,* 2003; MacCannell, 1976; Chhabra, *et al.*, 2003; Amoamo, 2011). Furthermore, it is suggested by, Bruner, MacCannell, Van de Berghe and Akama that authenticity is staged and distorted to suit the needs of tourists (Bruner, 2001, 1991; MacCannell 1976; Van de Berghe, 1984; Akama, 2000). John and Jean Comaroff and Graham Huggan focus predominantly on how the tourism engenders the commodification of culture to ultimately 'market the margins' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2001). Among the breadth of theories on cultural and heritage tourism there is an important theme of how cultural identity can be perceived to be 'authentic', and how that may enhance, if not motivate, the touristic experience.

What is Authenticity?

The term 'authenticity' is commonly used, however is an ambivalent and existential notion that manifests in tourism as a signifier of 'realness' of artifacts and also denotes human attributes as true to one's essential nature (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, 299). Carol Steiner and Yvette Resinger use Martin Heidegger's (1996) concept of existential authenticity to explore how chasing the 'realness' of things manifests into representation and social organization within tourism (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Heidegger, 1996; Hughes, 1995; Pearce & Moscardo, 1986). Fine and Speer (1997) understand authenticity to be an experience that involves participation in a collective ritual and can provide a degree of solidarity (Fine and Speer, 1997; Chhabra *et al.***,** 2003, 705). It is argued that the notion of authenticity in tourism is a modern value that has evolved through globalization, whereby cultural

commodification shapes the representation of host cultures (Appadurai, 1994; Trilling, 1972; Hughes, 1995; MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1988). In tourism studies, the ambiguous notion of 'authenticity' is regarded among scholars as "best illustrated, but left undefined" (Cohen, 1988, 373; MacCannell, 1973; Redfoot, 1984). That being said, this philosophical concept of authenticity has been sociologically analyzed throughout tourism studies in characterizing tourists and how they evaluate incommensurable cultural products within a market (Cohen, 1988, 374; MacCannell, 1973).

Using the theories of MacCannell (1973, 1976) and Berger (1973, 88), Cohen argues that the 'modern man' has been alienating the self from society, which manifests in the search for 'authentic' experiences (Cohen, 1988, 373). MacCannell states, "The alienated modern tourist in quest of authenticity hence looks for the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity. He hopes to find it in other times and other places" (MacCannell, 1976, 160). The quest for this 'authentic' experience has been a motif in tourism because it is often sought outside of the 'inauthentic' modern society (Cohen, 1988, 373; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Berger, 1973; Redfoot, 1984). Alternatively, Turner and Cohen argue that some tourists search for new activities that do not fit into the normativity of their mundane life with the objective to restore or 're-create' their capacity to eventually return and conform to a routine life (Turner, 1973; Cohen, 1979, 183; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, 306; Brown, 1996). Under this conceptual framework, the modern man is centralized and the authentic experience lives in the periphery among the foreign 'other'. The concept of 'modernity' is inherently dichotomous for it suggests there are people that are not modern, who live outside the realm and influence of globalization. The discourse throughout the literature that claims tourists as modern and the indigenous people as non-modern is problematic because it characterizes them as the "other", which overlooks the diversity of the community (Cohen, 1988, 373; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Berger, 1973; Redfoot, 1984). That being said, concept of modernity will be used for the purposes of framing the existing theories on authenticity in tourism, while remaining critical of its consequential connotations.

MacCannell argues that the products of tourism (such as festivals, rituals, and dress) are discerned as authentic or not authentic depending on if they are enacted by local people according to tradition (MacCanell, 1976; Chhabra, *et al.,* 2003, 704). Cohen criticizes MacCannell's concept of authenticity as objective and narrow, which overlooks the social negotiability of 'authenticity' (Cohen, 1988, 375). Cohen argues that the concept of authenticity, like cultural identity, is socially constructed and

develops connotations that transform over time and space (Cohen, 1988, 375; Eriksen, 2002, 38; Galaty, 1993, 175). It is important to be critical of who perceives the authenticity in tourism, because the observed and the observer may have misaligned understandings and expectations of what is authentic (Cohen, 1988, 375).

The previously mentioned theories of authenticity imply there is one place and time of origin that is being preserved and relived. The notion of authenticity creates a relationship between material objects and subjects that is built on a conception of temporal continuity (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, 8). Chhabra *et al.* criticizes MacCannell (1976) by arguing modern civilization reflects upon its past and selects an original worthy of copying and representing it in combination with new elements that meet the needs of the modern community (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003, 704). MacCannell argues that it is not important for many tourists if the recreation of the past is accurate or not, but it has value on the premise of its *perceived* authenticity (MacCannell, 1976**,** 14**;** Chhabra *et al.*, 2003, 705). It is important to acknowledge that these theories make a general assumption that the modern tourist is seeking authenticity because they value nostalgia. Heritage, consumed through tourism, has many creators, reproducers and consumers that all influence the negotiated experience of what is 'authentic' (Ashworth, 1992; Firshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003, 705)

3.3 Conclusion

The Maasai ethnicity has fixed anchors and boundaries that provide social solidarity and cultural continuity, which can be perceived as 'traditional' (Barth, 1969; Hodgson, 2001; Akama, 2000). That being said, the 'authentic' image of the Maasai that is constructed by many agents (both internal and external) is misrepresentative to the dynamic and changing culture of the Maasai. In the next chapter it will be analyzed how the image of the Maasai is constructed through tourism. In the semiotic analysis of tour advertisements of the Maasai, it will be addressed 'who' is constructing the image of the Maasai and if it is a process of negotiation between the Maasai themselves, the tour operators, and the demands of the tourists (Ashworth, 1992; Firshenblatt-Bimblett, 1998; Chhabra *et al.,* 2003 705). Using the conceptual framework of ethnicity and authenticity previously mentioned, it will be explored how tourism creates a binary space for the Maasai identity to be categorized by foreigners as either modern or traditional and authentic or inauthentic (Heidegger, 1996; Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2001; Galaty, 1993; Taylor, 2001; Akama, 2000). Furthermore, I will elaborate on the

contradictions and implications of facilitating such a binary identification of the Maasai community. Studies of Hodgson, Akama and Bruner argue that the stereotypical and homogenous identity created through tourism of the Maasai essentializes the images of tribalism and primitivism (Hodgson, 2002, 2; Akama, 2000, 43; Bruner, 2001, 882; Amoamo, 2011, 1256). The Maasai cultural identity that is marketed to tourists can take essential aspect of the culture that disregard the plurality of the individuals that make up the Maasai ethnicity and is therefore misrepresentative (Akama, 2000, 43).

Chapter 4: Staged Authenticity

4.1. Staged Authenticity in Tourism

Tourism has engendered a constructed image of the Maasai, negotiated by both internal and external agents, however is often reproduced out of cultural context (Hodgson, 2001, 2). Mainstream books on the Maasai (Saitoti and Beckwith 1980; Amin, Willets, and Eames, 1987) serve to articulate ethnic and cultural differences through western standards by using emotional language that implies moral indignation and outrage (Hodgson, 2001, 2). The production of images of the Maasai is based on the essential aspects and symbols of the culture that construct expectations for the tourists (Barth, 1969; Hughes, 1995; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Harkin, 1995; Taylor, 2001). Although the tourist's expectations align to ethnic boundaries established by the community, it is not possible to encompass the plurality and diversity of the Maasai culture and livelihoods (Barth, 1969; Homewood, 2009; Hodgson, 2001; Akama, 2000). Therefore, in order to convey a basic representation of the Maasai ethnicity and culture, which also satisfies the demands of the tourists, various touristic settings facilitate cultural performances by the Maasai (Bruner, 2001; Akama, 2000; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009).

MacCannell uses Goffman's theory, that suggests social interaction is a theatrical performance, to articulate how tourism stages authenticity (MacCannell, 1976; Goffman, 1959; Hughes, 1995). Taylor uses Heidegger's theory to argue authenticity is valuable only when there is the potential for perceived inauthenticity (Taylor, 2001, 10; Heidegger, 1990; Cohen, 1988). There is room for the consumer's dissatisfaction in tourism because there are different expectations towards authenticity (Erb, 2005). Cohen argues the tourists who do not have the information or critical capacity to evaluate what is authentic, are more likely to consume the staged authenticity (Cohen, 1988, 377). The Maasai tourism demonstrates selected attributes of the ethnicity's cultural traditions, however what is selected and performed is influenced by the demands of the tourists and framed by the tour operators. The various agents involved in tourism, such as the host community, tourists and tour operators influence the negotiated concept of authenticity. The commodification of culture demonstrates a symbolic structuring to the concept of authenticity to both the host community and the tourists. A theoretical analysis of how authenticity is staged in tourism will be given using examples of the Maasai tourism from various studies (Akama, 2000; Wanjohi, 2000; Bruner, 2001.).

An introduction to how the Maasai image has been constructed through tourism and projected to foreigners will be illustrated through Burner's ethnographic accounts in his book "Maasai and the Lion King" (Bruner, 2001). Bruner provides three different settings upon which tourism takes place and what tourists experience when they visit (Bruner, 2001). Each tourist site offers a different perspective on the role of ethnicity and heritage and ways the image of the Maasai can be produced through various meanings, ironies and ambiguities (Bruner, 2001, 882). However, this chapter will analyze Bruner and Kirshenblaat-Gimblett's (1994) first field site, for the Mayer's Ranch illustrates how local entrepreneurs organize Maasai performances to achieve the 'aura' of authenticity (Bruner, 2001, 882; Greenwood, 1977).

The Mayers Ranch is a private tourist business set up by a British family who bought Kenyan land for cattle ranching in the 20th century and eventually turned the land into a site for Maasai tourist visits (Bruner, 2001, 884). The Mayers facilitated heritage performances of the Maasai from 1968 until the 1980s, at which point the Kenyan government eventually closed it because its colonial aspects were offensive to many Kenyans (Bruner, 2001, 883-884). Bruner describes the tourist visit to be staged, where the Maasai hide all outside influences and manufactured objects to present an atmosphere that resembles a 19th-century colonial narrative (Bruner, 2001, 882; Knowles and Collet, 1989). The colonially nostalgic stage presents the Maasai as "African primitive, as natural man" where the men were depicted "as brave warriors, tall and athletic, men who, at least in the past, would raid for cattle, kill lions armed with but a spear, consume raw foods such as milk and blood, and (as 'Lords of East Africa') instill respect and fear in others" (Bruner, 2001, 882). Bruner describes this tableau at the Mayer's ranch as a setting of 'tourist realism' where the goal was an aura of authenticity (Bruner, 2001, 882; Greenwood, 1977). Bruner articulates, "the ritual performed at the Maasai village was made to seem natural, as if the Maasai were dancing for themselves and the tourists just appeared there by chance. The constructedness of the site was masked" (Bruner, 2001, 885). In this setting, the Maasai provide entertainment and cultural exposure to the foreign tourists by performing aspects of their culture and neglecting or hiding aspects that do not align with expectations of the tourists (Bruner, 2001; Cohen, 1988; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Taylor, 2001).

The tour operators collaborate with the host community to simulate the concept of authenticity (Bruner, 2001; Greenwood, 1977; Cohen, 1988). However, the commodification of authenticity undergoes negotiation by paying homage to the traditional culture while meeting the demands of the present day (Chabra *et al.*,

2003; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). MacCannell argues the host communities market aspects of their culture "to the degree that this packaging alters the nature of the product, the authenticity sought by the visitor becomes 'staged authenticity' provided by the touree" (MacCannell, 1976, 596). The traditions that are performed to the tourists are not completely fabricated in the demands of the market, however may alter in form and context than they would outside a commercial setting (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009,). Cohen argues through Appadurai's theory of globalization, that tourism can change the materiality of heritage in form, materials or colours of arts and craft products (Cohen, 1988, 381; Appadurai, 1986, 47). For example, the website *Basecamp Maasai Brand* sells 'authentically' made beads from Maasai women that are target marked to foreigners (Basecamp Maasai Brand). The beads alter from traditional aesthetic style and material in order to make them more commercially appealing (Klumpp & Kratz, 1993; Wanjohi, 2000, 87; Basecamp Maasai Brand). This example demonstrates how signifiers of ethnic boundaries shift according to the function of social interaction (Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993). Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983) explain how new cultural practices that become important traditions may have forgotten origins or are romanticized [3] (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1983; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003, 706). Cohen argues that authenticity is negotiable so that the "cultural product, or trait thereof, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic (Cohen, 1988, 299-80; Chhabra, *et al.*, 2003, 706). The commercialization of the Maasai culture influences the shifting of ethnic boundaries to meet the expectations of negotiated concept of authenticity (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1988; Barth, 1969). That being said, the expectations that surround the concept of authenticity for tourists may not align to the dynamic identity of the Maasai people, therefore tourism enables the staging of authenticity (MacCannell, 1976**;** Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Cohen, 1988, Burner, 2001; Bruner & Hinch, 2007**)**

4.2. Commodification of Culture

The tourism industry facilitates a commodification of culture that markets essential attributes and materials of a target culture, which is subsequently consumed by the global public (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2002; Appadurai, 1986). Appadurai's globalization theory assist in understanding how **t**he cultural industry constructs value-regimes for incommensurable experiences and materials

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[3] Campbell argues that capitalist society have always been characterized by a strong emphasis upon consumption based on a romantic ethic (Campbell, 1987; Urry**,** 1990).

associated with ethnicity (Appadurai, 1986; Karpik, 2010). It will be addressed how the commodification of culture and performance of the tourist's expectations may impact the meaning of cultural products and social interactions for the local communities. Furthermore, it is important to address how, and by whom, the image of the culture is marketed as authentic.

Appadurai (1986) in his book "*The Social Life of Things*," theorizes the cultural politics of valuing objects through commodification. Following Simmel's logic of *exchange value*, the commensuration of objects are complex as they are contextually influenced by desire and demand within cultural and historical 'milieus' (Appadurai, 1986, 4; Simmel, 2004). Appadurai argues the dynamic social and cultural arenas determine the symbolic and functional value of a commodity's 'spirit' (Appadurai, 1986, 6-10). That being said, mass global production of commodities facilitates mechanisms that construct and regulate value-equivalence (Appadurai, 1986, 14-15; Frow, 1995, 144; Huggan, 2002, 5). Within the global market, the cultural tourism industry perpetuate a homogenizing representation of cultures due to high economic demand and limited information on social and cultural contexts (Hughes, 2002, 783; Appadurai, 1986, 14).

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The ethnic identity industry is a way for cultures to "brand their otherness" and profit from what makes them different and unique (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24; Huggan, 2002). It is argued that the tourist's search for authenticity in a foreign culture is based on the desire to interact with people different than their own culture (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Berger, Price, & Smith 1996; Wanjohi, 2000). To demonstrate the popularity of Maasai performances, in Wanjohi's study it is reported, "ninety-three per cent of the total hotels that participated in [the] study in Malindi offer 'entertainment' in the form of Maasai traditional dances (Wanjohi, 2000, 87). The commercialized cultural performances extend beyond just the Maasai ethnicity, for other authors have related the phenomenon of staged authenticity to the Balinese dances (Akama, 2000, 89; Cohen, 1988; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Harkin, 1995; Huggan, 2002; Bruner, 2001; Urry, 1990). The global consumerism of tourism markets the differences of other ethnicities in a way that can be commercialized, universally recognized and valued through the calculus of money (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24).

When the incommensurable singularity of ethnicity emerges as a product on a tourism market, the generic reproduction of the particularities require alternative judgment devices for value (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Karpik, 2010). Comaroff and Comaroff question what is considered to be capital and what is labor in the

identity economy (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24)? Bourdieu categorizes the three fundamental forms of capital that people can acquire to be economic, social and culture (Bourdieu, 1986). The ethnic industry creates an ambivalent space for the modes of capital to transcend their categorical boundaries, for cultural and economic capital can take the same form (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Bourdieu, 1986). Karpik theorizes within the markets of singularities, the product and/or services do not have a clear exchange value; therefore the consumer establishes value using the instruments of judgment devices (Karpik, 2010, 46). Karpik defines judgment devices as "representatives of the producers and/or consumers, as knowledge operators in charge of reducing the cognitive deficit, and as competing forces striving to become more visible and more desirable than their competitors" (Karpik, 2010, 46). Judgment devices commonly available to tourists are brochures and tour packages, provided by tour operators, that advertise, promote, and brand ethnicities (Karpik, 2010, 53; Akama, 2000, 47; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The tourist attractions brand the Maasai as the *Moran* (young warrior), carrying traditional long spears and clubs while wearing red clothing (Wanjohi, 2000, 85). In order for the consumer to appreciate the authenticity of a commodity, it must fit within a value regime that is widely understood (Karpik, 2010, 134). The authenticity of a singular commodity is heterogeneous (unique) within the market, however the concept of authenticity holds a symbolic value that is ultimately homogenous (Karpik, 2010, 134). Therefore, the essential attributes that denote the authenticity of an experience with the Maasai are reproduced by tourism to construct a homogenous understanding of what is authentic (Karpik, 2010; Huggan, 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Galaty, 1993; Akama, 2000).

The tourism operators have a large influence on how the image of the Maasai is presented because the tourists rely on 'professional' knowledge to facilitate an authentic experience (MacCannell, 2001; Hall, 2007). The tourist companies reproduce homogenous images of the Maasai as a signifier of some specific ceremony or cultural context (Harkin, 1995, 658). However, the images and souvenirs are metonymic in quality to the real authentic livelihoods of all Maasai people (Harkin, 1995, 658). For example, souvenirs, like beaded ornaments, or rituals like warrior dances act a signifier to the concept of their function within the Maasai cultural context (Klumpp & Kratz, 1993, 195-197; Harkin, 1995, 658; Bruner, 2001). However, the tourist industry markets and frames the concept of the beads and ritual's cultural value out of context, therefore constructing its own metonymic authenticity (Harkin, 1995, 658; MacCannell, 1976; Kumpp & Kratz, 1993; Burner, 2001; Akama, 2000). The staged authenticity standardizes the tourism experience and reproduces hegemonic perceptions among the tourists

towards the host culture (Cohen, 1988; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2002; Akama, 2000). Bruner observes at the Sundower Mara reserve, the Maasai performers dance at a cocktail party for a group of tourists, who want a safari in the "African bush" while having all the "comforts and luxury of home" by eating "hors d'oeurves" and drinking "cocktails"(Bruner, 2001, 883). It appears as though the safari has created a setting that contrasts the 'primitive' bush and the globalized modern world. As mentioned before, the Maasai have a diverse range of lifestyles, and this tourist setting reproduces the expectation that the Maasai are used to a 'primitive' lifestyle. Tourists use the tourist operators as an instrument when visiting a foreign culture because it is supposed to minimize risks and uncertainties surrounding the inauthenticity of the experience (Karpik, 2010, 46-47**;** MacCannell, 2001, 384). The use of tourist brochures is paradoxical because it aims to assure the tourists they will have an authentic experience, meanwhile the ethnicity market constructs and stages an inaccurate and homogenous identity of the Maasai (MacCannell, 2001; Burner, 2001; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Chhabra *et al. 2003*; Harkin, 1995).

Impacts on Local Meaning of Authenticity

A critical issue of commoditization of ethnicity within tourism is the changed meaning of cultural products and human relations among the local community (Cohen, 1988, 372). Some scholars like Greenwood, Berger, Price and Smith MacCannell, and Boortsin, argue socio-economic commoditization, through tourism, enable the destruction of cultural authenticity and eventually make cultural products meaningless to the locals (Greenwood, 1977, 131, 137; MacCannell, 1973; Boorstin, 1964, 103; Cohen, 1988, 372; Taylor, 2001, 12; Berger, Price & Smith, 1996). Cohen agrees that tourism can affect cultural products and the meanings to the locals, however to suggest once commoditized "the meaning is gone" is an "over generalization" (Cohen, 1988, 381). Certain cultural products, such as the beaded ornaments, may be altered to the tastes of the tourists, however still hold meaning in their interaction with the external audience (Cohen, 1988, 381; Kumpp & Kratz, 1993; Wanjohi, 2000, 88). Taylor points out that this concept of authenticity is built on the fallacy that cultural and ethnic identity previously had a stabile and 'natural' state (Taylor, 2001, 12). Benjamin (1968, 221) says, "That which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of authenticity (Benjamin, 1968, 221**;** Taylor, 2001, 13). The essential aspects of the culture that are marketed are taken out of context and misrepresent the plurality of the Maasai identity and therefore are not authentic (Berger & Price, 1996; Barth, 1969; Bruner, 2001; Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). However, Cohen argues 'emergent authenticity' is where new

meaning towards commercialized cultural products can be established for the local producers (Cohen, 1988, 381). The commoditization of cultural practices can provide a platform for the Maasai to display and be proud of cultural attributes to foreigners (Cohen, 1988; Taylor, 2001, 14). Tourism plays a role in connecting people, and the notion of staged authenticity overlooks the reality of people connecting and culturally exchanging (Taylor, 2001, 14). Although, the authenticity of the community may be altered by the demands of the tourists, the meaning of cultural products and human interaction is not completely lost but undergoes a situational re-appropriation (Cohen, 1988, 373; Taylor, 2001; Hughes, 1995).

4. 3. Who is creating the image and how?

The negotiated concept of authenticity in the tourism industry prompts the question of who are the agents constructing the image? Is the indigenous group producing the images and controlling the attraction or simply being used as part of wider offering (Butler & Hinch, 2007)? Akama argues the third party tourist operators and travel agents do not consult the Maasai on how they want to be portrayed or represented to the outside world (Akama, 2000, 46). There is an unequal distribution of power in who controls the conditions under which culture is represented and alienated, based on financial and technical capital (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24; Hall, 2007, 309). Michael Hall argues the indigenous groups in tourism do not have the same power, in knowledge and capital, to engage in policy debates as the non-indigenous business interests (Hall, 2007, 309; Amoamo, 2011, 1258; Hollinshead, 2007). The way the tourism image is constructed can reveal the postcolonial power relations of the indigenous people in their relation to businesses and the state (Akama, 2000, 46; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998; Hollinshead, 2007, 293). Akama reflects on the promotion of cultural tourism by saying, "they are powerful images which reinforce particular ways of seeing the world and can restrict and channel people, countries, genders and sexes into certain mind-sets." (Akama, 2000, 46). It is argued that the Maasai image is constructed and reconstructed around the notions of Western superiority and dominance (Akama, 2000, 46; Said, 1979; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Hollinshead, 2007). Bruner has illustrated the western hegemony and colonial nostalgia in the representation of the Maasai as a 'primitive' and 'untouched' people separate from modernity (Bruner, 2001). Cohen argues, "outside entrepreneurs exploit marginal peoples in the name of cultural tourism, giving birth to new ethnic dependencies" (Cohen, 1988, PG; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24). Although it is argued the external agents have more representation control that leads to the commodification and exploitation of indigenous peoples, that theoretical stance leaves the Maasai victimized by neo-

colonial forces (Robbins, 1999; Berger & Price, 1996). The Maasai also have agency in participating in tourism and reproducing their chosen traditional lifestyles to foreigners (Chambers 2000; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Hollinshead, 2007). There are benefits of tourism that may open opportunities for creating value of various kinds for the indigenous group (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 24). There is the capacity all people around the globe increase autonomy, political presence and material circumstances by managing their tourist potential (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 25). The cultural tourism industry may commoditize essential aspects of culture; however there is a complex nature to how produces and represents the images of the marketed ethnic group.

4.5. Conclusion

Theories, previously mentioned, suggest that the tourists seek an authentic experience when visiting indigenous groups, like the Maasai (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). Under this assumption, it can be theorized that the image of the Maasai that is reproduced in tourism creates expectations among the tourists on what authenticity is (Comarroff, 2009; Cohen, 1988; Hollinshead, 2007; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Meanwhile, the tourist image is also influenced from the demands of the tourists (Comarroff, 2009; Cohen, 1988; Hollinshead, 2007; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). The tourism industry commoditizes the Maasai's culture and reproduces images that emphasize selected essential attributes, while neglecting others (Harkin, 1995; Cohen, 1988; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The tourists utilize tourist operators to evaluate the quality of the experience when consuming an incommensurable commoditized culture (Karpik, 2010; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). The concept of authenticity is ambiguous in nature, and ultimately unachievable in tourism because it negates the plurality of the ethnic identities and lifestyles of the Maasai (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Heidegger, 1996; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003). In order to meet the demands of the tourists and expectations of authenticity, the Maasai perform the expectations of authenticity within the boundaries of ethnic symbols and traditions (Galaty, 1993; Cohen, 1988; Akama, 2000; Hodgson, 2001). Although some aspects of the Maasai culture are commoditized, this does not necessarily result in a loss of meaning towards those performed traditions; it can be seen as an ethnic 'shifter' (Galaty, 1993; Taylor, 2001; Hughes, 1995). The staging of authenticity that arises from the commodification of culture creates a 'false touristic consciousness' (Cohen, 1988). The 'false touristic consciousness' is a dissonance among tourists in their perception of culture as static, which results in disappointment when the staged inauthenticity is perceived (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). That being said, it is important to critical of the previously

mentioned ethnographies and theories that over generalize the expectations, desires and experiences of all tourists (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Bruner, 2001; Akama, 2000). Although the experiences of the tourists may vary, the images constructed and reproduced in Maasai tourism advertisements reflect the demands and hegemonic perceptions of tourists (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Bruner, 2001; Hollinshead, 2007).

Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis of Tour Advertisements

A semiotic analysis of the advertisements demonstrates how the representation of the Maasai is aesthetically framed through differences and power (Hall, 2001, 259). The advertisements are targeted towards western tourists, wherein hegemony is exercised in the symbolic power of representing the Maasai as the exotic 'other' (Hall, 2001, 259; Huggan, 2002; Said, 1979; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Urry, 1990; Harkin, 1995). The semiotic analysis will utilize Stuart Hall's methodology on postcolonial 'close reading' of images and discourse to discern the underlying power dynamics in the representation of the exotic 'other' (Hall, 2007)
The advertisements are found in three different websites that offer tour packages to visit the Maasai, amongst their other available safari packages (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). For purposes of clarification, the websites will be classified as Tour A: Olpopongi; Tour B: African Budget Safaris; and Tour C: Sidai Africa (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The interests and experiences of the tourists are unknown, however the advertisements offer a framework to analyze the commodification process of the Maasai in relation to the desires of the tourists.

5.1. Brief Descriptive Summary of Tour Advertisements

In the appendix, a chart is provided describing the three Tour Operator Websites based on language used (on the website and offered in the tour), list of activities offered in tour packages, key discourses used in advertisement, brief background of the tour organization, and images used as advertisements. The analysis to follow will be based on the information provided in the appendix chart.

Each tour description has congruencies in that their common language being English, which indicates a predominantly western audience (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). All tour packages offer day and night tours that include accommodation, meals, and Maasai (English-speaking) tour guides (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Each website creates a foreign and exotic aura by using terms like "authentic", "traditional", "unique", "remote", and "adventure" to describe the experience (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Each website features pictures of Maasai women dressed in beads, Maasai men carrying weapons, and animals (either wild or barbequed), and Maasai people standing in front of the *bomas* (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Only Tour A displayed pictures (**Figure 3.**) of tourists posing with the Maasai people, all of whom are Caucasian

(Olpopongi Maasai). The other tour websites did not feature images of the tourists, for that may penetrate the staged authenticity of remoteness and exclusivity from normal tourism (African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The tour operators all acknowledge the impact of Eco-tourism on the environment and local communities (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Meanwhile, the tour operators guarantee an organization that provides protection and conservation of the natural reserves and respect to the people due to the financial benefits of tourism (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris).

5. 2. The Tourist Gaze

Urry conceptualizes the complex social organization of tourism in a principal called the *tourists gaze* (Urry, 1990). The gaze refers to what makes the tourist's experience different that regular life, and how the commodification of cultures and places are structured to the demands of the tourist (Urry, 1990). The visual and narrative structures in tourism are based on particular imaginaries that shape the tourist's perceptions of the host community (Urry, 1990). Urry argues that advertising and the media generate images of various tourist gazes to reproduce a "system of illusions" that aid the tourists in selecting and evaluating places to visit (Urry, 1990, 7; Boorstin, 1964). Bruner contest's Urry's concept of the tourist gaze (1990, 1992) to be too empiricist and general to encompass the varied tourist reactions (Bruner, 2001, 902). However, The tastes of the tourists influence the narrative of the advertisements and touristic experiences (Urry, 1990).

The advertisements demonstrate emphasis on cultural differences, as to market an aura of authenticity that fantasizes adventure, nature and primitivism. Bruner argues that the tourists visiting the Maasai want to consume the non-modern world without giving up the luxury comforts of home (Bruner, 2001, 895). The advertisements ensure an experience that is adventurous, yet safe (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Each advertisement offer hygienic washing areas, available food and water[4], tour guides, and "entertainment" (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Certain cross-cultural differences will be emphasized and others neglected in the advertisements in order to tailor to the demands of tourists. The advertisements are marketed to a western audience, as indicated by the common language of the websites, English,

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[4] The lunches advertised in Tour B do not specify what kind of food will be served (Africa Budget Safaris). The lack of specificity can be a marketing strategy because it leaves the tourist's imaginations open, in order to suit their desire of having either western or traditional Maasai food.

while Tour A also offers tours in other European languages (Olpopongi Maasai). Furthermore, Tour C provides advice on how to act culturally appropriate as a Western tourist in saying, "do not indiscriminately hand out pens, money and sweets like a wealthy Western Santa Claus- just encourages begging." (Sidai Africa Safaris) The advertisements create an "us" and "them" dichotomy between the tourist and the 'other' Maasai. The "otherness' is constructed in the tourist gaze and often associated with marginalized communities (Urry, 1990; Huggan, 2002; Hall, 1997, 2001 Cave, 2005, 265). The advertisements speak of the Maasai as though they are in need of the tourist's business due to their marginality from modern society (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris)*;* Hollinshead, 2007). The tour operators each stress the importance of tourism on the protection and conservation of the Maasai nature reserves and livelihoods (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). In tourism the 'other' is objectified and idealized within an imagined narrative because it rests outside the norms of the tourist, and therefore in the margins of geographical space and time (Hollinshead, 1998; Cave, 2005, 265). The objectification of the other is due to power dynamics that construct identity and cultural representation based on the historical relationship between colonizers and colonized (Cave, 2005, 264; Lester, 1998; Urry, 1990; Huggan, 2002).

5. 3. Exoticism

Otherness derives from the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), applied through interaction and commodification (Ahmed, 2002), and attributed in a static sense to individuals and group identity (Little, 1999; Cave, 2005, 265). Despite the similarities, the 'other' is identified and represented based on their difference in relation to the western hegemony of tourists (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Urry, 1990; Hall, 2001). The homogenizing forces of globalization facilitate a growing interest for indigenous tourism that seeks the "exotic other" (MacCannell, 1992; Turner & Ash, 1975; Freya Higgins- Desbiolles, 2005, 224). The tour packages with the Maasai advertise an "authentic" experience with an exotic culture different than the tourist's own *(*Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris*;* Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 2001; Bruner, 2001; Appadurai, 1986, 1994*).* The exoticism is a process of domesticating the foreign 'other' by aesthetically framing the object or subject in absence of historical and cultural context (Huggan, 2002, 16; Appadurai, 1986, 28). Tour C proposes the possibility of being able to witness a Maasai wedding and circumcision (Sidai Africa Safaris).Tour C does not provide context as to why the ceremony occurs infrequently (Sidai Africa Safaris). Furthermore, Tour C does not offer any specify of the kinds of circumcision, whether it will be performed on

females or on males (Sidai Africa Safaris). The female circumcision is an important right of passage to many Maasai communities, however to a western audience it is considered to be mutilation (Coast, 2001, 35; Momoh, 2005; Toubia, 1995; Skaine, 2005). The marketing of cultural rituals is framed in an aesthetic way that promotes the desirable and understood attributes, while neglecting the tabooed. The exotic image reproduces selective essential cultural differences of the Maasai so that the foreign 'other' eventually becomes familiar to the tourist (Huggan, 2002; Hall, 1997; Cohen, 1988; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The aesthetics of 'decontexualisation' found in the advertisements depict the Maasai as 'primitive' (opposed to modern) people who rely just on nature (Appadurai, 1986; Huggan, 2002; Bruner, 2001). In the advertisements, the Maasai are featured under selective contexts of milking cows, preparing basic grain dishes, carrying hunting equipment, amongst wild dangerous savannah animals, and wearing colorful beaded ornaments (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The domestication of the 'exotic other' is a naturalizing process, whereby the tourist gaze creates a normative hierarchy that places the other in a position of inferiority (Harkin, 1995; Hall, 1997; Huggan, 2002; Hodgson, 2009).

5. 4. Consumption of the Exotic

Media (on the Internet) reinforces the hegemonic influence of domesticating of the exotic because it distributes trends in global mass culture that differentiate people according to the western standard (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, 134; Miller, 1998, Harkin, 1995, 656). Said argues the hegemonic identification of the 'Orient' is due to power dynamics from the relationship between of colonizers and the colonized (Said, 1978; Nash, 1989). Tour C advertises workshops with Maasai women on how to make the beaded ornaments, while also featuring pictures of many women wearing the colorful beads (Sidai Africa Safaris). The beads represent how the tourist consumes the exotic through materiality of culture. The traditional souvenirs that are sold as a materiality of culture are removed from their social and cultural context to meet commercial needs (Harkin, 1995, 657). Harkin elaborates on how authenticity can be constructed by the values of semiotics of tourism and "the 'souvenir' is an extension of the primary semiosis of the sight: a durable and portable signifier" (Harkin, 1995, 657). Tourism plays a role in influencing the symbolism attributed to local practices (like bead making) and the reproduction of cultural meanings (Quinny, 2003; Cave, 2005, 267). The commodification of the Maasai culture extends to the aura of authenticity attributed to souvenirs like beaded ornaments. The pictures of the women wearing the beads depict how the objects and subjects of the Maasai have been commoditized and fetishized as the

exotic 'other' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 25; Huggan, 2002; Krishnan, 2012; Urry, 1990). Using Marxian formulation, fetishism is the mystification of the production process of the commodity that is subsequently consumed (Huggan, 2002, 18; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 23). The tourist websites market the tourist an authentic experience that accommodates their needs, while veiling the process of organization and commodification of the Maasai culture.

5. 5. Conclusion

The tour operators advertise an experience that fits within the expectations of tourist's demands, but is not necessarily accurate to the lifestyles of the Maasai people. The "trained Maasai tour guides" perform the staged authenticity for the tourists visiting a *boma* while on an exotic safari (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The commodification of the Maasai culture entails altering aspects of the local's lifestyle in order to accommodate the tourist's vacations (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Moreover, some aspects of the tour with the Maasai, like the sleeping and washing areas, are tailored to accommodate the expectations and 'needs' of the western tourists (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris).
The advertisements have similarities in offering a "remote" and "exclusive" trip to see the "authentic" Maasai, which is an experience that not only differs from the tourist's everyday life, but also differs from typical tourism (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The way the Maasai are marketed construct an image of them as an "untouched", "natural", and primitive people who are marginalized from modernity (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris; Hall, 1997; Hall, 2007). The power dynamics in representation demonstrate the colonial relationship between indigenous people and tourists (Urry, 1990). The Maasai are represented by the tour companies as exotic, which is a process of domesticating the foreign and unfamiliar to consume something different, but reproduce it in a way that is recognizable (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The tours market essential aspects of Maasai culture that are taken out of context, which is a process of fetishizing the exotic (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Interestingly, the tour companies all mention the impact of tourism on the environment and local communities, yet promise an organization that fits outside of that mainstream tourism (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). The tour companies market their presence amongst the Maasai community as a beneficial agreement, which can improve the livelihoods of the people and ensures environmental conservation (Olpopongi Maasai; African

Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). This message can be interpreted as a patriarchal relationship between the tour operators and the locals, as new dependencies are formed (Bruner, 2001; Harkin, 1995; Cave, 2005). The semiotic analysis of the tour advertisements is not to suggest the Maasai do not have agency or receive benefits (financial or security) from tourism. The analysis aims to deconstruct how the image of the Maasai is negotiated by the demands of the tourists and illustrate the colonial power structures underpinning the representation of the Maasai.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Tourism plays a role in the construction and reappraisal of culture and its people, places and pasts (Hollinshead, 2007, 302; Wallerstein, 1990).
The tourism industry is not neutral in its representation and 'disidentification' of culture (Hollinshead, 2007, 302). The Maasai and the expectations of the tourists, negotiate the image of the Maasai that is marketed in the tourism industry (Hollinshead, 2007, 303; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Although mass tourism has various implications for the host communities, that is not to suggest the Maasai do not have agency in relation to the commodification of their culture (Hall, 2007; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Hollinshead, 1998). The question remains to what extent does tourism create agency for the Maasai, and under what conditions? Furthermore, what are the implications of cultural tourism that may outweigh the benefits?

Firstly, the generalizations and limitations of the study will be re-visited in order to bring awareness to the paradoxical and complex nature of post colonialism within sociology. Secondly, it will be discussed how the Maasai have agency in staging authenticity to tourists and what implications it has on the collective identity and social organization. Throughout the latter discussion, propositions for future research will be given. However, the prospective research questions require conducting primary qualitative data with the support of literary theories mentioned in this study.

6.1. Notes of Caution

Tourism studies are complex and susceptible to assumptions about the social organization of the cultural market and agents involved. It is important for the researcher be aware of the generalizations and hegemonic perspectives involved in studying indigenous communities and their involvement in tourism. There is a predisposed power dynamic in most research on indigenous tourism, for most researchers are not indigenous (Hall, 2007, 317). Additionally, tourism studies can be criticized based on to what extent the research is in the interests of academic or professional production or in the interests of the indigenous group (Hall, 2007, 317).

In order to comment on the complex phenomena of cultural tourism, one of the largest limitations to research, namely that there are many generalizations made about the tourists and host community. In the research, there are dangers of characterizing cultural behavior through the binary dimensions of host community

and tourists (Bird *et al.*, 1999; Cave, 2005, 274). The postcolonial research can be a double-edged sword, because it aims to deconstruct the 'othering' of the host community, however perpetuates the binary classifications of people (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1988; Young, 2004). Furthermore, research has generalized the tourist's motivations in cultural tourism to be a desire to experience the 'authenticity' of cultures in foreign lands (Jamal & Hill, 2002; Cave, 2005, 278). The tourist's perception of authenticity is subjective, and not necessarily reflective of the depth of interaction and importance of that experience for the individual (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Cave, 2005, 278). That being said, the demand for indigenous tourism can be analyzed in terms of how the host community is projected as 'different' and how expectations of authenticity develop (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007, 80). The tourists that use the tour operators to minimize risks in a foreign environment have an influence on how the image of the Maasai is constructed and reconstructed (Mitchell & Greatorex, 1990; Cave, 2005, 278). These constructs can be considered an over-generalizations of cultural identity and belong to western hegemonic lens (Lester, 1998). It is important to be considerate and reflexive of the ways different people construct their identity through various imaginative, epistemological and spatial landscapes within their own contextual specificity (Said, 1978; Cave, 2005).

6.2. Agency in Tourism

The commodification of culture prompts the question if tourism is considered more commerce or cultural development**?** Due to the complex nature of cultural tourism, it should be problematized if indigenous people are considered a commodity and what implications that has on their cultural identity (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). It is important to explore if the indigenous people are participating in tourism due to inequality and lack of economic capital, therefore using their cultural capital to compensate? Some research has argued that cultural tourism reduces poverty (Goodwin, 2007), however others suggest the indigenous people are subjected to exploitation (Hall, 2007; Hollinshead, 2007). To what extent is agency created in tourism for the Maasai by staging the authenticity and exploiting the tourists? Using Urry's theory of the gaze, it is hypothesized that the host community can undermine the power dynamics of the gaze by returning it upon the tourists in a process of cultural exchange (Urry, 1990; Huggan, 2002). Can tourism be seen as a beneficial cultural exchange between two foreign collective identities? Perhaps the cultural exchange in tourism facilitates a transcendence of the ethnic and social boundaries into a third space outside the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy (Barth, 1969; Bhabha, 1994; Amoamo, 2011).

The commodification of culture will entail the negotiation of business motives and the participation of local culture (Hollinshead, 2007, 303; Touraine, 1990, 139). The tourism industry relies on a positive image to attract tourists; therefore the projected image of the Maasai must be appropriate and accepted among the Maasai as well as the tourist market (Butler & Hinch, 2007, 326). This study has problematized who controls the use and reproduction of Maasai symbols. The tourism industry should use the ethnic signifiers and symbols of the Maasai respectfully and not as objects of the tourist gaze. The gaze has shaped the promotions of cultural tours with the Maasai, however the gaze is also shaped by the tour advertisements (Urry, 1990; Hollinshead, 2007). On one hand, the normalizing and naturalizing effects of marketing essential attributes of culture lead to misrepresentation (Hollinshead, 2007, 303). The tourism branding and promotion simplify the representation and images of the complex and fluid identities of the Maasai (Hall, 2007, 317). On the other hand, there is a communicative quality to tourism that gives a platform for agency and authority of the local communities to convey and redefine their ethnic identities (Hollinshead, 2007, 303; Meethan, 2001). Hollinshead argues there is also a collaborative power of tourism, if done respectfully and sustainably, this allows marginalized groups to give insights of their culture to the globalized world (Hollinshead, 2007, 303).

The way the tourists interact with the Maasai people should be respectful of the multiple identities the ethnicity holds, and not make assumptions about the people. However, the goal of achieving a greater level of touristic cultural reflexivity and understanding resides in addressing the structural issues of the tourism industry (Hall, 2007; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Urry, 1990). Michael Hall contests the simplistic approach to the benefits of tourism on indigenous groups because the "unwilling and willing compliance to domination are [not] mutually exclusive, one can consent to power and resent the mode of its existence" (Hall, 2007, 318). Some Maasai communities may be materially disadvantaged and rely on tourism as a source of income, not necessarily wanting to do so (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Akama, 2000; Hodgson, 2001). Furthermore, not all Maasai people are involved in tourism, yet are still subjected to the misrepresentation and commoditization of their ethnic identity (Burner, 2001). It is important to factor in the economic, socio-cultural and political well being of the indigenous people in the framework of tourism's interests, values and power (Hall, 2007, 317).

The collective identity of the Maasai oscillates between the signifiers of ethnic boundaries according to the demands of social organization (Barth, 1969). It has

been argued that the solidarity of the host communities, which participate indigenous tourism have been strengthened (Boissevain, 1977, 530-532). On the other hand, other studies suggest the level of tourism leads to the weakening of informal solidarities and encourage greater individualization (Cave, 2005, 273; Stott, 1978, 81). Within tourism, the solidarity of ethnic identity may be tested and reconstructed in the periphery of Barth's ethnic boundaries (Barth, 1969). There is little research on how the power relations within indigenous communities use and misuse power relations in tourism (Hall, 2007, 317). It would be interesting to conduct a qualitative study on how the community's collective identity and cultural hegemony is influenced by the tourism industry. How does the commodification of culture in tourism change cultural meanings or make the collective identity more fluid, or rigid? Another angle to look into would be how do the social relationships form solidarity or create tension among community groups in tourism business in terms of values, decision-making processes, motives, and distribution of benefits (Cave, 2005, 273).

The there are certain benefits to tourism that have given the Maasai agency in terms of economic capital, political recognition, awareness to conservation and protection of cultural and environmental rights, and education (McKercher & Du Cross, 2002; Cave, 2002, 273; Homewood, 1984; Hodgson, 2001). Research has argued the popularity of tourism prompts a political and economic support for the values and cultural conservation of indigenous peoples (McKercher & Du Cross, 2002; Homewood, 1984; Hodgson, 2001). However, Cave argues there is the overuse, exploitation, and "inappropriate use of cultural assets, commodification without regard to cultural values pose real threats to the integrity and survival of the assets (Cave, 2005, 273; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). In order to assert agency and maximize their potential benefits while minimizing the exploitation of external agents, it is important for the local communities to have knowledge about the business of tourism (Butler & Hinch, 2007, 327; Carr, 2007; Cave, 2007; Hollinshead, 2007). The Maasai's commodification of cultural capital requires legal protection from soliciting and exploitation (Hodgson, 2001; Homewood, 1984). Due to the branding, there is also the possibility of non-Maasai people to perform as the Maasai for money. Furthermore, the Maasai participating in tourism need to ensure they will receive payment and benefits from the industry. The participation in tourism has demonstrated the Maasai's ethnic boundaries are fluid and do not necessarily abide to the stagnant ideals of 'traditional' pastoralism (Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993; Hodgson, 2001; Urry, 1990). The despite the many implications of tourism, the Maasai have created agency for themselves and adapted to the circumstance of the

heritage industry by staging "authenticity" to foreign tourists (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Galaty, 1993; Spear & Waller, 1993; Akama, 2000).

6.3. Conclusion

The complex topics of 'disidentification' and authenticity can both empower and weaken indigenous communities (Hollinshead). Depending on how the Maasai orient themselves within the business of cultural tourism it can provide agency or result in exploitation of the people and their heritage (Hall, 2007; Higgins-Desiolles, 2005; Hollinshead, 1998; MacCanell, 2001). The research questions addressed throughout the discussion would be made applicable for research if qualitative primary data were collected from interviews and ethnographic field observation with the Maasai in touristic setting. However, the available literature on heritage tourism and research, specifically on the Maasai, allows for an insight on how the image of the Maasai is constructed. Additionally, this study has used literature with evidence that suggests that tourism creates a stage where the Maasai perform the tourist's expectations of "authenticity" (Cohen, 1988; McCannell, 1976, 2001; Taylor, 2001; Chhabra, 2003; Akama, 2000). Using theories from the literature previously discussed, an analysis can be made on the constructs and expectations of authenticity and the subsequent implications on the collective identity and social organization of the Maasai.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The Maasai have signifiers and traditions within their ethnic boundaries, which provides solidarity to collective identity but does not necessarily reflect the pluralistic identities of all Maasai people (Barth, 1969; Bruner, 1991; Galaty, 1993; Hall, 1990). That being said, the ethnic 'shifters' that are expressed through to traditions, lifestyles, rituals, ceremonies, dances and materials act as an anchor to the contingencies in the Maasai's collective identity (Barth, 1969; Galaty, 1993). In tourism, the commodification of the Maasai culture selects attributes within the ethnic boundaries, while neglecting others, and constructs a homogenous image (Bruner, 2001; Cohen, 1988; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Taylor, 2001). The homogenous image of the Maasai cultural identity is constructed and reconstructed within the tourism industry and marketed as "authentic" (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990).

The commodification of culture is incommensurable, and therefore requires an alternative evaluation of authenticity besides the typical market-exchange value regime (Karpik, 2010). Many tourists rely on tour operators to organize and guarantee an "authentic experience with the Maasai people" (Karpik, 2010; Wanjohi, 2000; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The homogenous image is based on the Maasai's traditions that they choose to share with tourists, however has also been influenced by the demands of the tourists (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Huggan, 2002; Appadurai, 1986). The image that is marketed in the tourism industry reflects how the tourist's perceive the Maasai, while also creating and reinforcing expectations of authenticity. The constructed image of authenticity in tourism depicts the Maasai as an "untouched" indigenous pastoralist community that is on the peripheries of modern society (Bruner, 2001; Galaty, 1993; Hodgson, 2001). In the marketing of indigenous tourism, a dichotomy can be identified between the modern and the primitive lifestyle. The foreign tourists consume the concept of authenticity as though they are culturally exchanging with people who live a more 'natural' way of life compared to modern life (Bruner, 2001; Akama, 2000). Although many Maasai people live as pastoralists, not all people within the ethnicity share the same cultural practices and lifestyles (Homewood, 1984; Hodgson, 2001; Galaty, 1992). The homogenous image of the Maasai in tourism is inherently misrepresentative to the pluralistic collective identity of the Maasai, therefore does not fit within the concept of "authenticity" (Hall, 2007, 317). The tourism industry, stages the aura of "authenticity" of the Maasai, based on ethnic 'shifter's that undergoes a process of negotiated construction and reconstruction (Galaty, 1993; Greenwood, 1977).

The representation of the Maasai around the notion of "authenticity" should be problematized due to the power dynamics in casting the marginalized indigenous group as the "other" (Hall, 1990; Urry, 1990). Maasai are subjected to the tourist's gaze, which structures the commodification of culture through the tourist's narratives and demands (Urry, 1990). Although not all tourists are the same, the marketing regime of the tour operators reflects a trend in the desires of the tourists. The Maasai cultural tours accommodate the tourist's expectations, for they create an aura of an authenticity, without compromising the comforts of western standards (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Although the tourist is seeking something different than their own culture, they are consuming the homogenous concept of Maasai authenticity (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). The tourists perceive the authenticity of the Maasai culture through a hegemonic lens that desires the differences of their 'exotic' culture (Huggan, 2002; Urry, 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The tour operators often market the Maasai attributes out of context, which results in an objectification of the people based on their differences (Olpopongi Maasai; African Budget Safaris; Sidai Africa Safaris). Furthermore, the dichotomies between "us" and "them" and "primitive" and "modern" that arise in tourism's construction of authenticity reflect the power dynamics of representation (Cave, 2005, 264; Lester, 1998; Urry, 1990; Huggan, 2002). The reproduction of the Maasai image as exotic in tourist advertisements illustrates the influences of western hegemony in tourism.

The debate persists between the positive benefits or negative implications of tourism on the local Maasai communities (Goodwin, 2007; Hall, 2007; Hollinshead, 2007; Butler & Hinch, 2007). On one hand, there is the danger of changing the local understanding of authenticity and cultural identity due to tourism's commodification of culture (Greenwood, 1977, 131, 137; MacCannell, 1973; Boorstin, 1964, 103; Cohen, 1988, 372; Taylor, 2001, 12; Berger, Price & Smith, 1996). However, this does not necessarily result in the loss of meaning towards some ethnic attributes, for authenticity is emergent (Cohen, 1988, 381). Culture is not a stagnant thing that has a fixed origin or status, for ethnicity shifters are re-appropriated depending on the social circumstances (Galaty, 1993; Taylor, 2001; Hughes, 1995). The danger manifests in the tourist's consumption of an imagined authenticity that is based on a stagnant concept of culture and ethnic identity (Hollinshead, 2007).

The commodification of the culture must meet the demands of business as well as pay tribute to the Maasai's perception of their own ethnic identity (Butler & Hinch, 2007, 326). Members and non-members negotiate the ethnic boundaries that form

the commoditized image of the Maasai in tourism. Within these negotiated ethnic boundaries lay a semiotic framework that constructs the concept of authenticity in tourism (Barth, 1969; Chhabra *et al.* 2003; Amoamo, 2011). In the social-cultural setting of tourism, the ethnic categories have given a unique social organization to the Maasai. The Maasai have staged the expectations of authenticity by adopting the general identity and ethnic ascriptions, reproduced in tourism, and exhibiting the diacritical features of their culture to tourists.

If one accepts that there is such a thing as authenticity, then that leaves the Maasai vulnerable to being the 'Other' in the tourist's gaze (Urry, 1990). However, as this study has deconstructed the commodification process of the Maasai culture, it can be discerned that the Maasai cannot be categorized into one homogenous identity that is deemed "authentic". Therefore, the Maasai undermine the inscribed notions of the marginalized 'Other' by staging the tourist's concept of authenticity in order to profit economically.

Appendix

Descriptive Chart of Maasai Tour Website Advertisements:

	A: **Olpopongi**	B: **African Budget Safaris**	C: **Sidai Africa**
Language	- Website in English and German. - Tours offered in English, however at extra cost also in German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, and Chinese.	- Website in English. - Language of tour not specified.	-Website in English - Language of tour not specified.
Packages	Package A: "Day Tour" - Includes an experience with "typical daily routines", village and museum tour, traditional lunch, walking safari, insight into hunting techniques and natural medicine. Package B: "Overnight" - Cultural day tour (same as package A) with "an overnight stay and full board in a Maasai village", campfire and BBQ, evening entertainment with "Maasaizeremonien", toilets with laundry & showers (hot water) in a separate house.	- "Masai Mara and Private Game Reserve Safari" - 4 day trip includes Meals, mineral water, flights, 4x4 transfers and game drive in Ol Kinyei Conservancy - Overnight camping in two-man dome tents, each with bathroom cubicle featuring basin, flush toilet and shower.	- Day trip from Arusha to Monduli - Overnight (or two) stay in a hut (slightly modified to fit western standards) or camp outside. - Beading classes from Maasai women - Introduction to culture, stories, songs and dances, beliefs, and daily practices - Milk a goat with a *kalabash* - Talk with elders - Walk around the *boma* - Introduction to traditional medicinal plants and trees - "If timing is right, you may be lucky to witness a Maasai wedding or circumcision ceremony"
Key Discourses	- "*Authentic*" - "*Traditional*"	- "Unspoilt African bush"	- "Traditional" - "Special medicinal

Used	- "*Unique* and *impressive*" - "Indigenous" - "*Hygienic* toilets - "Maasai in their Natural habitat"	- "Wildlife adventure" - "World-class" - "Intimate and remote campsite" - "Exclusive", "private", "crowd free" - "Authentic camping safari" - "Famous Masai Mara" - "Luxury camps" or "simpler accommodation at exclusive camp" - Affordable	soup" - "Western standards" - In travel info, the website advices not to "indiscriminately hand out pens, money and sweets like a wealthy Western Santa Clause – it just encourages begging."
About the Organization	- "Traditionally built village" located near other Maasai settlements, "but does not interfere with the traditional life and habits of the rather *shy* Maasai in their natural habitat" - "Eco-Tourism Tours do provide the maximum respect to the Maasai tribe and a maximum education & excitement to our valuable clients". - "Supports local Maasai families with water, food, employment, personal income, medical treatments and education". - "All Maasai Jewelry on sale is hand-made by local Maasai women of other nearby villages"	- "Award-winning community conservation initiative" - "Promotes wildlife conservation through ecotourism that benefits local people." - Maasai owns the Ol Kinyei Park and they receive payment per visitor. - Local Maasai people are trained and hired as guides, trackers and camp staff.	- Founder of tours is a Maasai Warrior from the Ngorongoro Highlands in partnership with Americans. - Guides have minimum eight years experience, trained, and have local knowledge. - Aware of "negative impacts of tourism development" on environment. - Think tourism "has the potential to create beneficial effects on environment" through awareness and financial protection and conservation.
Featured Pictures	**Figure 1.**	**Figure 4.**	**Figure 6.**

Figure 2.

Figure 5.

Figure 7.

Figure 3.

Advertisements Retrieved from the Following Websites:

Tour Operator A: http://www.olpopongi-maasai.com/de/buchung-und-partner.php

Tour Operator B: http://www.africanbudgetsafaris.com/exclusive-budget-safaris/private-masai-mara-game-reserve-fly-in-camping-safari/

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