What after displacement?
“Africa: the continent without people”

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Introduction

“Displacement, carried out to enhance levels of nature protection, has often been accompanied by impoverishment and dispossession of the displaced. In fact, few would argue with the contention that the sequestering of land for preservation has more often than not, occurred at the expense of local inhabitants, especially those who were displaced.” (Brockington, 2002, cited in Rangarajan & Shahabuddin, 2006) In this thesis I want to bring some nuance to this statement. To be sure, displacement can cause drastic changes, but it can also offer many new opportunities and sometimes introduce a brighter future for certain population groups.

I will focus on the situation of the Maasai living in northern Tanzania, in the Kilimanjaro-Arusha region. The overall aim of this thesis is to gain a better insight into the impact displacement has on internally displaced persons, like the Maasai who were evicted from their ancestral lands due to the rising attention for conservation and tourism. The core of my research is to assess the changes climate change, urbanisation, education, religion, tourism and globalisation have on their culture.

I am aware that a lot of literature on this discourse of internally displaced people exists and will be written in the future. But as a result of my interviews with both young and old Maasai, living in traditional villages as Orbili or modernized villages as Majimoto or even in cities and touristic centres as Nungwi which I incorporated in my work, I am convinced my paper will add value to the debate because of this insider’s view.

To gain a better insight on the impact of the exclusion of Maasai from their ancestral lands on their culture, I will frame this exclusion historically with attention for the natural disasters in precolonial times, the consequences of colonialism and the current growing influence of capitalism in Tanzania. I will continue with a critical assessment of the effects of the Maasai’s exclusion from the National Parks and frame the obstacles they have to overcome. Since they have been excluded, they struggle to sustain their livelihoods and are torn between their attempts to find new jobs in the cities and maintain their traditional culture. I oppose these obstacles with three successful resettlement stories, two in Tanzania, and one in Egypt. Hereby I point out certain elements of these policies that might be essential in the search for a sustainable solution for the Maasai today. These case studies will illustrate how the impoverishment can be overcome through community-based tourism and can initiate a revival of their cultural traditions at the same time. In the second part of my thesis I dig deeper into the discourse of the changing Maasai culture because of the factors I introduced before, such as Christianity, globalisation, and urbanization. These factors are changing the (stereotypical) Maasai characteristics thoroughly. I will pay attention to the adaptations and sometimes loss of certain customs, but will
especially take into account the new opportunities some Maasai youth get, for example through better education.
Part 1 Theoretical framework
Chapter 1    Terminology

1.1    Displacement or migration?

Both the terms migration and displacement do not circumscribe strict categories; instead, they form a grey zone, of two fuzzy categories, a continuum in which most movement of people occurs. According to Morel, migration can be defined as a voluntary movement. (Morel, 2011) So the migrants move out of the area out of their own free will. Still, this choice can be influenced by many factors. So when people are forced to leave their homeland and flee to other countries to seek refuge after violence by military groups, we speak of migration. From that moment on they are protected by international laws.

An important note here is that these people do not really have a choice, but this is still called migration, as if this is really their own choice. Secondly, the term migration is used to refer to the act of moving itself. (Morel, 2011) Displacement is mostly used to refer to forced movement out of a certain area. (Morel, 2011). This coerced movement can be caused by several actors such as governments, NGOs, military groups, rivalry groups, international enterprises, nature disasters etc. Another meaning of the word displacement is internal movement (Worldbank, 2015). This interpretation puts more stress on the consequences of forced movement, creating internally displaced persons (IDPs). In this thesis I will concentrate on the example of the Maasai populations that were evicted from the protected areas in Tanzania by the colonizers, mainly in the 20th century, and now have to deal with its consequences.

An important remark here is that the terms migration and displacement are rather fuzzy categories, a grey zone in which the movements of people occur. One example of a kind of movement situated in this grey zone, is the focus of my thesis. Contemporary Maasai are forced to leave their home environments if they wish to subsist in their livelihood. The Maasai in Northern Tanzania were excluded from their traditional grasslands in the 20th century because of several reasons. The creation of conservation areas as Serengeti National Park and Ngorongoro Conservation Area is the main factor as I will explain in the following chapters. This decision pushed them into poverty and made them more vulnerable for climate change effects like desertification and natural disasters like extreme droughts or floods. (Morel, 2011) These threats drive contemporary Maasai youth towards the cities to look for jobs in the tourism sector, security companies et cetera, as Munishi (2013) and the Global IDP Program (2004) point out. I will discuss this urbanization tendency extensively in the last chapter of this thesis.

Displacement has a great number of causes, but I will give a short introduction on the most important motives that stimulated the government to exclude almost all Maasai pastoralists from the protected areas in Tanzania at the end of the 19th century and during the 20th century. This choice was strongly
influenced by the interests of political, economic and environmental actors. The exclusion of people from the fertile grazing lands began during colonialism when colonizers decided to use the natural resources ‘better’ by distributing them to private companies and European settlers for “more productive agricultural projects”. (Peluso, 1993, Sandbrook, 1997). They did not only want to heighten the agricultural profits, but also wanted to preserve the national treasures, so the natural resources ‘better’ via strict conservation policies. (Tumusiime & Sjaastad, 2014) Exactly this conservation of culture triggered tourism, which rapidly expanded and generated huge gains. (Brockington & Igoe, 2008) As this market grew, more and more problems arose. We know from the literature that tourists have an ideal image of what a place should look like (for the anthropology of tourism, see, amongst others, MacCannell 1976, Graburn 1976). So because of this ‘virtualism’ (Brockington & Igoe, 2008) the landscape had to be changed according to the tourist’s vision of their destination, the landscape had to be re-imagined. A clear example of this policy is the Mkomazi National Park as Brockington et al. pointed out: “Conservation’s major role in landscape change is in re-imagining the landscape in Tanzania, and then using these strong imaginations to reconfigure the landscape according to its vision. Mkomazi’s supporters rejoice that the National Park’s landscape (from which between 5 and 10,000 people were removed by the government in the late 1980s) is a ‘wilderness restored’, a ‘recovered pearl’, or a chance to experience a landscape which ‘looks exactly the way East Africa is supposed to’.” (Brockington, Sachedina & Scholfield (2008) Both the tourists and conservation policy makers in that period were willing to forget the fact the Maasai were struck by many diseases at the end of the 19th century as rinderpest and smallpox (Waller, 1976), which declined the amount of cattle and depopulated the region and thus made it look ‘empty’. I will discuss this further when I dig deeper into the Maasai history. Contemporary conservation is still characterized by its policies of exclusion of people as we can observe in many protected areas as the Tiger Reserves in India, Tsavo National Park in South Africa, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Uganda and Serengeti National Park in Tanzania etc. (Rangarajan & Shahabuddin, 2006, Neumann, 2002 and Laudati, 2010) I will explicate these conservation policies and how they took shape since colonialism in the third and fifth chapter.

1.2 Maasai

The Maasai (English word for Ilmaasai) is an ethnic group living in Kenya and Tanzania who speak Kimaasai. Their population is estimated on 350.000 Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania and 400.000 in Kenya. (Ojalammi, 2006, cited in Munishi, 2013) There used to be two groups of Maasai. (Berntsen, 1980) The first group were the nomadic pastoralists that lived in the Maasai Plains before the colonial times. They were seen as the ‘true Maasai’. Nowadays they are semi-nomads and agro-pastoralists because of the challenges that threaten their lifestyle like the land privatization by the government, enterprises etc. and the scarce resources. The second group were the sedentary farmers (used to be called Baraguyo or Iloikop). Their lifestyle originated in the forementioned challenges. What I’ve seen during my fieldwork in northern Tanzania is that nowadays a lot of villages like Maji Moto Maasaini, that were seen as ‘pure Maasai’, can be found on the broad spectrum between the two categories.
According to the National Museum of Tanzania, the present-day Maasai are divided into a lot of different groups based on the location they live: Il-kisongo, Il-purko, Il-larusa, Il-loodikilani etc. (cited in Munishi, 2013).

The Maasai originally left the Nile river basin (Sudan region) several hundreds of years ago, travelled southwards along the Rift Valley and arrived in this manner in Kenya and Tanzania. (Börjeson, Hodgson & Yanda, 2008) Today they are well known for their Ilmuran (warriors) and pastoralism. The pastoralism and cattle herding used to be their primary source of food and income (Arhem, 1989, Willis, 1999), but nowadays some alterations can be observed: as extra income strategy a lot of the young Maasai go to the cities to find jobs, while other focus on agriculture.

The Maasai stereotype of pastoralism and language as identity does not pay homage to the complexity of contemporary Maasai lifeworlds. I learned about their unique religion and its sophisticated cultural rituals and dances, sensed a complex social organization and a variety of status symbols. The religion is formed around the belief in the Maasai God, Engainarok, and with certain rituals and daily habits the Maasai honour him like by sprinkling the first milk of their cows on their own house as a symbol of gratitude at dawn every morning. Another important feature of the Maasai society until now, is the division in different age-sets, each with their own initiation rituals, responsibilities, behaviour, labour roles, dress codes and political and ritual leaders that form the strict social structure and political system. The transition to a new age-set happens roughly every 15 years. This is commemorated in an amalgam of celebrations and ceremonies in which the circumcision and traditional dance performances of the Ilmuran play a central role. (Mollel, 2011) As stated in a quote in one of Mollel’s interviews, the circumcision is an essential part of the Maasai indigenous identity. “To be a Maasai means to develop a worldview with the concept of ‘Maasai’ that at its centre point Maasai man is accepted to be a grown up person only if he went through the initiation rite of circumcision.” (Sululu 1998, cited in Mollel, 2011) through these rituals and celebrations boys become Ilmuran (warriors) and the group that were Ilmuran become elders (Babas and later Babus).

Another important feature of this social structure is the fact every age-set has its own duties. (Mollel, 2011) Let’s start by illustrating what is seen as the ‘traditional’ duties of every age-set and later on I will discuss how those duties are changing now. The uncircumcised boys (Ilaiyok) (0-14 years old) take care of livestock and sometimes small herds of cattle when they are on the grazing lands close to the homesteads and are taught how to defend themselves against raids of neighbouring ethnic groups by the Ilmuran. The circumcised boys (Ilmuran) are divided in two groups: junior warriors (15 -25 years old) and senior warriors (older than 25). They have the task to protect the society (people and cattle) from invaders (neighbouring ethnic groups and wildlife) and organize cattle raids on neighbours. During the dry season they also take the cattle to graze on lands further away from the homesteads. The elders stay at the village and rule the society together. They are the spiritual and political leaders of the village, they form the judicature. If they deem it necessary, they can send the Ilmuran to punish disobedient people. Another crucial part of their role is sharing their knowledge with the Ilmuran, The women are not divided in age-sets. Their circumcision is symbolic for the transition of becoming a wife, this happens mostly between the age of 14 and 18. From that moment on they are seen as ready to marry a man and bear children. They are charged with the duties of building and maintaining the houses, taking care of the family, milking the cows and trading goods with Swahili traders who pass
through the village in caravans. They trade milk, hides and ornaments for other agricultural products and iron or luxury goods like glass beads or tobacco. Before their circumcision the girls help their mothers in the household and help to make the ornaments for family and friends and tourists nowadays.

Another important aspect of the traditional Maasai identity that was mentioned in my interviews, is the fact they were polygamists (and some still are), and thus were allowed to marry more than one woman, which was a symbol of prestige. Also the amount of cattle and children was an indication of wealth. Their customs, pastoral ideal, history and taboos were and still are passed onto the next generation through oral tradition. Nowadays these traditions are heavily changing by the rapid expansion of education, Christianity, urbanization and globalisation of the Tanzanian society as I will discuss broadly in the second part of this thesis.

1.3 Globalisation

Globalisation is an expansion of trade relations, of producers and consumers in a growing market and has both positive and negative consequences (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999). Advantages of globalisation are the increasing global connectivity through affordable communication tools, fading country borders, increasing amount of multicultural societies, ideas and goods that become available for more and more people because of the multinationals etc. PROMED is a beautiful example of a positive consequence of globalisation. PROMED links more than 10.000 doctors in 120 countries to work together in monitoring the world’s health circumstances. They help making the policy and coordinating the international help around the Ebola outbreak. (www.promedmail.org)

But mass production and consumption also increase the social inequality. (Brandon, 1996, Bruner, 2001, Greenwood, 1978, Hodgson, 2011, Pieterse, 2003, Van Beek, 2003) This, in turn, broadens the chasm between the rich and the poor in this world. This is possible since the economic globalisation is not evolving together with the political globalisation (regulation of globalisation). A lack of regulation implements a lot of freedom for the multinational companies, thus enabling them to exploit people. The rapid spread of globalisation in Tanzania is linked to several aspects that also have an enormous impact on the local culture like tourism, international development pressure, government policies such as the obligation for every child to go to school, the increased mobility and cross-cultural communication through social media, the spread of free trade and the technological advancement and mass media. (Brandon, 1996, Bruner, 2001, Greenwood, 1978, Hodgson, 2011, Pieterse, 2003, Van Beek, 2003)

Unfortunately, the increasing globalisation and spread of capitalism also have negative effects on the culture and local identities in many countries. As mrs. Merle states in Charles Lindholm’s book ‘Culture and Authenticity’: modern capitalism transforms “the external universe of things into an infinite array of goods and services, all available for purchase by anyone with money, all advertised as authentic and desirable, all therefore suspect as fake and detestable.” So because of mass tourism, triggered by
capitalism and globalisation, cultural heritage (not only monuments and nature, but also local parties, customs, food traditions, art and even daily habits of the local population) is turned into commodities. This transformation often collides with the interests of the local population, because a lot of the intrinsic value is lost during this process. To be able to satisfy the tourists who have very stereotypical views on Africa because of the ‘virtualism’, performances are turned into a “show for outsiders” (Greenwood, 1978), resulting in a loss of authenticity. “Authenticity can refer to art, food, dance, commodities, tourism, or almost any form of cultural production.” (Lindholm 2007). “Authentic objects, persons and collectives are original, real and pure; they are what they purport to be, their roots are known and verified, their essence and appearance are one”. (Lindholm, 2007) While reading MacCannell (1976) it becomes clear that the term ‘authenticity’ is embedded in the Western view on culture in which the ‘primitive Other’ is opposed to modernity. Exactly this opposition is used by tourist operators to attract tourists towards African countries. “Tourism promises to take the traveller ‘back in time’ to places ‘untouched by the outside world’ caters to the modern desire for self-realization. Adventurous, spiritually motivated tourists also want to get off the beaten track and venture deep into dangerous territory where they can test their physical and psychological limits and gain a heightened sense of who they really are.” (Lindholm, 2007) According to MacCannell (1976) this tendency is a response to the current trend of identity fragmentation and feelings of inauthenticity in the modern Western culture. So during their holidays these tourists try to reconnect with their inner self, their authentic self. They think that living among strangers, who in their eyes are living a primitive and authentic, life, makes it possible for them to rediscover “who they really are”. (Parish, 2009) We can conclude that cultural commodification is validly regarded negatively, as “the objectification by ‘the West’ of a cultural other. However, this story might empower the local population in the future as well. While Western analysts have regarded the commodification of otherness as a kind of institutionalized racism that celebrates primitiveness, it also needs to be recognized as part of a process of empowerment.” (Cole, 2007)

This view is reflected in the contemporary debates on community-based tourism in which the local populations claim their rightful place in the tourism management. The representatives point out that until now they are underrepresented in the governance of their cultural heritage and thus demand more involvement and reclaim the cultural heritage as their own property. Since it seems that the globalisation and commoditization of culture are irreversible (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1999), they prefer to trade their culture and distribute its revenues themselves rather than having to share it with multinationals or local governments. They want to become ethnopreneurs1. (Comaroff en Comaroff, 2009)

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1 Definition ethnopreneurs (Comaroff en Comaroff, 2009) The commoditization of the traditional culture redefines the identity of the local population through its loss or abstraction. In the beginning of the 20th century we see a turn in this tendency: “With the turn of the twenty-first century, however, we seem to have entered a phase in which otherness is not transacted only as trophy, talisman or souvenir. Identity is increasingly claimed as property by its living heirs, who brand it and sell it, even to anthropologists, in self-consciously consumable forms.” (Comaroff en Comaroff, 2009)
The local population is the biggest victim of the tourism, because they are the ones who have to live with the damage tourism causes in their area and have to witness that despite the many developments in their country, their situation remains mostly the same. That is why they want to participate more in the decision making about their culture and struggle with questions as: how can we become ethnopreneurs? How can we decrease the power of multinationals despite the globalisation? (cf. Comaroff en Comaroff, 1999 and 2009, van Beek, 2003, Picard, 2014)
Chapter 2    Research aims, methodology and study areas

2.1 Research aims

The overall aim of this thesis is to gain a better insight into the impact displacement has on internally displaced persons, like the Maasai population in the Arusha-Kilimanjaro region after their eviction from the protected areas. My focus will be on the impact of climate change, urbanisation, education, religion and globalisation on their traditional identity.

Firstly, I will begin with sketching a historical frame of the displacement of the Maasai in Tanzania. Thereby I focus on the drastic changes every new historical event produces. I will concentrate on the arrival of Maasai in Kenya-Tanzania, the consequences of natural disasters at the end of the 19th century, the colonial policies and exploitation of the region, and the current wave of conservation and capitalism in Tanzania. For each event I will highlight its interactions with and consequences for the Maasai community. Secondly, I will point out the challenges that internally displaced people have to overcome. I will critically assess the effects of the Maasai’s exclusion from the National Parks. Thirdly I will zoom in on three successful resettlement stories, two in Tanzania, of the villages Ololosokwan and Sinya, and one in Egypt, the case of the displacement of many people because of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. I will illustrate how certain elements of these policies could help the Tanzanian government to solve the problems of impoverishment and changing cultural traditions that the Maasai are confronted with today. In the second part of my thesis I get into the discourse of changing Maasai culture because of factors I introduced above, such as Christianity, globalisation, and urbanization. These factors are changing the (stereotypical) Maasai characteristics thoroughly. I will conclude with some recommendations to alleviate these problems based on a comparison between the current situation of the Maasai in northern Tanzania and the successful resettlements I will discuss in chapter 5.

2.2 Methodology and study areas

The theoretical framework will be based completely on a comparison of the literature about Maasai history, customs and identity, displacement in various regions, challenges for IDPs, the export of
education, globalisation and religion from the European continent towards Africa, the current global tendency of urbanization and triggers for fading (stereotypical) cultures.

In the second part, I analyse the challenges the Maasai deal with by comparing recent academic work with my own interviews, taken during fieldwork in Tanzania in the Arusha-Kilimanjaro region (figure 1) and in Nungwi (figure 2) on Zanzibar between August and October 2018. I went to these locations because I worked alongside the local NGO C-re-aid which implements social housing projects in impoverished villages in the neighbourhood of Moshi, a relatively large city between Arusha and Mount Kilimanjaro. Because of C-re-aid’s direct connections to the Maasai I arrived in Majimoto Maasaini, the core village for my research. In order to be able to compare this rather ‘Westernized/modern’ village with more traditional villages, I travelled around in the region with my translator. My interviews during these weeks were focused on the difficulties the families felt to sustain in their livelihoods and the impact of Christianity and urbanization on Maasai traditions regarding clothing style, language, pastoralism, rituals, religion... I also attended a few celebrations which enabled me to witness the contemporary changes in rituals. In the last weeks of my stay, I travelled to Zanzibar after hearing many stories of Ilmuran that were planning to leave or knew people who had left the village to work in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar I lived for a while in Nungwi and some days in the capital city, Stone Town. Here I questioned many Maasai on the reasons why they had left their villages, what the opportunities and dangers are while living in these cities and how they see their own future and that of their family.

Due to the fact that I did not arrange a research permit prior to departure (a lesson learned for future research), I was practically unable to talk to civil servants and other government officials. I was able to interview one school teacher and one priest, but many officials refused to talk to me without a valid research permit.

Figure 1: Unknown author. Crossing Tanzania: Arusha to Dar Es Salaam. http://mapofafricanew.blogspot.com/2017/06/africa-zanzibar-map.html

Figure 2: Unknown author. Nungwi. http://www.yogazanzibar.com/portfolio/location-yoga-zanzibar-nungwi/
Chapter 3  
Background on the Maasai 
displacement/migration in the Arusha-Kilimanjaro district

To understand the rapidly changing world of the Maasai, we will now dig deeper in the historical background of the Maasai.

Their early history, i.e. their culture before 1890 was defined by a period of specialized pastoralism, fluid cultural identities (big overlap of rituals, language, clothing styles etc. between several Maa-speaking groups) and a time of prosperity. (Berntsen, 1980, Börjeson et al., 2008) As mentioned before, Maa-speaking pastoralists moved southwards along Rift Valley from the 15th century onwards and arrived in Kenya and Tanzania several hundred years ago. Once settled in the region, in the beginning of the 19th century, a period of consolidation began, so they went in interaction with their neighbours in the area. These interactions ranged from peaceful to violent encounters through intermarriage, trade or raids of cattle.

Their mobility and social structure enabled them to exploit the seasonal variations in the climate, caused a serious growth in their herds of cattle and announced a period of expansion and prosperity during the 19th century. The Maasai identity was a flexible identity based on a pastoral economy, but they also cultivated sorghum and millet to counter periods of drought or crisis. (Börjeson et al., 2008, Spear & Nurse, 1992) At the end of the 19th century the Maasai were struck by several epidemics (bovine pleuropneumonia, 1883, rinderpest, 1891, smallpox, 1892) in which a lot of people and cattle died, which weakened their power. This was followed by wars and famine and of course, more deaths (Waller, 1976). So the end of the 19th century brought the end of the Maasai prosperity through disasters and would clear the way for the colonists.

The colonial period, characterized by privatization of land, conservation policies and eviction of local populations from protected areas, was a first challenge for the Maasai identity that was still fluid then and would cause the division of the Maasai population into two groups. (Börjeson et al., 2008, Waller, 1976). Moore (2005) explains the result of the division of land-use in Zimbabwe like this: “The principles of land-use planning dictated the spatial and functional separation of three discrete zones for residence, farming and grazing. From most planners’ perspectives, following these blueprints ensured the goals of ‘conservation’ and ‘development’, the improvement of sustainable agricultural productivity.”. In my opinion this is similar to the case of Tanzania, where a division within the Maasai population was created. In the Maasai population there were some die-hard pastoralists that kept embracing the pastoral ideals and nomadic lifestyle and tried to slowly rebuild their cattle, but their
growth would be hampered by the presence of the German colonists. Other Maasai shifted to other income and survival strategies like becoming temporary hunter-gatherers or even sedentary farmers. Some of these farmers would eventually make a permanent transition in the end, when they saw it gave them a more stable income in this difficult period, which was also the case in Zimbabwe. The German colonial officers met the Maasai when they had just suffered great losses because of the disasters. And then, using the currently popular imperialist attitude in Europe, the colonials tried and managed to control and remove the Maasai from their lands to give it to German settlers (area of Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo) (Börjeson et al., 2008).

However, shortly afterwards, World War I disturbed the imperial ideals of the German colonists and would announce the arrival of new colonists. During the period from 1916 to 1961 the Maasai were controlled by the British colonial rule, that was marked by a policy of essentialization and wildlife conservation (Börjeson et al., 2008, Hodgson, 2001). The British dominance in Tanganyika after the First World War meant a major shift in the Maasai history. The British created the Maasai Reserve and excluded them from previous Maasai lands, which were often the most fertile lands and gave them to more ‘productive’ Tanzanian ‘tribes’ and European settlers. (Peluso, 1993, Börjeson et al., 2008) By creating a Maasai District they wanted to strengthen the ‘Maasai tribe and identity’ and control the pastoralists (Hodgson, 2000). In reality they categorized the different ethnic groups and essentialized their ‘authentic identities’, denied the fluid Maasai pastoral identity and even invented new traditions for certain ethnic groups living in Tanzania (Hobsbawm, 1983). According to Handler (1986) these new traditions are now seen as authentic parts of the Maasai culture, while they are a cultural construct of the modern Western world that are seen by anthropologists and nationalists as “proof of national being”. (Linnekin, 1991) This is a result of the Western notion of nationalism in which the “the nation is understood as a bounded entity whose indistinctiveness depend on national culture, tradition and heritage”. (Handler and Linnekin, 1984) The British government also tried to expel the Maasai from areas we now known as the Ngorongoro Crater, Serengeti National Park and Maasai Mara National park by resettling them, in function of ‘wildlife conservation’. This land alienation caused a lot of problems for the Maasai. It heightened the conflicts between the Maa-speaking groups in the area since they now had to live in a smaller area with less resources (Arhem, 1989). To solve this issue, the government started several development projects, which all failed because of the top-down implementation (Hodgson, 2000). How did the colonizers justify their interventions in Africa to the Western audiences in Europe? “By placing African subjects in an earlier evolutionary moment, administrators could subject them to collective rather than individual regimes of rights. Communal tenure offered an effective instrument used to dispossess Africans of individual rights that government could then claim to grant in Native Reserves.” (Moore, 2005) Achilles Mbembe wrote a similar quote in 2001: “The characteristic of the colonial mode of exercising power was the conflation of the tasks of governing, commanding and civilizing. ... So the colonizers’ violence was justified through the civilizing mission. ... Those who enjoyed the highest rung of civilization invoked both the moral duty and political right to rule subject races.” However, after a critical review of several resources, we can conclude that giving the land to more ‘productive forces’ as the European settlers didn’t work out as the colonizers planned. So I agree with Moore’s statement that “The laws of racialized land segregation, not those of nature, produced overcrowding and environmental degradation in the reserves, while white farms remained vastly underutilized. Concentrated settlements also degraded
resources. Projects of government literally eroded the conditions of possibility for agricultural improvement.” (Moore, 2005)

As reaction on the previous disasters and colonial policy of locking up the Maasai in a reserve, which ended their trading relations with the Swahili caravans, the Maasai tried to diversify their livelihoods and income, but this was contested by the government who wanted them to remain ‘pure pastoralists’ in function of the upcoming tourism and their ‘virtualism’ as explained before (Goldman, 2011, Ahmed et al. 2015, Brockington & Igoe, 2008).

The internally displaced Maasai hoped their critical position would change after the independence of Tanzania, but in reality nothing changed. The governments continued to undermine their pastoral identity (Hodgson, 2001). They kept oppressing the Maasai by privatizing and taking away land in function of ‘conservation’ or in function of diversification, which meant giving it away to capitalist companies, mining companies, owners of game reserves to further expand tourism in the area etc. This only heightened the conflicts over the scarce resources in the area. In the 70s the Maasai pastoralist identity was further undermined by Nyerere’s Ujamaa policy, created to establish a national identity through the villagization program and the nationalisation of schools and industries (Hodgson, 2001). Under the socialist development Ujamaa policy of Nyerere (elected president in 1962) we can observe many prominent innovations as the nationalisation of many economic and social branches of the Tanzanian population. According to Nyerere’s policy the Tanzanian people form the basis of development, not money. The goals of the Ujamaa policy were exactly the same as the colonial policies: increased agricultural production and animal husbandry. I will discuss this in detail in the chapter on education, on which Nyerere’s policy had an enormous impact. Other factors that undermined the Maasai pastoralist identity since the 1970s are the growing stress on conservation, the expansion of tourism and the neoliberal market economy and the continued influx of other settlers in the area. I will expand these in the following chapters.

Another important migration tendency that was observed in that period was the huge expansion of the rural-urban migration of youth for wage labour. (Munishi, 2013) The origins of this migration lies in the colonial period, where some Maasai chose to migrate to the cities as they could no longer pay their taxes to the colonial officers since their lands became protected areas or were privatized. Soon after independence the government focused more on development of the social services and industrialisation of the country, in the frame of socialism and Nyerere’s villagization program. This development was of course most visible in the urban areas, which triggered the rural-urban migration again. (Potts, 2008, Lugalla, 1990, Lugalla, 1995, all cited in Munishi, 2013) This migration was put on hold in the 1970s when Tanzania became one of the many victims of the oil crises, which cleared the way for capitalism and its free market economy in the 1980s. The colonial period was gone, but the Western countries found a new way of controlling of former colonies by inducing the IMF’s SAPs (International Monetary Fund’s Structural Adjustment Plans). These plans declined the agriculture and tried to further industrialize the countries in exchange for huge loans, which of course stimulated the rural-urban migration in Tanzania again. (Karlsson 2008, cited in Munishi, 2013)

So we can conclude the contemporary rural-urban migration has a long history and is influenced by many factors as you could read above. The most important reasons for this migration today, that were pointed out during my interviews and I have read about in Munishi’s text (2013) are: firstly, the poverty
intensification because the cattle market that is crumbling down due to climate changes and political policies that focus on conservation, development, tourism and privatization. Secondly, the lack of social services and infrastructure in rural areas: the poor quality of education, the bad road infrastructure, the lack of hospitals and other health care, the lack of jobs and so on. A third reason I often heard is the aspirations of the migrants, especially by the youth that goes to the cities. They have more Western ideals; they want more job opportunities for themselves and their children, they want their children to have better education, the amount of cattle and children is not crucial anymore in their idea of wealth, but they put more value in material things as we can observe in the Western countries too. A fourth factor that lures people towards the cities is their social networks. The more friends of them that live in the cities and have a successful life there, the more people are attracted to migrate too. A last reason I read about, but nobody mentioned in my interviews is a cultural reason. In some cultures this migration would be seen as a kind of ‘rite of passage’, a way to reach a new age-set/cultural level, instead of a transition ritual. I will explain these examples thoroughly in the chapter on the impact of urbanization.

An important remark I want to make in this whole story is the fact this rural-urban migration is not a happy, successful story for every migrant at all. The reality today is that this migration, just like the displacement of the Maasai out of the protected areas is a story full of challenges and obstacles as I will explain in the next chapters.
Chapter 4 Challenges for the Maasai after displacement

After their forced displacement away from the protected areas in Tanzania, first during colonialism, later during the socialism of the 1960s and nowadays because of the privatization tendency triggered by capitalism and its free market frenzy and the world-wide conservation policy, the Maasai population’s lives got much harder. Being evicted from the fertile lands that were crucial in their circular (seasonal) migration as explained above, changed almost every aspect of their daily life. From then they have become more vulnerable for the effects of climate changes like droughts and floods and for the dangers of ethnic tensions. Since they no longer had access to crucial resources for their seasonal migration and the already scarce fertile land, the natural resources in the neighbourhood became the drive of many ethnic (sometimes violent) tensions as Michèle Morel witnessed in the Kenyan Maasai community: “There are approximately 40 ethnic groups in Kenya, giving the country a great ethnic diversity. Among the largest ethnic groups are the Kikuyu, Luhya and Luo.” (Morel, 2011)

As mentioned before, natural disasters and diseases like rinderpest declined their amount of cattle drastically and impoverished the Maasai communities. These changes made them look for other income strategies to sustain their livelihoods. Instead of being purely herders, they began to invest in agriculture, which made them more sedentary and thus changed their livelihoods forever. As a result of their declining population, their weak, local resistance is not respected by the international community, but is crushed by government, the public sympathy of the international community for the wildlife, the conservationist lobbies and the wealthy and powerful foreign and regional elites. (Brockington, Sachedina & Scholfield, 2008).

In an attempt to diversify their income, after the exclusion from their ancestral lands, many young people migrate towards the cities nowadays. There they hope to find better paid jobs, so they will be able to give their families and their own children in the future, more chances on a wealthier, better life. Once they arrive in the urban areas, they are confronted with many challenges in this hostile environment. Further in this thesis I’ll discuss how they have to try to find a job without being exploited, since employers abuse their lack of knowledge on Kiswahili and their political and economic rights. But finding a decent job isn’t the only challenge they are confronted with, they have to find a safe and not overprized shelter too. If they have no relatives or friends in the city where they arrive, they are an easy prey for exploiting landlords.

In this way, the exclusion from the protected areas did not only change their financial situation and lifestyle, it has also turned their cultural and social life upside down like I could observe during my fieldwork. The sedentarism changed for example their architecture. As the women and children now started to live in permanent settlements, while the men worked on nearby cultivated fields or travelled
around with their cattle (Hodgson, 2001), houses were built in new styles, with more sustainable materials. Nowadays, families try to raise money to buy iron-sheets for the roofs instead of grass and use bricks instead of a mixture of branches and mud to build the walls. I will discuss the changing architecture in the chapter on the impact of globalisation and urbanization, since NGOs and cities have an essential role in this tendency. (Munishi, 2013)

The exclusion from their ancestral lands didn’t only change their architecture, but they also had to deal with the commoditization of their culture as explained before. They are confronted with the stereotypical views of the tourists on their culture, which stimulate tourist companies and the local governments to change the environment and local identities to fit this image. Maasai want to diversify their income, but the government and tourist companies want them to remain ‘pure pastoralists’, because they can make enormous amounts of money out of tourism. They want the Maasai to accompany tourists in the national parks or perform ‘authentic rituals’ in ‘authentic villages’ to satisfy the tourists. But at the same time, they make it impossible for the Maasai to live as in the precolonial times, exactly because of the land privatization of the government, tourist companies, conservation agencies and enterprises.

So in the chapters in the second part of this thesis, I will focus each time on a different challenge the Maasai encounter since they were excluded from the protected areas. In every chapter I will discuss the existing literature on the subject and will compare their conclusions with my own findings from my interviews I conducted last summer. In the first chapter I pay attention to how this sedentarism affects the educational opportunities. Since the children now live in one place, do the children have a better chance at getting an education now, as one would expect?. In this part I will also examine how and why the vision of the contemporary Maasai on the potential of education is totally different from that the Maasai 100 years ago (Hodgson, 2001, Heron, 1983, cited in Dyer, 2001, Archambault, 2016). In the second chapter, focusing on Christianity, I will guide you through the history of the expansion of Christianity in Tanzania first, to continue with the ban of FGM as an example of their strong power over the Maasai population today (Spear and Waller, 1993, Waller, 1976). I will finish this chapter with a recent phenomenon I observed during my interviews: the creation of a hybrid religion that combines certain aspects of the Christian belief with aspects of the Maasai customs. Examples of this are the celebrations, male circumcision, incorporation of Maasai clothes and dances in the church service among other things. In the third chapter I will dig deeper into the strong rural-urban migration within the displaced Maasai population we can observe since the independence in Tanzania. As Munishi (2013) shows in his thesis, this urbanisation is seen as a new income strategy as the Maasai are struck by poverty because of the cattle decline, due to climate change, privatization of lands and their eviction from the protected areas. This migration towards the cities both strengthens and weakens the households. Living in the cities changes the Maasai culture not only on the level of the households. As I intend to show in the first and second chapter, the whole cultural system is changing, not only because of the rural-urban migration and frequent contact with the westernized, globalized Swahili culture, but also as a result of the influence of education and Christianity. According to many of the older people I interviewed, traditions are less and less respected by the youth because of the controversy they initiate nowadays, the fact that they are experienced as old-fashioned and that the youth has new westernized ideals. So in this research I will point out both the challenges and obstacles
the Maasai have to confront since their exclusion, but I will also make some suggestions as a solution for these problems.
Chapter 5 Opportunities for the Maasai based on positive examples of resettlement

Ololosokwan and Sinya in Tanzania

In this chapter I will continue the story of resettlement policies with some positive examples of conservation without the necessary eviction as we could see in the Maasai villages I conducted my interviews in. I read about the community-based initiatives for tourism and conservation in the Maasai villages Ololosokwan and Sinya in northern Tanzania, and the successful resettlement of the population groups that were affected by the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt.

“The first case study I looked into is the Purko Maasai village Ololosokwan, which lies in the Ngorongoro district. There the local community thinks that wildlife and non-consumptive tourism in particular can make a significant contribution to their economy and social change”, according to Masara. (2000, cited in Nelson, 2004) This is the result of efficient village by-laws and land-use plans that mark out the community-based ecotourism while it helps the local people to manage their natural resources and brings them more prosperity. The biggest obstacle however, even within this successful story, remains the conflicting external interests provoked by the increasing potential for tourism and exploitation of resources in this region. (Nelson, 2004) We see the same tendency in Sinya, another Maasai pastoralist village in Tanzania, but now in the Amboseli ecosystem. In both regions the local community also look quite favourable on conservation in contrast to many Maasai I spoke during my fieldwork. The revenue generated by the tourism stimulates the local people to participate in the wildlife conservation. (Nelson, 2004) But in Sinya we see the same tourist-hunting problem appear as in Ololosokwan. Besides, they have other problems to cope with like the appointment of a chief, which has been profoundly influenced by external efforts to control the area’s valuable natural resources. I will discuss their totally different view on conservation extensively in the following paragraphs. Both case studies are based exclusively on the research on the evolution and impacts of community-based ecotourism in northern Tanzania of Fred Nelson, published in 2004.

Ecotourism as the solution for conservation?

How is it possible that the Purko Maasai in Ololosokwan are so much wealthier than the pastoralists elsewhere in northern Tanzania? “For example their neighbours in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area have per capita livestock holdings which are less than a third than theirs (Galvin and Thornton, 2001,
cited in Nelson, 2004)). The Maasai pastoralists in Ololosokwan also lost their pasture lands in the 20th century for the establishment of the Serengeti National Park. Since then they try to recover these lands through intense debates with the park management authorities. This experience made the community wary and “suspicious of formal wildlife conservation interests” (KIHACHA, 2002; cited in Nelson, 2004). In the late 1980s the authorities even worsened the situation, since they wanted to appropriate even more land in Loliondo for agricultural investments. Notwithstanding their negative experiences, “Loliondo was among the first areas in northern Tanzania to offer ecotourism on community lands”. (Nelson, 2004) The decision of the local community to accept this offer, would prove to be their salvation in the end. To get a nuanced view on this ecotourism, which created both new economic opportunities, but also space for abuse, I will do a short sketch of what ecotourism is, what its advantages and disadvantages are and will then I will illustrate this with some case studies.

Ecotourism has many definitions, but we can summarize ecotourists as tourists that want to travel to natural, fragile environments in a responsible way while improve the wellbeing of the surrounding communities. (Brockington and Igoe, 2008, Western, 1993, cited in Sindiga, 1995) Ecotourism and other forms of alternative tourism such as cultural tourism remain an economic sector, but one in which care for local communities and natural environment plays a crucial role. Ecotourism requires a bigger participation of the local people, wants to support smaller, local initiatives instead of multinationals, wants to contribute in the maintenance and conservation of heritage and wishes to make tourism more ecologically sustainable. (Weiler, 1995, cited in Sindiga, 1995) According to Brandon (1996) who did his fieldwork about the impact of ecotourism on local people in the Maasai Mara in Kenya, ecotourism can “provide a source of financing for parks and conservation, because the governments can use a variety of ways to capture revenue through tourism by collecting user fees, concession, sales and royalties, taxation and donations, which can be redistributed into programs to protect the fragile ecosystems”. He also observed that ecotourism provides economic alternatives for local people. Tourism creates a lot of employment, but this rarely serves as revenue for a family, because the local people only get the low-waged, seasonal, unskilled jobs without job security or benefits. We will see, in the chapter on urbanization, that the same kind of abuse is happening with the Maasai working in Zanzibar today.

After a critical reading of literature about all kinds of tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa, I can conclude tourism has a lot of positive consequences such as employment, improvement of the infrastructure, more independence for women, democratization, spread of the cash economy, international networks and new chances for local economies. (Western 1993, cited in Sindiga, 1995, MacCannell, 1976, van Beek, 2003, Brockington and Igoe, 2008, Steinicke en Neuburger, 2012) Another important positive tendency was shown by Brandon (1996), namely the ‘constituency building’ as result of ecotourism. Ecotourists are generally more willing to support local initiatives to help preserve the area, even after going home: they can become ‘conservation ambassadors’, because they often try to convince friends and family to make similar trips or also make donations to the visited projects.

The most significant to me however, were the many disadvantages like the dependence on overseas capital of multinationals, politics that are influenced by the same multinationals, commoditization of the culture, an enormous urbanisation, internal rivalry and increasing inequality, loss of local identity, restriction on local peoples’ access to natural resources, problems with food security, crimes against
human rights and above all, more and more permanent damage to the natural environment and cultural heritage. (Brandon, 1996) So in most cases there are more costs than benefits for the local people.

According to Nelson (2004), Ololosokwan, situated in the Ngorongoro district, is the perfect example of the potential of community-based ecotourism in Tanzania in terms of income for the village. He observed two processes that were crucial in the development of this village: the increasing popularity of wildlife tourism and the villages’ stability in politics, while they could reclaim most of the land they had lost to the national parks. Because of this stability, they drafted a clear policy, summarized in village land-use plans and village by-laws that cover revenue management and divide the land in different zones for tourism, wildebeest migration, livestock pasture etc. This strict division and management clearly benefited Ololosokwan. Everyone became wealthier and the ecotourism helped the community to improve the conservation of their resources. A similar case can be seen in Sinya (Nelson, 2004), the other Maasai pastoralist community in northern Tanzania, situated close to Mount Kilimanjaro in the Amboseli ecosystem. As in Ololosokwan, the revenue generated by the tourism stimulates the local communities to support wildlife conservation.

Or is there no happy end to this story?

In Ololosokwan and Sinya the revenues increased extremely fast and introduced a lot of economic benefits. (Nelson, 2004) The local economy remained based on cattle, but tourism made a huge contribution, which changed the social structure drastically. This was influenced by conflicting external interests, heightened by the rising value of the villages’ wildlife and other natural resources. We can observe the same problem in Sinya. “Tanzania has one of Africa’s largest safari hunting industries (Leader-Williams et al., 1996), generating important revenues for maintaining many protected areas such as the Selous Game Reserve (Baldus and Cauldwell, 2004). ... Tourist hunting is managed by the Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism according to a system of ‘hunting blocks’ – which are concession areas leased to private companies for five-year terms (although a lease can be revoked on the basis of annual review). These blocks occur both in game reserves, where people do not live, and in the village lands inhabited by rural communities.” (Nelson, 2004) In the case of Sinya and Ololosokwan the tourist-hunting seems to be a big deal in the issues the local chiefs have to confront. In Sinya the changing social structure, caused by these external actors interested in tourism, gives rise to problems to install a new chief within the community. This installation is also influenced by the limited amount of literate people in the community. This delay poses issues like postponing the updates of the by-laws (current tourism and conservation policies), which is the reason why tourism is misused in this region lately.

So tourism income has provided economic benefits, like more employment and local revenues, but it has also been a source for internal conflicts and division in the community government, misuse of revenues, resources, all in the frame of the internal and external parties that struggle to gain control over the valuable wildlife resources in this area. As Honey (1999, cited in Nelson, 2004) concluded: “At its core, ecotourism is about power relationships and on-the-ground struggles”. To fulfil its potential, ecotourism depends on the local rights and local authorities who manage the linkage between the rural daily lives and the conservation of fragile ecosystems.
Aswan High Dam in Egypt

This section I will draw heavily on Scudders book ‘Aswan High Dam, Resettlement of Egyptian Nubians’ published in 2016. In this book he states five factors are crucial to guarantee a successful resettlement. “A 2005 statistical analysis of 50 large dam-induced resettlements identified five factors as significant, but insufficient, in achieving improved resettler outcomes (Scudder 2005, 2012). They are political will, financing, and capacity of the implementing governments and project agencies, and participation of, and opportunities for, the resettlers. Other factors, including unexpected events and problems with immigrants and host populations (as in the Egyptian Nubian case) may be important in explaining outcomes in specific cases”

“There was no question that political will was initially present in the High Dam case.” (Scudder, 2016) All political parties were aware of the sacrifice the Nubian population would have to make, but they underestimated the scale of the impact it would have on the Nubian identity. The intention of the government, as Scudder explains, was for the Nubians to become wealthier and have higher living standards after the removal, according to the Egyptian norms at that time. They also wanted to integrate the Nubian population more in the Egyptian society to a large extent. Noting that the Nubians were giving up their homeland “for the prosperity of the Republic,” Vice-President Shafi emphasized that the Republic would “welcome them in one of its new districts in Kom Ombo. There they will find stability, prosperity, and a decent life.” (Fahim 1968, cited in Scudder, 2016) The plans to achieve these goals included both compensation and development as we can observe in the 5-year development plan for the Aswan Governorate implemented in the late 1960s. In this plan, a budget of 33 million Egyptian pounds or 8% of the total project costs were provided for the resettlement of the Nubian population that would be affected by the construction of the Aswan High Dam. 15 million pounds served to construct permanent housing and social services and to improve infrastructure in the Kom Ombo area where the resettlers were meant to move to. Another 9 million pounds was used to transform the surrounding land to feddans, irrigated cultivated fields that would be divided between the families. The remaining 9 million pounds was used to pay unexpected expenses and pay the cash compensations for families that would not receive any or only a small part of land. The government did not only try to assure their income through supporting agriculture, but also built five factories in Kom Ombo to provide employment.

When you read all of this you must be convinced the implementation of this plan had to be a huge triumph for both the Egyptian governments and the Nubian population. Unfortunately, there were some issues on the political and financial level. The successive governments that were in charge of the project had different interests which sometimes weakened and sometimes empowered the Nubian position in this project. Also the financing did not go as planned in the first place: after some years there appeared to be inadequate funds for the construction of appropriate housing in Kom Ombo and purchase and transformation of land to irrigable fields in the area.

If we look at the other aspects to guarantee a successful resettlement, how did the Egyptian government do it on these levels? Did the government and the project agencies have enough capacity and experience to realize such a project? How did they stimulate the participation of the resettlers? And were there opportunities for the resettlers when they would move from their homeland? The successive governments distributed several social surveys to be able to frame the demands of the
Nubians, but according to Fahim, Nubian voices were “always heard, but seldom taken account of except in cases where it was possible to accommodate Nubian desires easily within the general framework of the plan.” (Fahim, 1968, cited in Scudder, 2016). So the Nubian voices were not taken into account, although participation is essential for many reasons. Not only because of human rights or feelings of social equity, but it will give resettlers a greater sense of ownership and responsibility, will reduce stress (caused by the unknown), collide with less opposition, won’t destroy so many aspects of a cultural identity and thus will cost less in the long run since so many future changes to overcome issues that were not calculated would not be necessary. (Scudder, 2016)

The project was reviewed by the World Bank and other agencies through social surveys and interviews in which they heard people mention both positive outcomes and heavy criticism. The people were happy with the chances for better livelihoods the removal created by providing improved educational facilities and irrigated land. Those two features are both clues to the long-term success of the Aswan High Dam on the long term, because the majority of the detached population did not impoverish. But in the first years after the resettlement the population had to deal with undeniably tough conditions of unnecessary stress and suffering. This was caused by the rapid resettlement, because of the unsynchronized construction timetable and resettlement and the switching priorities of successive governments. This resulted in strong inequities between the conditions in which the first communities arrived. So as a result of inadequate funds this resettlement policy, especially for the second half of resettlers, ended up to be a failure (World Bank 1994) which is symbolized by inappropriate housing in Kom Ombo, and a shortage of irrigable land in the Kom Ombo area.

Although the majority of settlers could enjoy improved livelihoods, thanks to education and access to more and better paid jobs, all Nubians had to make the same, ultimate sacrifice: they had to make enormous cultural costs while arriving at Kom Ombo. “In order to reduce costs and to ease construction, the government clustered identical houses in back to back rows based solely on family size. As a result, a family requiring four rooms would find itself separated from a widowed mother who had lived nearby in Old Nubia but now would be allocated a single or two bed room house in a more distant row. The diwani, which was so important for a daughter’s marriage and for integrating the second generation within a single household until they could build their own house, was actually omitted from the government house.” (Fahim, 1968, cited in Scudder, 2016) So the resettlement posed a major threat to the Nubian culture. Women now felt more uncomfortable because of the lack of privacy and heightened insecurity as a result of the decreased social control. Other aspects of their identity were lost as well. Because most of the Kom Ombo resettlement area was located far away from the Nile, many Nile rituals, who were especially important to the female population, were dropped. Also other rituals that were important for women to be able to deal with mental illnesses or insecurity disappeared or were shortened. Examples are the rebuilding of shrines, wedding ceremonies, mourning ceremonies or ceremonies for saints. Another female responsibility that is fading away since resettlement is the decoration of the houses to make it feel as a ‘Nubian home’. There appear to be several reasons for this. Firstly, we see an increasing amount of mixed marriages between Nubian and Egyptian men and women. Another reason is the lack of time because of education and employment. A last, but essential reason is the influence of the cities on the Nubian communities. In Kom Ombo they gained access to electricity, improved ways of communication, several sources of entertainment and propaganda of other cultures as social media and televisions etc.
This spread the Arabic culture and Islam in the Nubian culture and resulted in its turn in the degradation of Nubia, their mother tongue language.

We can conclude the Aswan High Dam project had a lot of potential to become a successful resettlement story on every level, but because of the lack of continuation in political policies, which did improve livelihoods and education for families, and due to their denial of Nubian participation in the whole process, they failed to conserve the Nubian culture, failed to provide decent housing, social services and infrastructure for every family.
Part 2 Analysis interviews about the challenges after displacement
Chapter 1 Education

Introduction
Maasai culture is changing because of several factors. NGOs, international companies, tourists, social media all have a serious impact on the traditions that characterize(d) the Maasai. In this thesis, I will discuss and critically assess the main factors: education, religion and urbanization and the changes they triggered in the last decennia. I intend to illustrate how certain customs and rituals as female and male circumcision are being adapted or even eliminated when they appear to be insufficiently flexible.

I will also show how education gives chances for new jobs, better houses, better infrastructure, more power in politics, more gender equality and thus helps the Maasai culture to survive in this challenging time. Education helps to replace the ‘wisdom of the past by the wisdom of the present’ as one of my interviewees stated so beautifully. But at the same time I will explain what the impact of education is on their customs. What parts of their history are forgotten by the youth? What values and life goals are no longer central to the society? How do the traditionalists perceive the educated youth? Do they remember where they come from, do they remember where their ancestral land is, when they decide to live in the cities?

History of the education for the Maasai

In her book ‘Once intrepid warriors’ Hodgson (2001) illustrates how the education within the community changed drastically in the past decennia. In the 1930s and 1940s education in these regions was shaped by the Christian mission schools. The first group that was investing in education for Maasai was the Lutheran Church. The Lutherans had to overcome many obstacles in their attempt to bring ‘civilization’ to the Maasai. Because of their pastoral, nomadic lifestyle (Heron, 1983, cited in Dyer, 2001, King, 1972) the creation of school infrastructure was the biggest problem. Their nomadic lifestyle was not exactly compatible with the traditional school system and infrastructure. This made it very hard for the Maasai children to have a successful school career, hence as Gorham (1978, cited in Dyer, 2001) claimed, many children in Kenyan Maasai land did not pass the exams and thus spent two to three years at one level. Boarding schools were introduced as solution shortly after these failures, but caused a new complication: the costs to send a child to a boarding school were often “equal to or greater than average rural incomes”. (Gorham, 1978, cited in Dyer, 2001)

Another headache for the Lutheran missionaries was the wariness of the Maasai towards Christianity and education. (Hodgson, 2001) They feared they would lose their children to the Swahili culture and struggled with the curriculum since it was not linked with pastoralism at all and in their eyes would
only eradicate the bonds of their children with their pastoral identity. That the curriculum of schools was not adapted to nomads is confirmed by Heron (1978, cited in Dyer, 2001): “school skills do not help in the ways of pastoral life, and school experiences encourage a distaste for pastoralism.” He clarifies his statement by emphasizing that the language of instruction is the national language Kiswahili instead of the Maasai mother tongue Kimaasai, which makes it extra difficult for the Maasai children to take the courses and graduate. All these features enlarge the wariness of the Maasai against education. (Archambault, 2016)

The training of the Maasai youth to become successful pastoralists and full members of society, had goals that differed totally from school curriculum, also the way they got trained was completely different. The training of the Ilmuran consists of two parts. During the first part the knowledge about the culture and medicinal power of plants and responsibilities of each age-set is transferred. In this period they are also taught about self-discipline and important features to become leaders, this all happens under control of a group of elderly called Iguana1. The second part consists of physical trainings in which the boys are trained in all characteristics you need to become a successful pastoralist and warrior: courage, strength, cooperation, fighting skills and herding skills. In this way they are prepared to protect the cattle and the village from other population groups and wild animals. This is of course completely different from the education some receive at school. They learn to read and write in Kiswahili and English, learn about the history of Tanzania as a whole, learn how to count etc., but they do not learn specific things about the Maasai culture or how to live a successful pastoral life. A lot of the parents thought their children (mostly boys) would leave the village after their education, would look for work in the cities and marry a Swahili girl and thus never return. (see interviews below) This is why the children that were sent to the schools, because of the obligation of the government to send at least one child to school, were carefully selected by the parents and chiefs. They chose the children with the least talent to become warriors and pastoralists (King, 1972). The children that were sent to school, became social outcasts and were constantly teased and called names by their brothers and contemporaries for going to school. They were called Ormeeki. I still heard this term during my fieldwork. They use it now to laugh at the Maasai boys and girls that live a successful life in the cities and never return home and ignore their Maasai identity. So the use of this term is very paradoxically, the knowledge of the Ormeeki is now seen as a treasure, but their ignorance of their origin, of the Maasai culture is despised and laughed at now.

So despite the obligation in the 1940s to send children to school, the attendance remained very low. The government had to come up with another way to attract the Maasai. This is the motive for the development of the ten-year education plan. (Hodgson, 2001), a policy that emphasizes on primary school attendance in villages to overcome the ‘underdevelopment’. Through the establishment of smaller primary schools that replace the boarding schools, partly financed by the government, the authorities hoped to increase the amount of students.

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1 The ‘iguana’ is a Maasai leader that is responsible for the education of the Ilmuran. He chooses what and when they will learn, together with the other Babas, elder males. (Explained during the interview with Maasai elders in Mikocheni: Emanuel K. Shingombaya and Yohana K. Lamishira who are the present chairman and former chairman of the village)
After Independence a lot of things changed in the educational system. Under the socialist development Ujamaa policy of Nyerere (elected president in 1962) there were many prominent innovations such as the nationalisation of the schools (Hodgson, 2001). “Briefly Ujamaa, a Swahili word meaning unity, cooperation, familyhood, was premised on Nyerere’s idealized representation of the traditional African society, especially the African extended family, as it functioned (supposedly) in pre-colonial Africa. In that golden age before exploitation and domination, the means of production were communally owned and everyone who was able contributed his fair share to the production of wealth and distributed part of the fruits of their labour to those less able or fortunate. Ujamaa was formulated as a direct rejection of the elements of feudalism and capitalism which colonial rule had introduced and nurtured, including class stratification, exploitation, individual ownership of land and other resources, and private or corporate ownership of the major means of production and exchange. As such, Nyerere called for the restructuring of Tanzania as a socialist state based on a list of socialist principles. These included rights of equality, dignity, respect, freedom of expression, movement, religious belief, ownership of all the natural resources of the country by its citizens, state control over the principal means of production...” (Hodgson, 2001) So the Tanzanian people form the basis of development, not money, according to Nyerere’s policy. An important remark here is that the goals of the Ujamaa policy were exactly the same as the colonial policies: increased agricultural production and animal husbandry. In his policy in which he gives the Tanzanian population a central place, Nyerere nationalized the schools. As a result, the power of the Christian church in the schools crumbles down. But this policy also clashes with many obstacles as the class distinctions within the Maasai community (rich families hired young boys from poor families to take care of their cattle, which enabled their children to go to school) and the wariness of the Maasai towards the goal of education to ‘produce Tanzanian citizens’ (in other words spread the Swahili culture). (Hodgson, 2001) The goal since Independence is no longer to create ‘obedient, civilized colonized subjects’ but to create ‘Tanzanian citizens’, which was exactly the same in the eyes of many Maasai, considering the influence of Swahili culture remained tremendous and thus enforced the fear of the parents to lose their children to a foreign culture. I will go into this further in this chapter when I discuss the impact of education on the culture. Another hurdle the government had to overcome to gain the trust of the Maasai is the difficulty in finding capable and willing teachers for pastoralists. It was not a highly recommended academic profession and the fact that many schools were located far away from the cities, didn’t make the job more attractive. Other issues were the long walks children had to make to reach the schools or the gender inequality in the Maasai culture, the reason why more boys were sent to school than girls in the past. (Heron, 1983, cited in Dyer, 2001, Archambault, 2016)

**Impact of education on Maasai livelihoods and culture**

Nowadays many parents have different view on education. They reflect back on this view amusedly, as if it was way back in the past. “We didn’t know the benefit of education.” As mentioned in Archambault’s paper in 2016 or in Hodgson’s book in the chapter about the post-colonial times (2001): “We were stupid not to send children to school.” During my interviews many old and young Maasai acknowledge the opportunities education can offer the Maasai culture: they are now aware of the potential the education has since it can help to preserve the Maasai culture and overcome their difficult financial situations. Their children will learn about strategies to diversify the income or ways
to optimize their cattle herding and cultivation. As a result we see a significant mind-set change concerning gender in the chances to get education. This was mentioned during the interviews:

“In the past there used to be a difference between boys and girls receiving education. Today there isn’t. Nowadays the government started a new system that all girls and boys should get educated. For the Maasai they build special boarding schools where they stay for several years, so the girls don’t live at home where they would get all kind of household duties after school or would have to marry. After secondary school, they are way more independent and don’t let their parents tell them what to do, they know by themselves what is good and bad.” (Male Maasai elder in Majimoto: Johanna Mingbara Lukumai)

These changes have divers reasons like whether the boys and girls will help their families in the future after graduation, the amount of money required to study, the pressure of the government and the marriage system.

“It was many years ago the Maasai didn’t took their girls to school. Why? Because they think girls always will be married. So it will not be helpful to my family, she is going to help the other family. If you will be married to someone, you’re not going to bring the all advantages to your mother and father, but you’re going to bring to your husband. That was the belief of them many years ago. But nowadays they changed. The boys and girls all are going to school. It depends on what you have. You have school fees. So go to school, are the kids are now going to school. Not only boys. It depends on what you have, if you have enough fees, boys and girls will go to school and even universities.” (Male Maasai elder in Majimoto: Johanna Mingbara Lukumai)

“Girls used to be a kind of capital, because when she married, you got money for her, so why would you send her to school, you give the girl to the husband’s family, so her education won’t help you, especially when have only cows to send 2 or 3 children to school. But now the government stopped this and stimulates to bring girls to school.” (Female Maasai elder in Majimoto: Juliana John and Paulina Tamamu)

“The discrimination of girls of the past that forbid them to go to school and just help in the household, is fading away. More and more girls are allowed to go to school. ... The government will give you a chance to work if you success in your studies. The government stimulates the families to send their girls to school by the slogan: ‘Ladies first’” (Young Maasai woman: in Majimoto: Penina Mollel)

In my opinion, especially the marriage system was a crucial factor in this process. A substantial amount of parents was not willing to invest in “girls’ education because it was seen as a ‘lost’ investment, as the benefits would be accrued, in a patrilocal system, to her husband’s family.” (Archambault,2016) Some parents now admit they send their girls to school expecting them to help them more often after getting a job than the boys will do.

“Some of them stay in the cities, but help the family, especially the girls. But often the boys stay in the cities and don’t send help home.” (Female Maasai elders in Mikocheni: Safina Koinase Munga and Veronika Imanueli Shingomboka)
The investment in education for girls is not only important to assure the wealth of the parents in the future, but is also one to improve the contemporary livelihoods. After graduating, these women will choose for a job in the cities, while others will focus on the struggles their family encounter in the rural areas. In this way they become crucial breadwinners in the family and help their families to safeguard a more prosperous future and help to earn the money to send their children to school. In the rural areas women help by taking up a “great variety of income-generating activities, some of which have become possible due to land privatisation (charcoal production, selling of grass, small cultivation, and selling of produce).” (Archambault, 2016) While in town I saw the women run most of the small business enterprises I observed during my trips around Tanzania (on my way from Moshi and Arusha to Nungwi). This new tendency has a big impact on the gender roles in the households. In the past cattle herding was an exclusively male job, while now this has become a job for the women and children. When the man is the only breadwinner who works outside the village, for example on farms where they cultivate cash crops, the women are burdened with managing the household, cultivating their private lands and the cattle herding. In these families, as I observed in Orbili and Mikocheni, both still traditional villages, far away from the cities, the men won’t help in the household, even though the women now have two fulltime jobs.

“These changes may occur if they both have gone to school, have a job etc, but here, when they come back home, nothing changed, the men are still just waiting for the women to do everything.” (Female Maasai elders in Orbili: Namauani Sanaize and Kooyoni Lekaula)

“There is no one going to help them in the household, only when the wife is really sick or when she is travelling.” (Female Maasai elders in Orbili: Nai Petro and Akness Lowasa)

“No they don’t help, the cooking or building the house, going to the market etc is only for women.” (Female Maasai elders in Mikocheni: Safina Koinase Munga and Veronika Imanueli Shingombag)

If the wife and husband both have jobs in town or outside the village, as I often saw in Majimoto, there is a greater chance they will divide the tasks in the household.

“They say: it depends on the way you’re living together with your wife. Because they are a bit educated themselves, they won’t live anymore as the real Maasai, so won’t expect their wives to do the household on her own. And if they both have a job and are too busy for the household, they will have to find a housemaid.” (Maasai Ilmuran in Majimoto: Benson Kisee and Exaud Elias)

“In the past husband and wife lived scattered (men had several women and each woman had her own house and he has his own house too), nowadays young couples share the house, they build one big house where they share the house together with the kids. This is according to him a consequence of education and the impact of the cities.” (Cultural leader of Majimoto: Saiboku Velo)

“Yes in the households the men will now do women’s tasks when she is not around because of work for example.” (Political leader of Majimoto: Andrea Njaro)

“Long time ago the women gave birth at home, but nowadays it’s a big problem. You need to go to hospital, so a lot of changes. In the past they didn’t get diseases from birth, but now
sometimes they get sick in the hospital. … Their life gets better because the men and women now can get an income, because now both can have jobs, while in the past women only did the household. They cooperate now. When she is working, the man will be at home to take care of the children, he can cook and look after the cows etc.” (Female Maasai elders in Nungwi: Cilina Andrea and Rebeka Moses (Lumbwa/Parakuyo and Wa-arusha))

The changes happen not only on a local level, but also have a big impact on the regional and even national level. According to UNESCO (2002, cited in Archambault, 2016) “Formal schooling is believed to be a central mechanism through which the poor can escape poverty and tradition as it is associated with greater economic development, significant health improvements, and increases in peace and security.” If we focus on the education of women we see it has a crucial role in the adaptation and survival of the Maasai society to the current challenges. Sending girls to school ensures women empowerment in the patriarchal system. They are now allowed to give their husband advice on financial issues, are allowed to accuse him of violent behaviour, can even ask for a divorce and get access to jobs in the regional and national politics as the following interviewees explain:

“They would like to marry someone that is (higher) educated. Someone who is educated has something more, something else. Even when she doesn’t have money, but a degree, she can advise you in life. It’s also better for the education of the kids, because then she can help them.” (Maasai Ilmuran in Majimoto: Benson Kisee and Exaud Elias)

“Education empowers women indeed, for example the deputee president is a women now in Tanzania. Men recognize more the capacities of women now.” (Female Maasai elders in Majimoto: Juliana John and Paulina Tamamu)

“When people get educated, they get chances to get positions within the government. Nowadays the Maasai have several people in the parliament for example and ministers or regional commissioners. So education gives them power within national politics.” (Political leader of Majimoto: Andrea Njaro)

“In the past women weren’t allowed to stand up in the neighbourhood of men to give critique. Nowadays they are allowed to speak up in case of problems like financial problems or violent husband etc. They will be heard by the men, which is different with the past.” (Young Maasai woman in Majimoto: Penina Mollel)

Besides the impact on the economic level, education has a huge influence on the Maasai culture. Whether the changes are good or bad depends on the person you ask of course. The loss of certain rituals like female circumcision or female genital mutilation (FGM) is cheered on the Western countries, worldwide feminists and many human rights activists, but not every man or woman in Tanzania is happy this tradition is getting forbidden. According to the secondary school teacher I interviewed in Moshi it is a positive trend that education discourages rituals like FGM:

“It is positive, because the Maasai are one of the communities that is keeping their traditions. They have been a little bit reluctant and slow in changing because of their homogenous kind of community. It happened already in the other parts of the country, but the Maasai failed to leave the culture. But now education is illuminating them, liberating them, taking them to the next
level, although they need a lot of extra effort to bring them to the level where the other communities are."

I need to admit I struggled during the interview with his racist views on the ‘primitivism of the Maasai’, the fact education would ‘illuminate them’, thus civilize them?! His view is a clear example of a person that is heavily influenced by the colonial ideas as I explained in the first part of this thesis. However, his statement on the slowly changing Maasai culture is not untrue. I thought that Maasai, had long been difficult to shape to the colonial plans, because of their nomadic, pastoralist life style, until I read this comment of Lubkemann (2008) on the research of Scudder and Colson in 1982 on the slowly adapting Maasai culture as a kind of protection strategy, as a strategy to cope with the loss of their ancestral grazing lands, as a result of their flexible identity. “Anthropologists who pioneered the study of displacement (Scudder and Colson 1982) argued that forced migrants usually cope with the traumatic loss of vital resources (such as social networks and leaders, material goods and economic possibilities, institutions, and even cultural symbols) by pursuing “culturally conservative strategies,” characterized by an effort to minimize the extent of change in social practice: Following removal, the majority of relocatees, including refugees, can be expected to follow a conservative strategy. They cope with the stress of removal to an unfamiliar habitat by clinging to the familiar and changing no more than is necessary. ... [O]ne major strategy is the transfer of old skills and farming practices to the new habitat. Another is to attempt to relocate with kin, neighbors, and co-ethnics so as to recreate the security of an encompassing community with familiar institutions and symbols. ... Post-relocation conservatism in economic activities is also apparent ... In clinging to the familiar, relocates attempt to move the shortest distance, not only in space, to remain in contact with a familiar habitat, but also in terms of the psychological and socio-cultural contexts of their lives. Scudder (1973b) has labelled this stance a process of cultural involution. As a coping strategy it appears analogous to strategies used for dealing with grief after the death of a loved one. ... So long as this strategy predominates the majority of those relocated will avoid both old and new activities that involve risk and hence might increase still further levels of stress. ...[P]eople tend to behave as if during transition a socio-cultural system were a closed system. (Scudder and Colson 1982, 272–74)” (Lubkemann, 2008) So this explains why the Maasai culture apparently adapted more slowly than other cultures in the neighbourhood. But then why have so many stereotypical characteristics been changing so fast in the last decades?

During my first interview, my translator (Honesmo Kivuyo) explained what and why the rituals, especially circumcision, according to him, changed so much in the last 50 years. Why did they change so much more in the last 50 years than during the whole colonial period?

“For example some years ago FGM was normal. A girl should be circumcised to get what the others get. But nowadays education changed them. If a girl hear: ‘it’s your time to be circumcised’, she has to leave the home to find the village officers and tell the chairman that ‘there is something that my parents want to do for me and that’s not good, the government don’t allow it’. So that is stopped because of education. And the other thing is even the circumcision of the boys, for the first time, you get a boy like me, not circumcised. They’re waiting for the time, for the cultural time, but nowadays small kids are already circumcised, but because of education less and less. If you’re not circumcised as a boy, there are some diseases you can get. So normally if you’re a young boy you be circumcised. But in the other Maasai, that
I told you the first time, remember that we have several tribes of Maasai? In the other Maasai, they wait until the boy is coming up, and grow, but for us education is going to change that, because for us so many people are educated."

In his story we see the different features and actors that play essential roles in the decreasing interest in the customs as circumcision. He mentions education, the government, the changing mind-set of the younger generations and the pressure from the community. The fact that FGM disappears was seen as positive in the interviews I took in Majimoto, the most Westernized Maasai village I stayed in. While in Orbili for example I spoke with several female Maasai elders and then these two women, Namauani Sanaize and Kooyoni Lekaula (among others), were really critical about the impact of education. They see education as a “destructive power: girls learn about the culture in school and are learned that FGM is really bad, so girls do not want to be circumcised anymore. And this was crucial in their culture. Educated people also do not want the huge piercings in their ears anymore, because it can infect.” Also the secondary school teacher that was so happy the Maasai would lose parts of their culture and now become ‘illuminated and civilized’ had to admit not every aspect that gets lost is for a good cause; to explain this statement he referred to the loss of respect towards elderly, teachers and so on.

“If they get integrated in the modern system, they lose things like their cultural values as respect for the elders, which was a very good value we could even learn from. Another is the way they dress, but that’s getting wiped away. And it might even disappear completely. This is caused by education and civilization in general. Another example is the haircuts.”

The conclusion of the analysis of the interviews is that vital aspects of the Maasai identity are changing. When they aren’t sufficiently adaptable and flexible, they are eliminated or replaced. The younger generations are changing their physical appearance, inner values, gender roles, life goals and even skip regularly cultural events regularly. This was illustrated nicely in one of my last interviews, the interviewees were 2 Lumbwa/Parakuyo Maasai who had already lived for some years in Nungwi.

“You could know when you saw a Maasai in the city that he is a Maasai from the bush, because of his accent, caused by the gap between the teeth that make the accent. But now they no longer do this, since they go to the cities, so you can’t know if they are Maasai. ... No Maasai like going to school a long time ago, because the Maasai wanted to keep their local life. But today this is changing, they see now that through education they can help their family. So some now go studying, others still choose for the traditional lifestyle. So some don’t want to be Maasai anymore after education, they abandon their culture after studying in the cities: wear Western clothes, don’t participate in celebrations, don’t marry someone their family approves, don’t build a house in the village, don’t respect elders... They also stop giving a dowry to the girl’s family anymore, as in Western countries, but in the Maasai culture this was crucial to show respect to other family. (2 Maasai elders: Msiragi Lukuwa and Sinyakwa Mainge)

Many elders complained about the lack of respect during my interviews or informal talks. They stated the young men are only interested in money nowadays: money to build big fancy houses, buy big cars, buy the newest smartphone or other gadgets, but have no time or money to check whether their father and mother are hungry. So their life goals are changing completely according to the elders. The youth see material goods as a status symbol today while in the past the amount of cattle, taking care of your
family was the most important thing in life. So now individualism and selfishness overtook the ideals of generosity and sharing that characterized the Ilmurran and Babas according to these elders testimonies.

“Education will change them indeed: they used to have a lot of cows and lived in bad circumstances, while now people will sell a part of their cattle and buy stuff to make their life more comfortable.” (Maasai women (young) in Orbili: Neema Nkaiyo (Chagga) and Pendo Andrea)

“Different houses with bati for example, because of cities, education and environment change instead of grasses.” (female Maasai elders in Orbili: Nai Petro and Akness Lowasa)

“Lumbwa always wanted to have good time, good life, nice car, nice watch, especially the new generation, but the Kisongo are more traditional, their goals are always expanding their amount of cattle, have several women, lots of kids etc.” (male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Sailevu Manju (Lumbwa) and Mathias Okeseriawi (Wa-arusha))

Another essential characteristic of the Maasai culture that is changing, is the training Ilmuran receive to become a ‘proper’ pastoralist and warrior. They used to live apart for several months after their circumcision and get taught all kind of skills by elders and older warriors. But of course through education they do not have time to isolate themselves for several months anymore, so this custom is adapted to the new circumstances and thus shortened. Nevertheless is this new tendency criticised heavily by the conservationists (the elders). I understand the dilemma the parents of these Ilmuran struggle with: going to school is supposed to ‘develop’ the children, improving their lives, assuring them a more successful future, but on the other hand it is hard to see how certain parts of their culture, in this case the warriorhood and pastoralism, are neglected more and more. When I spoke with several young men and women, a huge number stated they did not want to be Maasai anymore or no longer wanted to participate in the celebrations, but preferred staying in town to work to earn more money or spend the weekends as the other people in the cities do, by enjoying some of the pleasures a city can offer. So they realize they are and really want to stay part of the modern society, but at the same time, often a few minutes later in the interview, they lament about the loss of their old culture and its adjoining values. So as I could feel, it is all really contradictory. I think education can play a huge role in conserving the Maasai culture in the future. In several interviews both young and older Maasai pointed out the importance of education in the future, not only to give the children a better future, or as a way to modernize their society and adapt to contemporary challenges, but it will also help them to remember their origin, because teachers can stimulate the children to visit museums or read about their past and so on.

“Yes it can teach them how to support the culture, even a museum can help.” (male Maasai elders in Nungwi (Kilesi Pastei (Lumbwa) and Mathayo Nkushani (Wa-arusha))

“They think this are good ideas. Especially the museums can help their children to learn about the maasai in the future, when it gets lost more and more, in that way the children can learn more about their origin.” (male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Sailevu Manju (Lumbwa) and Mathias Okeseriawi (Wa-arusha))
It can help to show the youth how the culture changed, which parts already changed or are already lost. Like certain instruments that were used in the past during ceremonies etc. (cultural leader of Majimoto: Saiboku Velo)
Chapter 2  Christianity

Introduction
In this chapter I will focus on the impact of the introduction of Christianity in Kenya and Tanzania. Throughout history missionaries gained influence and were even able to eliminate certain Maasai customs. To demonstrate the changes and loss of certain parts of traditions I have added my fieldnotes on two ‘sherehe’ (Swahili word for parties) I could attend at the end of August. But I will begin with a brief sketch of the history of Christianity in Tanzania.

History Christianity in Tanzania
The contemporary Maasai history is strongly influenced by the missionaries who arrived in Kenya and Tanzania at the end of the 19th century and had a prominent role during the 20th century. The Africa Inland Mission (AIM), founded by Peter Cameron Scott was the first extensive attempt to Christianize the Maasai. Before there were also other missions, but only a few, because of the belief among early missionaries that Maasai were dangerous to work with. (Spear & Waller, 1993) This changed in the 1890s when the Maasai were struck by the epidemics of rinderpest and smallpox, which dislocated and depopulated the Maasai community (Waller, 1976). Here the missions saw an opportunity to try to convert them: they thought they would now be more ‘amendable to civilization’. How did they try to get more power in the region? Waller summed up several means: they offered refuge for those and remaining cattle who had to flee from their lands, they also took care of orphans and runaways and sent them to school. Some of these children later became teachers, others askaris (guards) or they became missionaries themselves. So the first Maasai who came in contact with Christian missionaries had certain features in common: they were people living in the margins like orphans, ex-slaves, famine refugees or people living in poverty; they saw the contact with the church as a way to improve their financial situation and get more power through their connections. These missionaries and their partners had a very clear and rigid future in mind for the Maasai. Stauffacher (cited in Spear & Waller, 1993), one of the most prominent figures in the AIM enterprise, believed the pastoral way of life of the Maasai was doomed and that “It is only as the Maasai begin cultivation and industry, that they can hope to exist as a tribe.” So in his eyes conversion, modernized cultivation and sedentarism were the only options to save the Maasai community from starvation.

Ban of female genital mutilation
The conversion of the Maasai did not go as fast as the missionaries planned (Spear and Waller, 1993). Because of their nomadic life style, the Maasai were hard to reach and follow up. So before the 1940s
there were almost no Christian Maasai and if there were any, they lived separated from the other Maasai in a community with the AIM (think of the orphans or impoverished Maasai that looked for refuge at the abbeys). On these people Christianity had huge influence, and many changed their cultural customs and values. Slowly these changes spread out through the whole region.

Not only the education and the government today try to reduce the practice of FGM (female genital mutilation) through offering courses to the girls since first grade on the risks and dangers the girls are exposed to during and after the operation and through continuously questioning the necessity of this cultural ritual, the church also tries to diminish the Maasai customs. Since the 1930s critique on FGM (female genital mutilation) was raised from inside the missionaries community and soon after, this phenomenon got forbidden in the missionary schools (Spear and Waller, 1993). In this way they discouraged the process that was seen as crucial to become an adult woman. As a result of the missions other cultural characteristics were questioned too. When I spoke to Joyce Michael, a pastor, and some of her representatives of the Anglican church in Majimoto it became clear they did not see any future for a hybrid life as Maasai and Christian. When I asked her what aspects of the Maasai religion they tried to change and thus what parts go directly against Christianity she mentioned FGM, because “in the Bible there is nowhere to be found something about women circumcision, so male circumcision is no problem, it’s in the Bible, just some parts of the ritual need to be abandoned, because they refer to another God.” Likewise she wasn’t fond of the idea of age-sets, another crucial part of the Maasai society. They don’t support the levels, “because these levels have names and they don’t know the origin of these names. It can be given by Maasai God spirituals, so then they can’t support it.” She also states it is “not necessary to have these levels to show respect to each other. Everyone that is older than you, you will give extra respect.” When I asked her if they supported anything from the Maasai culture, I was pretty surprised by the answer. The parts that did not go against Christianity according to Joyce Michael are the customary law, so they approve of the cultural (corporal) punishments (with sticks etc.) “because instead of spending lots of money of your parents in court, because you did something wrong, they support the system in which you level will take you to the forest and beat you.” That she supported customary law, isn’t that surprising at all after reading the ‘Invention of Tradition’, written by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983). In this book they demonstrate how customary law, customary land-rights, customary political structure and so on were in fact all invented by the colonists. Through a citation of John Iliffe (1979) they illustrate not only how new balances of power and wealth were installed through the creation of tribes, but that these “constructs of customary law became codified and rigid and unable so readily to reflect change in the future”. So the flexible and adaptable identity that characterized many precolonial African groups, was denied by the colonists in this way. (Iliffe, 1979) So the ‘traditions’ could no longer change to accommodate new circumstances, but were forced to stop changing from that moment on. (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983)

The other aspect Joyce Michael backed, is the teaching respect towards elders. When I pointed out this was very contradictory with the things she had said before, because this respect was taught in function of the levels, the age-sets, she nor her assistants wanted to discuss the subject further. Later in the interview, when I asked her about the similarities between the Christianity and the Maasai religion, which made it easier to implement Christianity, she denied any analogy in the religions: “There is not any similarity. For example in the culture people will have some drinks like local beers, while this is forbidden in the church.” Which in my opinion, is completely incorrect for example both religions
are monotheistic, which made it easier to replace the Maasai religion with another one than when there would have been a whole range of gods.

Although Christianity obtained a strong position in the Maasai community, we cannot state that most Maasai are ‘pure’ Christians. Their belief in Engainarok (the Maasai God, or Black God as they described him in the interviews) might be weakened or even gone, the superstition did not disappear at all as you can observe in the next interview fragments. I discussed this matter with the cultural leader of Majimoto, Saiboku Velo. Then he gave several examples of crucial aspects of their belief in Engainarok that were represented in superstition.

“There used to be a stone in front of the house and people believed it housed all their grandparents, so before you begin a ceremony, you will spill some of the drinks on the stone and put food next to it.” … “They had a special kind of tree they saw as a sign of God. So when there was a period of drought, they would do sacrifices around it and thus slaughter a goat or cow and leave the meat there. Before they reach home, the rain would start. And when they go back the day after, all the meat will be gone. So the God would have taken it. If there is too much rain, women will go pray to this tree to stop the rain.”

According to him and most of the elders, you cannot combine both religions, because of many reasons, as I will illustrate with the interview fragments below.

“No. You can only believe in one god and do the prayers and rituals for one god. If you want to be Christian, you have to abandon your Maasai religion. Even if you go to church when you’re young when you go to circumcision place in the forest, they will slaughter a cow, that cow is medicine, a strong medicine, which takes a lot of time to go out of your body. So even if you move to the city, move to Europe, go to the church etc, the soul of the medicine, of the Maasai is still there.” (Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Sailevu Manju (Lumbwa) and Mathias Okeseriawi (Waarusha))

“You can’t combine. You have to be a Christian, then you have your Maasai God. He’s saying that’s not good. The Bible is going against the other cultures. Christianity is going against Maasai culture, Christianity is going against other cultures. Because you have to remember Maasai has their God, they say Engainarok. Engainarok is the black God. If you have Engainarok, they you have the Biblical God, that’s two different things, so you don’t have to combine it.” (Male Maasai elder in Majimoto: Johanna Mingbara Lukumai)

“You can’t combine both. Religion is a matter of belief and culture is also a matter of belief. These are two different things. In our culture we have a black God, Engainarok. We have cultural holidays. While in religion we have another god and other holidays like Christmas and Easter. So the biblical and cultural matters aren’t the same. Some people are following both, but then we see that the religion is destroying their culture.” (Male Maasai elder in Majimoto: William Moringe Mollel)

“You can’t live your religion and culture. You can live in religion, but you should stay in your culture. You can live in both, but not for 100% then.” (Female Maasai elders in Majimoto: Juliana John and Paulina Tamamu)
Still, I heard a different story from the younger people in town and in Majimoto. They are conscious of the fact they should not combine both religions according to the elders and cultural leader, but they do believe the hybrids are the only way for the Maasai culture to continue existing, nevertheless they do acknowledge this raises some issues.

“I think it’s possible to combine them. You can be both in the church and culture, if you don’t participate 100% in the culture. Sometimes you can have my contribution in time and money for celebrations, I still want to be part, but won’t be there on every celebration. If you’re in the religion, you won’t have two gods. As Maasai we’re together in the culture, the same level, but in the celebrations I won’t fully participate: I won’t drink natural alcohol or eat the meat. He will be praying the biblical god, but will still be part of the culture, because culture is a very wide term. It’s more than praying to the black God. Taking care of others, helping each other is crucial in our culture. So they will still contribute to people of the same level that need money because they are in trouble.” (Maasai Ilmuran in Majimoto: Benson Kisee and Exauid Elias)

“Yes, but it depends on how much you participate in the culture for example you can’t go to witch doctors or pray to the black God when you’re a Christian.” (Young Maasai woman in Majimoto: Penina Mollel)

This creation of a hybrid belief collides heavily with the execution of certain rituals essential for the Maasai identity. As I discussed before, a first ritual that is almost gone completely is the female circumcision. But not all events are doomed to disappear, some are just drastically changing. My interviewees specified several rituals that are changing because of the challenges education and Christianity pose because of their values. I will have special attention for the adaptations that are made nowadays during the ‘sherehe’ to honour the male circumcision or marriage.

I received an extensive explanation of the male circumcision happens during my first interview when I arrived in Tanzania, with the male Maasai elder Johanna Mingbara Lukumai from Majimoto. He stated the boys change when they are circumcised, because before circumcision, they are treated as kids that do not know anything of the community. So he believed the Maasai children can go to the church during their childhood, get taught about Christianity at school, but when they are circumcised, they will change and pray again to the black God for good harvest or healthy cattle again. He also explained the superstition connected to the black God and how it got broken up by Christianity and Islam:

“By the first we are praying under this tree. There is a special tree that they go, they bring some cows there, they slaughter them and leave the meat there. When they’re going home, because why are they doing that? For example there is no rain maybe for 2 or 3 years. What problem will it give? What will the cows and goats feed? The people should pray to God to get rain so to get the grasses and food for people. If there is no rain, they have to go under the tree, a special tree and pray for the Black God. How can they pray? They bring some cows, they slaughter and leave the meat. When they leave the meat, they go, they don’t even have a piece of meat to eat, they leave everything there, then they go home, before reaching home, the rain will come. So that’s what they believe at that time, but when these Christians and Muslims came, people changed. What changed them? If someone is going to the church, the church is going against the culture. How? If you go to the Bible, the Bible is saying, don’t pray to the other gods, only pray me. So if they go to the church, the Baptists and pastors etc. tell them: don’t go to the culture. When they
come back home, they tell their kids don’t go to the culture, let’s go to the church. So that’s where the religion takes place.”

He also discussed the changes in the marriages: according to their polygamic culture Maasai men can have several wives, as long as they can take care of them and their children. Nowadays this is different, because of Christianity that claims they should not have more than one wife. So since most of the people in this village (70% is Christian according to the cultural leader) are Christian, the majority only has one wife. This strongly pessimistic view on the future for the Maasai traditions is widely spread in the region. In an interview I had with two female Maasai elders in Orbili: Namauani Sanaize and Kooyni Lekaula they were as gloomy about the future perspectives as Johana Lukumai: “The Bible does not want us to do any cultural activities like circumcision. But you cannot change people in one day of course. In the end all will disappear, but if we all stop this, we won’t be Maasai anymore, because this all forms our identity.”

When I attended different Maasai rituals as the ‘sherehe’ to celebrate the transition of the Ilmuran to the stage of Baba, I witnessed even more essential Maasai characteristics change. I will illustrate them below with the fieldnotes I made after attending two different ‘sherehe’.

**Rituals and Christianity**

At six o’clock in the morning we left our house in Majimoto (the Maasai village where the Belgian NGO, C-re-a.i.d., provided me with the necessary accommodation during my fieldwork while they were doing architectural projects in that village) for a celebration in a nearby village Marurani. This ritual was organized for three Ilmuran who would become baba that day. My friends (a Belgian architect and South-African architect working for that NGO) who accompanied me, walked/ran together with Lothi, our local guide that day, for one hour while I took a pikipiki (motorcycle) after I got injured in a robbery the day before. I arrived at the event first of course and felt a bit lost in the beginning as it was my first ethnographic observation of a ritual. As I looked around, I noticed I had not seen most of the participants before, since it was my first week I stayed in that Maasai village. My driver stimulated me to come and stand in the circle, but I did not know if that was appropriate. I came closer, but still preferred to stand a bit outside the circle while I waited for Lothi to introduce us.

The group of men was composed of Ilmuran and Babas. Here I could see a first sign of modernization. Most of the Babas wore traditional Maasai clothes: they wore several Maasai shukas over each other, coloured in red, blue or green varieties. Some of them made a combination of these clothes and modern, Westernized clothes. The present Ilmuran were more diversified. Some of them wore the traditional clothes, but most of them were dressed in a Western urban style. In the middle of the circle I could see the first man that would make the transition. He was sitting on the ground, on a cow skin. In front of him I saw a kind of small table made of a pot
with some liquid inside and table legs below it to support the pot. In front of this small table I saw a huge black kettle in which they had brewed a local beer made of plant roots.

When Lothi and my two friends arrived, Lothi introduced us to the ‘pater familias’ of the family that was organizing the party. He presented us with our gifts and thanked him for the invitation. We also greeted the other elders who were present and then came closer to the circle again. After a while, Msafiri (another local friend and employee at the NGO and important Baba in that region) and some others opened the circle to include us more in the ritual. They presented us with the local beer. First we were really hesitant towards this drink, but understood it would be very rude not to accept it. Drinking in little sips we had to admit it didn’t taste bad after all and in my case it was a welcome gift as it worked as a painkiller for my injuries. They also stimulated us to participate in their songs and dances. We couldn’t understand what they were singing, as they sang in Kimaasai. I understood some words as I understand a little Kiswahili, but not enough to fully get the messages in the songs. Since we were the first Wazungu (foreigners) they allowed and incorporated in their rituals, our presence and participation triggered all kind of reactions. Most of them were curious to see our reactions and apparently our attempts to imitate their dances were hilarious. When I saw the videos Lothi made of us, I cannot disagree.

Now a bit more about the ritual itself. This event was the last part of several rituals that mark the transition to a next age-set. So we joined on the last day of these rituals. The Ilmuran, sitting in the middle of the circle, was accompanied by two women. One of them was his own wife, the other one was the wife of one of the other Ilmuran that made the transition. The women were dressed in brown kitenge (kind of fabric), decorated with white stripes in certain patterns and with small coins. As jewellery they wore white necklaces and also a kind of tiara made of white beads, also decorated with coins. They shaved all the facial hair of the lmuran (beard, moustache, eyebrows, hair) with a tiny knife. Every wisp of hair was put in the pot in front of the man. In that pot there was a layer of cow dung and above that a layer of fresh cow milk. This represents purity and has to protect the men from witchcraft, as witches would use all kinds of bodily excrements to bewitch people. Even though every Maasai I met, was Christian, some of them still believed in witchcraft. Christianity made them abandon their traditional belief in Engainarok and nature, but did not stop the superstition. The Ilmuran that was going through the transition, was also dressed in the traditional clothes, he wore a colourful shuka and above that one he wore two dark blue shukas. After being shaved, the new elder was
given a new shuka and was helped to stand up by another elder. That elder also gave him a whip and a kind of necklace in which tobacco is hidden. Now he had reached the age-set of the elders, he was allowed to smoke tobacco. After this ritual he was incorporated in the circle and everything was repeated for the second and third Ilmuran.

During this ritual the Ilmuran and Babas in the circle were constantly singing and dancing. The singing-part happened in a call-answer pattern. One person sang alone, the others answered. The dance was composed of certain rhythmic movements of bending their upper body to the front and back and jumping slightly up and down. In the meantime Msafiri was distributing the beer (in the kettle) to those who wanted to drink.

After the three men completed their transition, the group began to move and danced in the shape of the circle. They repeated the same movements, but now walked around instead of standing still and jumping up and down. Suddenly the circle broke open and instead of standing in a circle, everybody now stood in three rows. In this part also the women joined these rows and continued the singing and dancing. Suddenly they all began to sprint towards the house, and as we stood there somewhere in between, we had to join of course. Apparently this symbolized the competition between the men and women. After this sudden chaos everything calmed down and we were able to question our guide. After this short break we were invited to join the men to have lunch with them. The women brought a huge kettle filled with a soup made of maize and goat meat and kept bringing the local beer. After an hour there we went outside and joined the eldest elders for lunch, again made of cooked maize and meat. The food was first given to the eldest elders, then to the younger men. We sat there for another hour and chatted with the participants about the event, but also answered their questions about my research, our European life style and the things we appreciated in Tanzania.

Figure 9, 10 & 11 Schuyesmans, L. (2018,08,25). Close ups tobacco necklace. Marurani

Figure 12: Iven, B.(2018,08,25). Ilmuran on their way to the forest. Majimoto
After a while Lothi came to pick us up and decided it was time to accompany us back to Majimoto where he wanted us to join another party, this time the last day of celebration of two young children that became Ilmuran. Shortly after we arrived in Majimoto, we went into the ‘forest’ with approximately 30 Ilmuran. While walking we felt their excitement through their shouts and songs and playful way of walking, running and teasing each other. Along the way they picked up two goats of the families of the new Ilmuran from a nearby pasture. The place where the ritual slaughter of the goats would happen was hidden between some trees and bushes next to a little river. Most of the Ilmuran were dressed in modern, Western clothes.

They slaughtered the two goats by cutting their throats and immediately cut their spine so the pain only lasted some seconds and tapped the fresh blood into a pot to drink it later. After this they skinned the goats on a bed of leaves and cut the meat in pieces. Then they roasted the meat on a fire some of the Ilmuran had made in the meantime, using branches they found in the neighbourhood. Next to the meat also the heads and organs were roasted. The smell of the burned skin sometimes overwhelmed us and almost made me and my companions sick. Lothi made sure we could observe everything from a safe distance and prevented us to drink the blood as it wasn’t prepared in the right way apparently. When the meat was ready some of his friends made sure we had the chance to taste this delicious food. After this part of the celebration, we all returned to the home of one of the Ilmuran where the party continued. Once we arrived there, Lothi joined the other Ilmuran. They began a kind of action-reaction dance with the women in the house. The Ilmuran roared and jumped up and down and moved closer to the house in several parts. This roaring was ended each time with an Ilmuran that jumping higher than the rest once while producing one strident shout. In between these roaring parts the women in the house answered with high yells until the men reached the house. After this impressive dance, we were invited in the house again, this time to have dinner. Now we were given a plate of pilau, spiced rice with goat meat (dish of Indian origin) and another glass of this local beer. We finished our food and thanked everyone for their hospitality and went back to our house to rest after an interesting, but exhausting day.
As you could read in my fieldnotes the Maasai are not only adapting their prayers or references in movements to Engainarok. Most of them have stopped drinking (locally brewed) alcohol during celebrations, because it is not allowed in the Christian tradition. The Ilmuran are not wearing the Maasai shuka’s during work or at home anymore, even on these special events they do not do the effort to dress up traditionally. Many came and left as they wanted, they came by motorbikes, participated for a while and then left when they got bored. Even the food is changing, for example the pilau (spiced rice with meat) is a typical Swahili dish, not a Maasai dish.

Still, however pessimistic the elders might be, the youth seemed to have more hope I noticed during my stay. They acknowledged the huge adaptations the culture was making, but two younger men surprised me with an interesting idea. These two men were both Ilmuran I spoke to in Nungwi called Sailevu Manju, who is a Lumbwa and Mathias Okeseriawi who is a Wa-arusha.

“Even if you go to church when you’re young when you go to circumcision place in the forest, they will slaughter a cow, that cow is medicine, a strong medicine, which takes a lot of time to go out of your body. So even if you move to the city, move to Europe, go to the church etc., the soul of the medicine, of the Maasai, is still there.”

So the elders I spoke to were pretty fatalistic about the future of the Maasai traditions but according to these young men they are only changing their physical appearance like the jewellery, clothes, piercings, hair style and so on while their inner characteristics, morals and thus crucial elements of their identity would remain the same, if you are circumcised of course. These changes in physical appearance are not only consequences of the impact of education and religion, but also of the next subject I will discuss in the following chapter: the impact of urbanisation and globalisation on the Maasai youth.
Urbanization

Introduction

This chapter explores migration of the Maasai youth towards the urban areas. What are the reasons why the Maasai youth nowadays decide to migrate to the cities? What is their drive? What do they want to change about their pastoral lives? How do these aspirations change their life goals? Which opportunities can they find in town? And what are the threats they face during this migration?

Reasons migration of youth towards cities

A lot of Maasai youth, the Ilmuran, leave their village in the rural regions in Northern Tanzania and settle in the urban areas like Arusha, Moshi or even Dar Es Salaam. As Munishi (2013) points out, climatic conditions are a crucial factor in this resettlement. As many elders in my interviews claimed, their nomadic lifestyle and pastoralism are becoming impossible as a result of the environmental change in this region. Because of the declining revenues of the Maasai’s main income strategies of pastoralism and agriculture, caused by the more frequent and longer droughts (Lal et al., 2016), these elders have to witness how many young men and women leave their village and family behind in an attempt to escape the desperate situation. They hope to find wage labour in order to live a life with a better financial situation than many have today.

A second reason for the migration is the land alienation by government and investors (companies as TPC, a sugar factory of the Alteo Group or Dutch flower farms around Moshi), giving the land to ‘more productive forces’ or making them part of the conservation areas like the Ngorongoro Conservation Area or Mkomazi National Game Reserve. This tendency is a continuation of the colonial land policies in which the government divided the Maasai land between Maasai District (region for Maasai livelihoods), game reserves and ranches for European settlers (Hodgson, 2001) and even stimulated the influx of the more agricultural oriented Maasai groups that needed more land like the wa-Arusha and wa-Meru, both Maasai groups named after geographical sites: the city Arusha and Mount Meru. (Goldman, 2011) This whole trend of land alienation culminated in the 1980s – 1990s when the IMF implemented its Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and capitalist free market economy as blueprint to ‘develop African countries’. These programs encouraged the farming of cash crops and further expansion of protected areas to attract more tourism. (Goldman, 2011, Hodgson, 2001) This evolutionary view was based on the modernization theory, which originated from ideas of Max Weber and was written down by the sociologist Talcott Parsons in the 1950s. (Sandbrook, 1997) Economic liberalization would lead to political liberalization and in the end to democracy and welfare.
The sociologists in the 1950s stated that industrialization and modernization of the economy and urbanization would help to ‘develop’ the African countries, as they had seen before on the European continent. In this way they justified the European interventions in the African countries. Nowadays this view is perceived as extremely racist and a denial of the agency of Africans as they suggested there was only one way to reach a civilized, peaceful and wealthy society.

The third important reason that was mentioned in the interviews is the lack of future perspectives in their villages as Munishi (2013) illustrated: “Eventually, the decline of pastoralism due to [scarce land and harsh climate] further fuelled the rural-urban migration of the Maasai youth through “the irrelevance of purpose of existence of the Maasai youth”. We can compare this with the situation in al-Kamour and Tatouine in Southern Tunisia and the food riots in Morocco where the Tunisian and Moroccan rural youth is standing up against the regime because they have no prospects of a future, they have no job, so they cannot save for a bride price etc. (Bogaert, 2014 and 2016, Ayeb, 2011) The government is exploiting the mines in the poorer regions of the country (central and south Tunisia), but is extracting all its profits towards the coastal areas. So now these young men are protesting against this system and want to claim a fair share of these profits so they can have a dignified life too. This kind of struggle was also mentioned in my interviews in Nungwi several times, some left for the cities or Zanzibar in the hope of finding jobs, to be able to send money home to help their parents to buy more cattle and agricultural land, to pay the school fees for their siblings, to pay for a healthcare for the family as they are excluded from the most fertile lands and do not see much of the profits of tourism return to the villages, instead the governments keeps the largest parts of the profits of tourism in the protected areas for themselves. So they are looking for a future in the cities, since they have no future in the villages anymore.

A fourth reason that attracts the youth to the cities is their social networks. Whether they will be inspired to leave and have a successful experience in the city often depends on their connections with people in the cities. Having friends or relatives that will take care of them or help them find a job and a place to stay in the first weeks after arrival, will define if they will be able to settle down successfully. (Munishi, 2013)

A last important trigger to move is the upcoming social media and improved transportation system in Tanzania as many people pointed out during the interviews. The youth are lured to the cities because of the improved road networks and transportation system that enables them to travel for example in only twelve hours from Arusha to Dar Es Salaam, instead of weeks of walking. The social media also have a big influence on this migration as they now have cheap ways to communicate with their family and friends and can easily send money home through M-pesa and attract more youth to the cities in this way.

**Urbanisation and its positive impact on the Maasai livelihoods**

In this part I want to discuss the advantages that are attracting the youth towards the cities and Zanzibar. What are the features of the bright side of urbanization? What aspects characterize a successful story? What shapes the aspirations of the youth? As described above, the Maasai youth migrated for several reasons. In unrecorded chats about their daily lives some Maasai were more open about their goals and aspirations for moving to the cities or to Zanzibar. By leaving they hoped to earn
money to pay bride prices, pay school fees of younger siblings, build a good house for themselves and their parents, be able to send their own children to school in the future, buy more cattle or farmland for the family to achieve a higher social status in the Maasai community and so on. What opportunities might these cities offer these hopeful young men and women? Can the cities help to improve their financial situations? Both the older and younger generations believe in the fact the cities can improve their lives and thus can stop the exponentially growing impoverishment within the Maasai communities (Hodgson, 2001) as attested below:

“If someone gets education and a good job, they aren’t coming back to the village, but it seems that a few percent of the Maasai are coming back to build their home and this is what many people that are going to school like to do. I don’t know why, but I believe that if they get a good job in town, find a good place in town and environment, they will build a good house and live there. And then will come back home and build a good house for their parents.” (Male Maasai elder in Majimoto: Johanna Mingbara Lukumai)

“He thinks coming to Zanzibar can help him in his life, because he will learn new languages by speaking with the tourists and this will give him new opportunities for work. He didn’t find a job yet (he was only 6 days there), but wants to find a job in security or become a tourist guide. He came to Nungwi, so he can earn some money to be able to pay the bride price and found a family later.” (Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi, Kambara Mwake)

“Other good things are when they go to town to work, they see good houses, good architecture and then send their parents to town to buy good materials for their houses.” (Maasai women in Orbili: Neema Nkaiyo (Chagga) and Pendo Andrea)

In the interviews I conducted in Zanzibar the Ilmuran summed up several reasons why their migration was a good idea, especially because of the new knowledge their collect. They learn new languages, new ways of living because of tourists, useful knowledge and ideas based on their experience in the cities like diversifying income strategies, sell some cattle to invest more in health or education for the family because this will pay off in the future, change crops to more productive ones, use other techniques they learn at their jobs in for example industrial farms around the cities etc. that will improve the financial situations of the people they left in the villages and might help to prevent further marginalization (Hodgson, 2001).

Also Munishi (2013) identifies several ways of financial assistance towards the home village of the migrants in his interviews. So the migrants are able to pay for veterinary services and buy more cattle to ensure the households’ food through a higher milk production and improve their family’s financial situation and community status and respect as the amount of cattle is seen as a status symbol.

“Migrants supported agriculture through buying more farmland, financing land clearance and cultivation, as well as also weeding, buying improved seeds, insecticide, fertilizers and manure. Agricultural products improved household food security and financial well-being [economic capital], which was also used for financing health and education [cultural capital]” (Munishi, 2013)

Other advantages the urbanization and closely related globalisation bring are for example the introduction of new material items. Many young men and women copy the life style from city people
and thus buy items as radios, TVs, beds, agricultural machines, pikipiki/bodaboda (motorcycles) or bajajis (three-wheeled motor vehicle, also known as tuk tuk). The last two simplified the agricultural lifestyle and thus helped to raise the production, or serve as extra income strategy, assuring more food security, stabilizing the financial situation and the wellbeing of the family. (Munishi, 2013) The higher profits enable the families to upgrade shelter through iron-sheet roofs and use of bricks, which declined the risks on diseases and the costs of rebuilding parts of the house after heavy rains every year. I could observe clear examples of the changing architecture during my stay within C-re-aid, a Belgian architectural NGO that focuses on building sustainable social housing projects in the Arusha-Kilimanjaro region. Examples are the family house in Shimbwe, the doctors’ houses and small hospital in Majimoto, the community centre and biker’s shop in Mikocheni etc.

Another important consequence of the urbanization and globalisation is the rise of social media and use of mobile phones that enable easier ways of communication for the migrants to maintain contact with their families or voice their demands and needs and even send money home through M-pesa as indicated below:
“The cities have a big impact, but especially the mobile phones they bring back from the cities change them. If they have a good job, they help their parents and bring money.” (Female Maasai elder in Orbili: Namauani Sanaize)

“The good thing about social media is it gives them easy ways to send money to someone, for example the youth working in the city can send money home through their mobile phone (Mpesa).” (Male Maasai elders: former chairman and present chairman in Mikocheni: Emanuel K. Shingombaya and Yohana K. Lamishira)

A last important positive consequence of urbanization is revealed by the cultural leader of Majimoto, Saiboku Velo: “In the past they only went to the cities when you were dying and the local healers could not heal you, so they you would go to the cities for Western treatment. Now the people go to the cities and get good treatments immediately.”

**Flip side: urbanisation and its threats: negative impact on Maasai livelihoods and culture**

When their sons and sometimes daughters leave to the cities to find jobs and happiness there, the remaining family members such the parents are often confronted with uncertain and difficult financial situations. Since less manual labour can be done, a lot of families have to deal with more livestock deaths as a consequence. Or even worse, they can lose more cattle when they have to pay for the debts made or damage done by their children in the cities. This tendency was also marked by Munishi (2013). He pointed out how this lack on human power, this “extra workload among some households’ members was distributed between women, elders and children.” In this way the women get almost two fulltime jobs and take over some male-related tasks. During my time in the field I saw a lot of Maasai children that should have been in primary of secondary school, but instead were working on the ‘shambas’ (cultivated fields) or walking around with the cattle. So the labour shortage endangers their education and future perspectives.

But not only the family left behind in the Maasai villages is struck by financial misfortunes, also the young men and women in de the cities have to overcome many obstacles. The first difficulty is often the fact they do not have a job or shelter when they arrive in the city, if they have no relatives there of course. In these circumstances they are an easy prey for exploiting landlords. To travel to and stay in a city during the first days or even weeks is very expensive, and often sponsored by selling cattle in advance (a first loss of cattle for the family). Why? As long as they have no income, they have to invest to get a job by buying a motorcycle or bajaji, buying tools to cook or becoming a hairdresser… (interview Kambara Mwake, Ilmuran interviewed in Nungwi), they also have to spend a lot of money to get a safe place to sleep etc. So here we see the importance of social connections before coming to the city. If they have friends or relatives already living in the city, they can stay there for a while for a small rent or can even get financial support. By living together they are able to reduce the costs of food and shelter. Living together also makes it easier to hold on to cultural characteristics as eating together as Ilmuran with other men, preparing traditional food., (Munishi (2013) or speaking Kimaasai as two Maasai Ilmuran in Majimoto, Benson Kisee and Exaud Elias claimed:

“If you are staying in the cities, you will meet there other Maasai that will trigger you to speak Kimaasai, and language is seen as crucial in the identity.”
Their culture also provides chances to get certain job opportunities: becoming a guard because of their warrior status, or a hairdresser because of their many forms of braids etc. Nevertheless many of these ‘traditions’ are invented as Hobsbawm and Ranger pointed out (1983), maintaining their culture (clothing, hair style, aggressiveness associated with Ilmuran…) is important for these young men. Their cultural traditions of sharing and respecting each other makes it possible for them to cope with financial insecurity, inconstant employment and unreliable shelter (I saw some even slept outside on the beach in Nungwi as they could not afford a room). They are not only an easy prey for landlords, also capitalist employers exploit the situation. They offer the Maasai low salaries, no work insurance or other safety nets, falsely accuse them of theft, stigmatizing Maasai as second-class citizens and marginalized community for instance instead of using the words rafiki or kaka like they do with other Swahili people or Europeans, they just address them as Maasai all the time as I heard several times. I could also observe this on public transport where the Maasai are mocked or pushed of the buses.

Employers can abuse them easily due to their lack in education by letting them sign abusive contracts or no contract at all, since many Maasai lack the knowledge about their labour rights or do not fully comprehend it as it is written in Kiswahili. Munishi (2013) also specifies several ways of labour exploitation in his thesis: “Another form of underpayment among the Maasai migrant youth occurred by the way of innocently or forcefully engaging in more than one tasks at work place yet only getting paid for one job. For example, Maasai migrants who were employed as security guards did this job both day and night for the same pay [salary equivalent for either only night or day]. Yet, while at work they were also responsible for working as messengers and gate keepers, cleaning the environment, washing their employers’ vehicles, loading and unloading luggage from vehicles, fetching water and assisting with some other household duties such as being sent for shopping.”

Besides the hindrances of finding shelter and a job the cities can also endanger the health and physical security of these young men and women. Those were clearly debated by the secondary school teacher I interviewed in Moshi: Thomas Theobald Kiagho. “The cities give everyone more opportunities, but it is also a dangerous place for those who have not been in school for example: temptation to begin drinking or smoking, being guards because of their warrior status, but which makes them an easy prey for violent groups. They are not professional guards. Also honesty is an important value in their culture, which endangers them when they easily give away personal information to people with bad intentions. Not always they find good jobs, so then they get stuck with trying to sell groundnuts, but which is hardly giving them an income.” … “Other problem is HIV (in the Maasai community) that is caused by the variable sexual relationships in cities.” Munishi (2013), Hodgson (2001), Ole Kaunga (2002) and May and Ole Ikayo (2007) discussed these matters extensively in their books or papers. Hodgson noted in her book that the migrants were exposed to all kind of health-risks such as HIV or permanent disabilities after getting physically attacked while working as security guards, which can lead to severe injuries or even early death. Aslo Ole Kaunga (2002) and May and Ole Ikayo (2007) brought up these issues. They state the Maasai migrants are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS due to the changing social and intimate relationships in the cities and the lack of use of protection against HIV like condoms. Both Ole Kaunga (2002) and Munishi (2013) discussed the dangers the attacks bring upon the Maasai working as security guards. Many migrants are filled with fear when they are working, since they have don’t “have such advanced weapons to defend themselves against attacks. Migrants’ security guards mainly relied on sticks, swords, arrows and spears in providing security services, even though the migrants
were providing security services to very sensitive places such as financial institutions, shops, bars and restaurants, car yards, garages and workshops.” (Munishi, 2013) As a result many try to abandon the job and find new ones as driving a pikipiki (motorcycle), hair dressing, selling souvenirs, selling Maasai traditional herbs or selling mobile phone accessories and airtime for example.

The rural-urban migration does not only have a big impact on the family members who stay in the cities or on the youth that dares to take the step to move to the cities, but also on the Maasai traditions in general. The youth/Ilmuran forms a crucial age-set in the Maasai society, because then they are trained in all the knowledge and skills required to become a full member of the Maasai community. This Ilmuran stage can be seen as a kind of rite of passage, a kind of liminal phase between being a child and becoming a full member of society as an elder. So when they leave for the cities, they have less and less time for this education and thus parts of their traditions as the knowledge about plants and herbs are lost. They pay less and less attention to crucial features of the Maasai identity such as respect, discipline, honesty, warrior skills, leadership skills etc. “Consequently, youth urban migration led to delays or inconsistencies in some cultural events [rituals], as Maasai society is based on age set groups, which facilitates the existence and transmission of the Maasai culture from one generation to the other. Therefore, the migration of Maasai youth meant delays in cultural events, mainly initiation such as circumcision and transition from youthhood to adulthood, including subsequent marriages.” (Munishi, 2013) Those delays of stage transitions I was able observe during my field work. Msafiri (one of the Maasai elders of Majimoto and employee at C-re-aid) became an elder only late, Lothi (Ilmuran, also employee at C-re-aid and my guide around Majimoto and Zanzibar) also refused to change yet from the Ilmuran stage (14y – 25y old) to the junior adulthood (25y – 30 y old), because they are in the cities all the time and thus lack the time for their responsibilities as elders. Many elders criticized this changing behaviour due to the attraction of the cities, social media and tourists in my interviews:

“The cities seem to be destructing the culture, but not completely. Like if people go to the cities, they wear the modern clothes, but still, when they come back home, they change. So the culture is still strong in some way. They learn to speak Swahili, which is good. But they also learn the bad manners from town like stealing stuff.” (Young Maasai women in Orbili: Neema Nkaiyo (Chagga) and Pendo Andrea)

“The boys now are less and less respectful. Examples: they drink too much, they have no time to fight if necessary, so they aren’t acting as warriors anymore, they’re lazy, sleeping at home during the day and then go drinking during the night....” (Maasai female elders in Orbili: Nai Petro and Akness Lowasa)

“Tourists change the younger Maasai. Some go back to the village and indeed try to live in a new way. But it is not allowed, so not everyone does this. Like the Maasai have their own tobacco, they aren’t happy when the youth smokes cigarettes or joints.” (Male Maasai elders in Nungwi: Msiragi Kukuwa and Sinyakwa Mainge)

“Tourists are changing the Maasai here. They learn new languages a bit, some of the tourists even give them money to go to school etc, so drastically change their lives at that moment, some marry a tourist...” “But also some change in a negative way: some begin drinking, smoking etc., but most don’t.” (Male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Kambara Mware)
While living in the cities many young men and women copy the behaviour and life style popular in these urban areas and sometimes export it to the rural areas. An example of this I mentioned before: the drinking problem in Orbili or Oimavinu. I also stated less and less youth attend the rituals and if they attend the rituals they do not wear traditional clothes and even copy aspects of rituals of other cultures as you can see in the following pictures.
Results analysis impact education, religion and urbanisation

We can summarize that the development pressure on local governments stimulates the authorities to take decisions like mandatory education for every child, but because of its colonial past, the curricula often do not include local heritage and history. Also it accelerates the process of younger generations abandoning their village after their studies at universities to live in the cities to get better financial situations, which decreases the social connectedness among the Maasai. (Ahmed & Booth, 2015, Waller, 1984, Mollel, 2011) While I visited some Maasai villages last summer, I saw huge changes in the duties that are linked to the age-sets. A lot of the Ilmuran continue studying after secondary school, get good jobs in town and decide not to come back to the village to fulfil these duties, but to earn money in other ways and bring the money to the family in the weekends. This definitely has an enormous impact on the pastoralist ideals of the Maasai. Once living in the cities they are exposed to the capitalist ideals, the mass media, increased mobility and cross-cultural communication through social media which all trigger the ‘modernization’ or westernization (mimicry/imitation of Western lifestyles, customs and ideals) of their culture. (Mollel, 2011, Ahmed & Booth, 2015) Another consequence of living in the cities is the decreasing ability to speak Kimaasai, one of the crucial aspects of the Maasai indigenous identity. Instead they shift to Kiswahili and English in a process of homogenization1 and hybridization2. We see the same phenomenon with overthrowing some taboos, values and cultural norms by the free trade, initiated by neoliberalism. Cattle and children are no longer the status symbols, but are replaced by material things like having a big stone house, a fancy car, all kinds of technological gadgets etc. as I explained before This technological advancement even poses another threat to the Maasai culture: it exposes their culture to the other cultures, to the international community. Some of the most crucial aspects of the Maasai indigenous identity, like the circumcision and lion hunting who are seen as crucial in the period of being a Ilmuran, are now criticized worldwide and were forbidden by the Tanzanian government.

But there is another important change I noticed during my interviews and observations: the changing roles of femininity and masculinity. I will compare this with a similar case Bourgois observed among Puertorican families in the USA. In his book ‘In Search Of Masculinity: Violence, Respect and Sexuality Among Puerto Rican Crack Dealers in East Harlem’ (1996) he wrote an article on the sexual violence in the migrated Puertorican families. The Puertorican society is patriarchal one, a society with a strong masculine ideal, where men are seen as the caretakers/providers of the family, but because of the poverty they cannot live up to these expectations/standards anymore. They cannot be the providers since there are no jobs which results in a crisis of masculinity in a certain way. In response to that crisis,

1 Homogenization is according to Holton (2000) a “convergence toward a common set of cultural traits and practices”. Pieterse’s definition (2003) is a good addition to this definition: “The notion of ‘McDonaldization’ and ‘Cocacolaization’ refers to the worldwide homogenization of societies through the impact of multinational corporations.”

2 Hybridization is another process that was formed because of globalisation in which a hybrid culture/identity rises. Holton (2000) describes it as “the intercultural exchange and incorporation of cultural elements from a variety of sources within particular cultural practices. Pieterse (2003) defines hybridization as a process that “resolves the tension between purity and emanation, between the local and the global in dialectic according to which the local is in the global and the global in the local. Negative sides of hybridization (Mollel, 2011) are the fact it supresses existing norms and values in some cultures and allows the intrusion of some new norms and values when the other culture is more dominant.
sexual violence is a way to regain a sense of their masculinity. Similar arguments have been made in other contexts like military contexts as Bourgois explains in an article he wrote in 2001 on the (sexual) violence used in the Salvadorean War. The military is seen as a very masculine structure, where people feel they have to conform to certain patriarchal, heteronormative norms. In these forms masculinity is recovered through violence, often in the form of rape as a performative action to extort their masculinity. So because of the war sexual violence is justified.

We can draw some parallels here with the case of the displaced Maasai as Archambault showed in her article ‘The pen is the spear of today: (re)producing gender in the Maasai school setting’, published in 2016. She claims that education is changing the definitions of Maasai masculinity and femininity. Essential values, characteristics and performances in the past associated with “traditional manhood and womanhood” are adapted nowadays. The isolation period in which the Ilmuran were taught all the necessary skills and knowledge to become warriors, is now replaced with formal schooling through the popular slogan “The pen is the spear of today.” Also for young women we see that education is changing their status and duties within the Maasai community. In the past their lives were dedicated to bear and raise children, while today they are taught how to take care of their family livelihoods on the economic and social level (Das, 2007). During my interviews divers young women told me about the empowerment and how they dare to stand up to their husbands or families more often nowadays. On the other hand, I saw many young men struggling with this new reality. They want to fulfil their duties that are linked to the ‘traditional masculinity’, so being the breadwinner of the family and striving for leadership, but instead they struggle to find jobs and the women show they can run the household perfectly alone while the men are gone. In the migrated Puertorican community Bourgois showed the men fled in raping women or using a lot of domestic violence in an attempt to regain their masculinity, to regain their dominance. (1996) In the Maasai community I saw different tendencies. Nobody mentioned using extra violence to gain power. I had the impression many men used other ways to flee from the truth of their fading dominance. I saw and heard in testimonies how many men struggled with alcoholism instead. (Hodgson, 2001)

“The boys are less and less respectful. Examples: they drink too much alcohol, have no time to fight if necessary, so they aren’t acting as warriors anymore, they’re lazy, sleeping at home during the day and then go drinking during the night.” (Female Maasai elders in Orbili: Nai Petro and Akness Lowasa)

“Some people change in this way (because of the tourists), but most don’t. Some begin drinking, smoking etc, but most don’t. (male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Kambara Mwake (Wa-arusha)
Conclusion

During my research I was astonished and a little disheartened by the reaction of some of the Maasai youth when they said they did not care if their culture, language and life style would disappear, that they would even be happy, because it would mean they would have a better, wealthier life than their families had in the past. I went to Tanzania, because of my Western background and personal interest in history and different cultures, to record as many things as possible of their traditions in an attempt to preserve their precious culture, in my opinion, before Christianity and urbanization would erase certain parts. But the discussions I had and the readings I did afterwards, made me realize I was still influenced by a very westernized ideal. A few weeks ago I had a similar discussion with a South-African student in Ghent during the Interchange event organized by the international office of our Department. He gave me the same remark when I discussed my research with him. When I said I was really disappointed by the speed the traditions are changing and even disappearing, he immediately responded with the question: “Is that a bad evolution?” After a heated discussion I need to admit he was totally right. I am angry because of the strong changes Western and Asian countries are implementing in sub-Saharan Africa, but I need to admit it brings a lot of opportunities too. Maurice Bloch (cited in Hirsch, 2003) had the same kind of discussion with some Zafimaniry in Madagascar. The villages used to be surrounded by dense forest, but this is now changing extremely fast. To his surprise the Zafimaniry did not seem to mind the deforestation and the accompanying change of income strategy and ‘de-ethnicization’. In one interview an older woman stated she loved the forest. When Bloch asked why, her answer was: “because you can cut it down”. So this is view on the changing environment is the exact opposite of the ‘ecological panic’ (Bloch, cited in Hirsch, 2003) or I would even use a stronger term and call it ecological frenzy of the West. Our Western, European aesthetics, linked to the virtualism I mentioned before, does not concern the local population, they look at the environment in ‘a purely utilitarian manner’. (Bloch, cited in Hirsch, 2003)

This leads to the billion dollar question: should we reverse this tendency and if so, how? Can for example community-based wildlife tourism and development programs be the solution for these problems or are they only a burden? With the case studies of Sinya and Ololosokwan I illustrated how wildlife tourism and development programs (can) have many positive effects. (Western 1993, cited in Sindiga, 1995, MacCannell, 1976, van Beek, 2003, Brockington and Igoe, 2008, Steinicke en Neuburger, 2012) They create a space where human rights become more and more important. They also create new chances for local economies, create employment, improve the infrastructure, stimulate the spread of the cash economy and international networks etc. as explained before. But the story is not all rosy… I also demonstrated how the local people are victimized: tourists are given priority over
African residents. We saw how ecotourism abused local populations by employing them in low-waged, seasonal labour without opportunities to make promotion. I could observe this closely in the farms around Moshi and with the Maasai working on Zanzibar. We also saw how governments caused a lot of losses and damage to the lands of the local populations through the installation or expansion of national parks, which meant the total exclusion of the locals living in that area and often led to the prohibition on the use of their traditional natural resources. (Nelson, 2004) If the local population did not follow these laws and got caught, they received a harsh reminder by the park guards. Additionally we saw that ecotourism changed the local culture by its commoditization and modernization through the intense contact with the tourists. (Brandon, 1996) As we discussed before, modern capitalism transforms cultural heritage (natural environments, monuments, artefacts, customs etc.) into commodities. But instead of distributing the revenues fairly between all the actors involved, the local population, who have to deal with the damage tourism causes, only receive a small share of the profits while multinationals and governments fill their pockets. We also see that tourism operators and national governments want to preserve the cultural characteristics of the local populations as the Maasai. If the Maasai do not leave their traditions, the state can earn a lot of money with cultural tourism. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009) As a result of this fight between all the actors, the Maasai are torn apart by the challenges and frictions of contemporary traditions and modernity.

In this debate it is crucial that every stakeholder will be represented in the future. In this thesis I tried to outline some of the primary problems to be able to suggest some recommendations, but I need to admit it is and will remain a difficult ideal to return the ancestral lands. These protected areas are torn apart by powerful actors as international NGO’s with millions to spend on conservation, oppressing regimes and military groups that want to fill their pockets with the revenues of tourism as we see in Virunga National Park in Congo for example, an international community which sympathizes extremely with the conservation ideals, especially when the slaughter of young animals is shown during publicity campaigns that all want to undermine the rightful claim the local populations want to make on their ancestral lands. So the exclusion of the local people from the management of the areas and the decision-making process is wrong and disrespecting their rights on their ancestral lands. The denial of participation of resettlers is not only a violation of the human rights, but is also a threat to the success of the conservation policies. (Goldman, 2011) We can conclude room needs to be created for ethnopreneurship, a concept I believe that can be the solution to a more equal distribution of benefits and positive attitude and participation of everyone involved. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999 and 2009, van Beek, 2003, Picard, 2014, Brinkman & Hoek, 2010)

By becoming ethnopreneurs the Maasai would no longer have to ‘act as pastoralists’ because Western tourists want them to be and for which they are willing to spend a huge amount of money to see this ‘authentic performance’. Instead the Maasai would do it, because they want to themselves, because they can earn a lot of money with it. So I agree with the Comaroffs and Cole that becoming an ethnopreneur doesn’t reduce culture to trade commodities, but rather is a modern way of consuming their own identity, as a mode of self-reflection. Selling/commodifying their own body and manufacturing artefacts helps to rediscover their own culture and empowers them economically. They would no longer be dependent on wage labour, but would be able to manage their own resources and thus gain agency.
Bibliography

Part 1


Part 2


Bogaert, K. (2015), The revolt of small towns: the meaning of Morocco’s history and the geography of social protests. Review of African Political Economy, 42


Appendix

Appendix 1: Transcription interviews

Translated by Honesmo Kivuyo, who lives in Majimoto and Arusha, grew up in Majimoto. So he is part of the Wa-Arusha branch of the Tanzanian Maasai.

05/09 Interview with male Maasai elder in Majimoto: Johanna Mingbara Lukumai

Answer on introduction of my research about the impact of modernization and globalisation on the Maasai culture. (T = Translator, L = me)

T: How education is changing this: for example maybe someone is going to school. In school you’re not going to wear Maasai clothes. When you’re studying maybe in our village, then you’ll be going to the other stage, you’re not studying in our village, you’re going to the other village. So how can you pair (should be cope with this situation) the issue I was telling you about in the night? How can you pair (cope)? You should be like the other place. You’ll be wearing other clothes, you’re not going to wear the Maasai clothes. Even in schools there is no one who is wearing Maasai clothes in school. But when they came back home, they can just wear. And the second issue he’s saying, is religions. For example now in our village, if they’re doing this natural circumcision: there are some villagers they don’t like their children to be circumcised in our culture, they want to change them, they want to do that thing in religious means. If in Christianity, they do by using church rules, they do by using the Bible, but when they’re Muslims they going to do by using Koran and everything about Muslims. But so that issue is about religions.

L: So is it possible to combine the Christian belief with the Maasai belief, because I think how can they bring this together and still do the rituals for example of the ceremonies or celebrations? Or isn’t that allowed that you attend celebrations when you’re a Christian?

T: Well he saying that you can’t combine. You have to be a Christian, then you have your Maasai God. He’s saying that’s not good. The Bible is going against the other cultures. Christianity is going against Maasai culture, Christianity is going against other cultures. Because you have to remember Maasai has their God, they say Engainarok. Engainarok is the black God. If you have Engainarok, they you have the Biblical God, that’s two different things, so you don’t have to combine it.

L: I think I see a lot of Maasai that make the combination and still call themselves Maasai. At what age they change? They probably wait until after circumcision etc. or when would they change then? Because I think when they change before circumcision, they can’t have anymore?
T: Yeah yeah (laughter). They change when they’re already circumcised. Because before circumcision, they treat them as kids, you’re like a kid: you don’t know anything. You’re going to the church, if you want you can pray the Black God. But when they’re circumcised, what the issue, they’ll be changed after circumcision. He was saying by the first we are praying under this tree. There is a special tree that they go, they bring some cows there, they slaughter them and leave the meat there. When they’re going home, because why are they doing that? For example there is no rain maybe for 2 or 3 years. What will be problem it? What will the cows and goats feed? The people should pray to God to get rain so to get the grasses and food for people. If there is no rain, they have to go under the tree, a special tree and pray for the Black God. How can they pray? They bring some cows, they slaughter and leave the meat. When they leave the meat, they go, they don’t even have a piece of meat to eat, they leave everything there, then they go home, before reaching home, the rain will come. So that’s what they believe at that time, but when these Christians and Muslims came, people changed. What changed them? If someone is going to the church, the church is going against the culture. How? If you go to the Bible, the Bible is saying, don’t pray to the other gods, only pray me. So if they go to the church, the Baptists and pastors etc. tell them: don’t go to the culture. When they come back home, they tell their kids don’t go to the culture, let’s go to the church. So that’s where the religion takes place.

L: Yeah that’s where Christianity is destroying our cultures, they’ve also done it in Europe. Then the other part he was talking about was the environment. Does he wants to explain us a bit more? Yeah, well the environment changes, because at the first time this village was not like this. This village has no good houses, has not big houses, but it was like: you go to the forest, you cut the trees, you bring the trees and build a house like that … can you see the small house over there? That’s the kind of houses that has been here. So if you compare you and the life that you’re living in the house like that, why do you have to change? But according to these modern things that we get, we have to change, we’re getting phones, there is good clothes in the shops, there is no need to wear one pair of clothes all the time. So when the environment change, you have to change according to environment changing.

L: And then was this village influenced a lot by the government policies for example like on conservation that evicted Maasai from the national parks. Was this also the case for the people here, a few generations ago of course, that they were pushed here or didn’t they use to live in another place?

T: The impact of the government. By the first time he’s saying they lived scattered. You got someone here, you got someone in the other village, and someone in the other street… But when the government takes the place and its rules the people were arranged in the same place. At the first time there is no house here. The first time this was the place for the cows, for the goats… But when the government came, they arranged them in this place, they gave them roads and services like having water, having electricity, hospitals, schools, church, that’s the main purpose of the government to arrange them. But by the first time they’re living scattered. This village was very big, but people were few. So everyone should have like this is my portion. You take a big portion of the land, so that’s the impact of the government.

L: Was it also because of the government they changed to cultivate maize etc? Or was that just them adapting because of the environment?

T: You mean, the government stop cultivating?

L: No, the government just stimulated the cultivation? Now I think, they have less and less cows and more and more maize fields. Is it because of the government makes it obligated or is it because they
don’t have enough income anymore by the cows and feel like they have to change their ways to get more income?
T: The government doesn’t tell them: stop having so many cows and now start cultivating. No, the big issue is education, this is the first thing. For example if you have your kids in schools or universities, what you have to do is selling the cows, so you can get the school fees. This is the first thing that makes them have less cows. The second is environment change. Normally they have a lot of rain, lots of years ago. So by that time there is so many places to feed the cows, because there is so many grasses and everything. So they don’t have something to feed them now. So this is the big part to sell them and the small part I can manage them. So this is 50% of my cows, I sell them, the other 50%, I’ll manage them to feed. So that is the second issue. And the third one is where to feed them. There is no more places to feed the cows. Even when it’s raining every day and we have a lot of grasses. Where can you feed the hundreds of cows here? (laughter)
L: This is indeed what I was thinking. (laughter)
T: There is no place, there is a house here, there a house there. This is not my place, can I feed at another ones place? No, not possible. So if you want to feed, go and find where there is a big areas for feeding your cows. So that’s the issue that makes them having less and less cows.
L: Will they still then travel around and travel really far to get the grazing lands or is that not so common here anymore in Majimoto?
T: He is saying they are still moving, but in our village there are less people that are moving. Not more people, less people are moving. By the first time, if you’re moving with your cows, you move with your family. When you reach where there is a lot of grasses, you build a small house, not strong, you build just a small house just for a short time you live there. If you finish the all grasses, you’re moving again. But nowadays, they are not moving their families. They’re building a strong house, you leave your family, if you want to live with your cows. Leave, then when there is some grasses here, you bring back your cows where there is your family. But they’re not moving in much number as in the first time. They’re still changing.
L: I think then this had a big impact on the duties for the Ilmurani. They normally did the travelling around, but this changed. What do they do now to get an income. Because I think now there isn’t really a job anymore for them?
T: What the young mens, especially Ilmurans do, when there is is no moving of the cows. What they do? They do cultivation, if not cultivation, they move to the cities and find something to do as security, if not security, something else to do. But not shifting of the cattle and something like that, because there is no more cattle. So find something to do, go to the farm, if not the farm, go to the city, find something to do.
L: And then who is now mostly taking care of the cows? The women then?
T: Who is taking care? If there is no Ilmurans, this few cows that we have, who is taking care? Elders like him and his wives. That’s what they do.
L: Now we can shift to education. What does he sees as positive and negative consequences of education in his eyes?
T: What is the impact of education? I think everything has positive and negative effect. The positive effect is when your kids going to school and gets successful in school, but if they fail in school, that’s a negative effect. Because then you sold a lot of cows, you spend a lot of time for how him to go to school and then after that they fail. What you get? It’s just like a negative effect. What are the positive
effects? When they get success, they get good jobs and they bring back your cows. But if they fail, they lost a lot of cows, time and money. That the impact of education.

L: Is there a between the boys and girls going to school? For example will the girls only do primary and secondary school or do they get as much chances to go to universities as boys? Probably they will send boys more to universities because they probably think it is more useful or?

T: It was many years ago the Maasai didn’t took their girls to school. Why? Because they think girls always will be married. So it will not be helpful to my family, she is going to help the other family. If you will be married to someone, you’re not going to bring the all advantages to your mother and father, but you’re going to bring to your husband. That was the belief of them many years ago. But nowadays they changed. The boys and girls all are going to school. It depends on what you have. You have school fees. So go to school, are the kids are now going to school. Not only boys. It depends on what you have, if you have enough fees, boys and girls will go to school and even universities.

L: Is there a difference in what kind of studies they will do? Or is it pretty mixed?

T: (answer translator himself) Normally, not in Maasai, but in Tanzania, it seems like many boys are doing science and the girls are doing arts. Many of the girls are going to be teachers, but if you want to see a female engineer, there are not many.

L: Yeah, there are not so many like Nancy and Samantha. Even in Belgium we still see a little difference.

T: (answer translator) You see that in the village when they see Nancy walking people are like: Nancy is there, she is engineer, wow, how is it possible? It’s just like an amazing thing to them. That’s a belief that we have, not as Maasai, but the whole country: there are not many girls in hard working. When you go to the mining and you get girls or go to the Kilimanjaro and get girls. Among the 400 porters, you get two girls. They don’t like hard works.

L: And then after their education, is it then easy to get reintegrated? For example I think it’s probably not so easy then to get them back in the house. Because when a girl has studied at a university they probably don’t want to be just in the household or is that not such an issue?

T: In the village house: you want to know what makes them …?

L: Yeah, are there a lot of boys and girls that come back to the village and still live here like it used to be or will they all stay in the cities and get jobs there?

T: It seems like this is not only for Maasai, it seems like it in the whole country for example the Chagga. And if someone gets education and good job, they are not coming back to the village, but it seems that a few percent of the Maasai, are coming back to build their home and this is what many people that are going to school likes to do. He don’t know why, but they is the belief that all they have that if a got good job in town, I find good job in town, I find a good place in town and environment, build my good house and live there. But I came back home and build good house for my mother and my father, that’s how they do.

L: Okey. And do they see changes in values in being Maasai like I think probably they think they have another view on being Maasai and the Maasai identity than the younger people. Like probably they will see having a herd of cows is crucial, while I think Lothi don’t see it as crucial anymore to be Maasai. What does he thinks is different between the age-sets in their view on Maasai identity? If he would have to give a definition of being a Maasai, what would he say and what does he think other would say?
T: Well, the difference is: if you want to know someone is a Maasai, for example me and Lothi and the others that are not wearing the Maasai clothes, if you want to know it’s a maasai: in the way they speak, if they speak Maasai, you know it’s a Maasai. But if you just look, you didn’t know it’s a maasai.

L: And so, what kind of aspects does he find crucial to be Maasai? Because literally Wazungu can also learn to speak Kimasai, but that doesn’t make you a Maasai. So what does he sees as crucial in being a Maasai, what makes you a real Maasai?

T: Well the first thing if you want to know, because you say the Wazungu, Ormeeki nowadays are speaking Maasai, you can learn. I’m not a Mzungu, but I’m speaking English, you can learn how to speak Maasai. So how you know this is a really Maasai? The first thing is pronunciation: how they speak. The way I’m speaking with him, I’m speaking Maasai with him, not Swahili, the way am I speaking and the way you speak that you learn to speak Maasai, you’re not a Maasai. The way you talk to him, you know that this is not a really Maasai,. They have pronunciation, they speak fast, but if you want to speak with him, but then you say: kama … euh…

L: Yeah you have to think about the words.

T: You have to think before, but a really Maasai think. They can talk what I am talking to you right now. The other things are the names. For example my name is Honesmo Kivuyo. When I say I’m Kivuyo, you know this is Maasai. Johanna Mollel, Mollel is a Maasai, Lukumai is a Maasai, Layza is a Maasai, Lologo. But if I say I am Jackson, do you know this is Maasai? If I say I am Jackson Mollel, I am somebody Lemali, you know that this is a Maasai. Even on other tribes, they use names. I can lie on you because I’m not wearing Maasai clothes, then I say I’m chagga. What’s your name? Honesmo Kivuyo, then you say: oh no, there is no Kivuyo that is no Maasai. Chagga are always Masawe, Shirima. I can say I’m Honesmo Shirima, I’m Honesmo Shawa, if someone is lying on you, that I am a Maasai, I’m Honesmo Masawe. There is no Masawe that can be Maasai. We have our own special names.

L: I read a lot of papers about the importance of education in getting more power in national politics. The titles were often saying like: the pen is the spear of today. Do they feel it the more their children study, they get more attention in the government or have more impact there? That the government has to care more for the maasai. I think when they didn’t go to school, they had no voice in the parliament? Is that changing or doesn’t he see a real change?

T: This can change.

T: So, it seems like that they are also changes in going to school. But nowadays it seems like there is some maasai that are going to be ministers, members of parliament, they are going to talk for us, for the Maasai that have this problem of not having good areas for investments, they don’t have areas for agricultural activities. Politics are changing. Nowadays there going to give Maasai the chances.

L: They feel more represented now.

T: They seems like very care. Even in education, if the Maasai going to school, they’re going to be good in school. I don’t know why they’re good in school. They take care of what they are doing.

L: In the schools, do they learn about the Maasai culture? For example in history? Is that more like European history or broad African history or do they also see history about the local tribes etc.?

T: (answer Translator) Yeah, in school, because I’ve been in school, there is a small part about the study of Maasai culture. There is small part about the other cultures, but not all the cultures, because in Tanzania we have 125 tribes in one country. So you can’t learn all them, but the important cultures we learn about it. Like Maasai culture, like Hadzabe, the people who are living in the forest, like Chagga we learn in school. But just little part, not the whole. So this culture is also in schools, they’re teaching
them: if the kids sees like this is not good, they can’t do because our culture has good things and bad things right? Like FGM, female genital mutilation, in schools they taught us that FGM is not good, so you guys don’t do it. So in schools that’s a small part of culture we learn.

L: Do school etc has a big impact on the rituals? Are they changing a lot? Things like circumcision and the other celebrations probably 100 or 50 years ago are different with how they happen now?

T: (answer translator) There is a big difference. Why? For example some years ago FGM was normal. A girl should be circumcised to get what the others get. But nowadays education changed them. If a girl hear: ‘it’s your time to be circumcised’, she has to leave the home to find the village officers and tell the chairman that ‘there is something that my parents want to do for me and that’s not good, the government don’t allow it’. So that is stopped because of education. And the other thing is even the circumcision of the boys, for the first time, you get a boy like me, not circumcised. They’re waiting for the time, for the cultural time, but nowadays small kids is already circumcised, but its education takes less. That if you’re not circumcised as a boy, there are some diseases you can get. So normally if you’re a young boy you be circumcised. But in the other Maasai, that I told you the first time, remember that we have several tribes of Maasai. In the other Maasai, they wait until the boy is coming up, and grow, but for us education is going to change that, because for us so many people are educated. For them education is still a bit … yeah…

L: When I was at that celebration there was a big difference in clothing etc between the elder people and younger people. What is his view on it? Does he find it problematic that this is changing or doesn’t it bother him this much that for example a lot of Ilmuran weren’t dressed in traditional clothes on the celebration?

T: So the difference between this clothes?

L: Uhu, yeah, does he find it a problem that they weren’t dressed on this celebration. I think probably they don’t mind during normal days, but probably he doesn’t like it when they aren’t dressed as traditional maasai during the celebrations?

T: (answer translator) Normally when there is a celebration, if you’re not wearing like a maasai, you should wear for the day of celebration. But normal days like this, stay normal. But if you’re coming in a celebration, please please please wear like a maasai.

L: But I saw like a lot of them...

T: (answer translator) Yeah a lot of them have changed nowadays, but what is the maasai rules says? Wear like the Maasai, but what makes them so many people to not wear? People are changed. You see like if I wear this clothes, people will see me. They normally see me I have good trousers, good t-shirts and shirts. If I wear the traditional clothes, I’m not going to look good, so let me wear my normal clothes. Also other people they don’t have this clothes, they probably don’t have the money to buy or have it inside, but don’t like it to wear.

L: What is his view on the changing rituals? Does he think in the future the rituals will completely disappear or does he think they will just change, modernize a bit or does he think this will completely fade out?

T: He is thinking that some years ago there would be this rituals, but it’s not powerful. What we see now and some years ago it was very powerful and strong, but nowadays it’s going to be weak weak weak. Then it will be weak, but not full weak that they’re going to let it disappear. Culturally will be like normally, but not powerful.
L: It’s not a priority anymore. People will just come when they have time. And then, the lion hunting is apparently still done, but is it getting more difficult to do it? Because the government doesn’t want it anymore, so is it becoming more difficult to do?

T: The government is protecting this and like lions, the wildlife at all. But when you’re in the forest and you have your cows and goats and then the lion comes, they can kill. Yeah, they can kill. The big issue is the government. ... (?) ... When the lion comes to hunting, then you hunt.

L: Is there a difference now in the knowledge of the Ilmurani in the past and now? I know they used to live years apart out of the village, in the forest and that they had courses given by elders about the history, that they had to learn the skills etc. And now I think it’s becoming shorter and shorter because they have to go to school etc. Does he see a difference what they know about the culture or did they find solutions to give them as much knowledge as before but just in a shorter time?

T: They’re still getting knowledge, but they have short time. It’s too short time because of the school, also they’re getting knowledge to have good food, good service in the house. But nowadays people don’t have so many cows to slaughter for them, so they do it for the short time, so as to save some money maybe, also they save time for schools. So they’re getting knowledge, but for the short time.

L: So less, but the core they still get. Does he see changes in marriages? I know about drinking the milk, that young men have to drink it separate from women. I think this is probably changing because of education? Do they for example still wait to marry until they’re through their period of being Ilmurani and also still think about separating the milk etc after marriage?

T: You mean separate the milk like this is for the father, this is for the Ilmuran...

L: I don’t know exactly how it works, but I read some things about it. And it might be important for him?

T: They still do. Someone get married, they have kids, they don’t share the same milk. They separate, this part of the food is for you, this for you...

L: Do they still wait with marrying someone till the end of their period of being Ilmurani? I thought I read this, I can be wrong.

T: Before being Ilmurani, you’re not allowed to marry. You have to wait until you’re Ilmurani, then you get married. If you want 4 wives, for the tribe is normal. You can even have 10 wives. It depends on how many cows and farms you have. If you have enough, get married. Build one house here, for one wife, build one for the other there.... So you stay in the center like this and you’ll get so many foods. This is from this house, this from that house, the tea from this house, this is the porridge from that house. The man is not working, they’re only feeding, busy waiting for his wives to come back from the farms, from getting cattles, that’s what they do.

L: Does religion have an impact on the marriages? Like I think Christianity stimulates to only get one wife or is that not changing that much, they still have the Maasai religion that is more powerful?

T: (answer translator) In our village it seems like nowadays it’s normally. No one can marry three wives. Otherwise you get married and you’re not living with your wife, then you can marry again. But you’re not marry now you and then marry this and this ... Nowadays they’re changed. This is because of the religion and education. How is religion makes this easy? If you go to the church, Christianity is saying: you should only have one wife, you shouldn’t have more than one wife. But so many people in this village are maasai and maasai are Christians. What Christianity is saying have one wife till one is died. Maybe the man is died or the woman is died and get married again. Also environment change is
stimulating this. For example I don’t have so many cows, so I don’t have something to feed my wives and my kids, why have marry so many wives, I have not something to give them.

L: Probably something about the architecture. Did it change quickly in the last years and what exactly changed at the buildings if he thinks about the buildings probably 30 years ago in Majimoto. Did they look completely different?

T: Well he is saying that it was from 1980s when people tried to change. I saw good roof somewhere, then you build with the woods, I roof with the bati. So and in 1980s till now are still changing having good houses, stone stone stone, using brick, using plaster, cement and something like that.

L: Like the buildings that are now built by C-re-aid, the two doctors houses, how do the people in this village look at them? They’re pretty modern and strange buildings I think to be built here like the white house etc. How do they look at these buildings. Are they happy with these buildings or do they have like: ‘no we will never sleep in it’.

T: He is saying that people like the house. For example him: if he would get someone to build a house like the doctors house that was built by Anna, he likes it, because it’s so cold. The environment is so hot, but the house is very cold. So he likes it. The other houses seem like it’s good, that’s a new technology, according to the years that are going it seems that people will learn that ‘oh, I should build with bricks like this and not like this’. So the idea is very good, they like it.

L: So yeah, they like the fact that NGO’s come here and try to change things. I thought they wouldn’t like it because it’s like an obligated change or don’t they really feel it in this way? I have like they come here to say: you should do it this way, we know it better or don’t they feel it this way?

T: We like the NGO’s because we think that he is saying that the NGO’s are changing them and saving the environment. By the first time we cut trees and you cut the grass for roofing. You cut trees for building the foundation and the roofing size. And from the roofing you cut the trees again and then you cut the grass for environment destruction. But they got a new technology from the NGO’s that say: no stop cutting trees, make mudbricks like this one you see here and then you make a house without cutting trees. You’ll have woods, but not much as for the grass house. So the NGO’s help them to save the environment. Yeah, they like the technology, because they see they can roof without cutting trees, how is this possible? Aaah, this idea is good, let me try. And then I can have bricks without cutting trees for having this bricks. This idea is good. I can find my one bucket of cement, I can find the ground dust and sand, I mix them and then I make bricks. There is no need to cut trees. So they like the NGO’s, let them come.

L: Yeah okey. Well this were my questions I think. That was the most important. I just want to thank him for the interview.

T: I told him we think we finished and thanked him.
Answer on introduction of my research about the impact of modernization and globalisation on the Maasai culture.

L: What are the biggest changes he sees here and what are the reasons he thinks the Maasai identity (being Maasai) is changing between elder and younger people.
- Clothing
- Language → speaking Kimaasai
- Piercings in their ears
- Cultivators and pastoralists (different from other tribes because of amount of cattle) → why pastoralists? 80% of maasai food is meat and milk + it’s a status symbol + their own bank

L: More about the age sets: how does he see them changing. If he compares the Ilmurani 50 years ago and now, what does he sees of changes and what would be the reasons?
- Identity is different: Ilmurani of 50 years ago wore the Maasai clothes all the time, weren’t educated, you stay at your mother’s house and move out when you get married and are 30/40 years old, cultivation and pastoralism as prior activity etc.
- Nowadays they’re educated, not wearing Maasai clothes all the time, don’t have the Maasai lifestyle anymore, build different, good, permanent houses, nowadays also other activities as being teacher, politician, doctor...

L: I think the youth also changed ideals? In the past the Maasai wanted to have as much cattle as possible and also have several women. But the youth now probably changed to Western ideals like having a strong, big, modern house with a car etc. Is it true and if so, does he think these changes are good or does he think this is bad for the culture? What is his view on this?
- Advantages: if they get educated, they will help the society. If they become doctor, they will help the village.
- Disadvantages: they leave the village, go to town and look for good jobs, good life etc. They don’t remember about the culture. Also if they get married to the other tribe, they don’t remember about his/her culture. So this is how education destroys their culture.

L: I was already thinking indeed like: you can be proud when some of them become a doctor, but often they don’t come back, so you lose them anyway. We spoke about the advantages and disadvantages, so they see the loss of traditions because a lot of them leave the village, but how does he think this can change? Does he think education can play a role in this? What changes would he do in the education program to help to preserve the Maasai identity?
- His belief is that culture will not die, because not all people are going to school and still doing cultural activities. Even when educated, you can’t fully go away from the culture. He believes they will come back one day to the culture. There is circumcision, pastoralism, cultural activities, levels in our tribe...

L: Okey, but things like pastoralism are getting more and more difficult because of the environmental change and government policies. Also education, more and more people will get educated. Education will become cheaper and cheaper when it will be obligated like in Europe (in Belgium primary and secondary education is almost for free), so the Maasai will get enough money to send their children to school or the government will support them. So if he thinks about the future, like within 50 years is he...
not afraid then, most of the culture will completely disappear? If everybody gets educated, won’t they leave the villages and thus its traditions completely?

- How can we prevent this that everybody forgets his culture when they get educated? We have to remind them all the time: please go to school, but remember your culture, remember your home.

L: Now something more about the difference between boys and girls going to school. Is it seen as really necessary? And if they come back, especially as girls, is it difficult to reintegrate them, because when they come back from secondary school or even university it probably causes difficulties with their duties as girls in a Maasai village?

- In the past there used to be a difference between boys and girls receiving education. Today there isn’t. Nowadays the government started a new system that all girls and boys should get educated. For the Maasai they build special boarding schools where they stay for several years, so the girls don’t live at home where they would get all kind of household duties after school or would have to marry. After secondary school, they are way more independent and don’t let their parents tell them what to do, they know by themselves what is good and bad.

L: And then in the household: In Europe we see that if you’re both educated, you get both a job and then you see they also share the duties in the household. When my mum wasn’t around to cook or take care of the kids, because she was at work, then my dad did this tasks. Do you also see these changes here? Or is the women, when she comes back from university etc, still responsible for taking care of the children and if necessary even quit her job to do these duties?

- It seems that people are changing. In the past only mothers and girls did the household. Today we see the parents both do their share in the household, because of education.

L: Now about religion: what is the impact of religion? And can you combine Christianity and being Maasai?

- You can’t combine both. Religion is a matter of belief and culture is also a matter of belief. These are two different things. In our culture we have a black god, Engainarok. We have cultural holidays. While in religion we have another god and other holidays like Christmas and Easter. So the biblical and cultural matters aren’t the same. Some people are following both, but then we see that the religion is destroying their culture.

L: Indeed we see that circumcision is discouraged by Christianity. Like FGM now is almost completely gone. Probably male circumcision will also disappear in the future. But isn’t circumcision seen a crucial part of the Maasai identity? I read before an interview with another elder and he saw circumcision as the most essential part of the Maasai identity. What does this man think about it? Can it ever disappear and what would be the impact when it disappears?

- An important aspect that will get lost if they won’t be circumcised anymore, is the respect.
- He doesn’t think the circumcision and celebrations to go to another level will never end. Because young kids see this and become curious and want it too. They want to be part of it.

L: Are there other aspects that already got lost? Probably like the aspect in which Ilmurani lived apart for several years and got education of cultural leaders etc? Are there skills and knowledge they lost because they have to go to school now? Things like lion hunting that are already forbidden, but are still done, but that will normally disappear completely in the future.

- Lion hunting indeed almost disappeared. He said that lion hunting was never really an obligation or crucial part in the culture. They were killing lions because they came to destruct
the cattle and village. So now they aren’t a threat anymore because they don’t come near the villages anymore, so no need to kill them anymore too. Now they learn other skills like going to school, because these ones are more crucial for the Maasai to survive now.

L: The time the Ilmurani live apart, is it still long enough to achieve the knowledge and skills you should have as Maasai?

- If someone is going to school, they indeed have a short time to learn about the culture. He still thinks it’s long enough then to learn about the culture and meanings of celebrations etc. That’s why they still do so many celebrations, to remind the youth of everything.

L: The architecture is changing as we see. Why does he think architecture is changing faster and faster? Like I think it changed a lot in the last 20 years.

- The big fact is education in his eyes. Education changes their ideas on good architecture.
- Second fact is the government that is emphasising all the time on environmental conservation: please don’t cut trees... instead of cutting trees, use cement, lime ...

L: Next to government and education, also NGO’s as C-re-aid have a big impact I think. What does he think about the buildings C-re-aid build in Majimoto? How does he look towards these new techniques etc. Some people are afraid these bricks will fall down when they sleep, while other think it’s really nice what they made. What is his view?

- He thinks these are good houses, because they have more windows, better materials etc. In the past families used to share a house with a lot of people, with little windows, so when you share the house with a sick person, everybody gets sick. The government, hospitals and NGO’s are showing them this was bad and help bringing new solutions.

L: But do the NGO’s incorporate enough the culture of the Maasai, the way the Maasai used to build etc. They bring a lot of new stuff, but do they listen enough to find a balance. They can bring new techniques and materials, but they also say: you should build this way, also according to certain models, so isn’t that destroying parts of the maasai building style?

- Even if they build modern, good houses, they can’t forget their culture. They will still have some furniture, use traditional pots and pans, kalebases (?) etc that show their culture.

L: questions about colonialism and invention of tradition → not a good answer on this question
L: question about view on Maasai using tourism as income + what impact + hiding part of modernization for tourists
Last week I was on the Maasai celebration and saw that a lot of Ilmuran weren’t wearing the traditional Maasai clothes anymore. Don’t they see it as necessary anymore? When will they still wear the traditional clothes or not at all anymore? And then don’t they see it as crucial in the Maasai identity anymore?

- Not necessary to wear it anymore, because people are changing. The modernity, the technology is destroying our culture. There is no need to wear the Maasai clothes anymore, but if you like to wear it, wear it. Most of the time during celebrations they will wear, but it’s not necessary, only wear when you like it.

It was one of the aspects the elder people found a crucial part of the Maasai identity. If they don’t see the clothes as essential part of the Maasai identity, then what do they see as important aspects of being Ilmuran/Maasai?

- The most important part of their identity here at home, in Majimoto, is the fact everyone knows each other. How can you know this is a Maasai? Because we grew up together and everybody knows everyone. If you move to another place and want to be recognized as Maasai, then you have to wear the clothes.

And what about the people, the Maasai kids, in the cities (for example they stay there after university and raise their children there) or grow up in mixed villages? The Maasai that grow up there? Do they still see them then as Maasai?

- If you are staying in the cities, you will meet there other Maasai that will trigger you to speak Kimaasai, and language is seen as crucial in the identity.

If they look at their age set, as Ilmuran, do they see differences with the time their parents were Ilmuran? What changes do they observe?

- Their fathers always wear maasai clothes, speak Kimaasai, walk with a walking stick… while the younger ones wear modern clothes, speak Kiswahili often, don’t have that stick.

Do they see differences in the celebrations?

- Culture is going to become weaker day after day.

What do they see as reasons for these changes?

- Education → people that get educated are most of the time busy with educational activities, not with the culture, they move to different regions and adapt to that place. So they have no time to follow up this culture. Another problem is that they don’t come back to attend the rituals once they went to school in other cities.

- Environmental change

Did they see a lot of stuff about the Maasai on school?

- Yeah sometimes.

What skills/duties did they parents have to achieve in their period as Ilmuran that they don’t have to achieve anymore?

- You have a lot of tasks/multi-purpose skills as Ilmuran:
  o Taking care of the cattle, the shifting them from place to place
  o Helping in building natural houses, collecting the wood etc → now not necessary anymore, not much cattle, so no need to build place for them outside the village etc. → now build modern houses, with bricks
Then what duties and skills are still crucial in the Ilmuran period? What do you have to achieve before you are a good Ilmuran and thus ready to become baba later?
- Not a clear answer

So then it’s just the circumcision and getting enough cattle/money to buy a wife, creating a family.
- Indeed before being Ilmuran, you have nothing to do, you’re just a kid. You’re not circumcised, so you can’t marry etc.
- After becoming Ilmuran and you’re not going to school, you have to walk, get money and begin a family.

Would these guys prefer a women that is also educated, and until which level? Why?
- They would like to marry someone that is (higher) educated. Someone who is educated has something more, something else. Even when she doesn’t have money, but a degree, she can advise you in life. It’s also better for the education of the kids, because then she can help them.

If she is educated, she will probably want to have a job. Is that no trouble for them that she then can’t do the whole household on herself and are they thus willing to help her in taking care of the kids, cook...
- They say: it depends on the way you’re living together with your wife. Because they are a bit educated themselves, they won’t live anymore as the real Maasai, so won’t expect their wives to do the household on her own. And if they both have a job and are too busy for the household, they will have to find a housemaid.

Do they think you can make a combination of being Maasai and being Christian?
- He thinks it’s possible to combine them. You can be both in the church and culture, if you don’t participate 100% in the culture. He said like: sometimes you can have my contribution in time and money for celebrations, I still want to be part, but won’t be there on every celebration.

So they think that you can believe in two gods then? Because culture is linked to one god and Christianity to another god.
- If you’re in the religion, you won’t have two gods. As maasai we’re together in the culture, the same level, but in the celebrations I won’t fully participate: I won’t drink natural alcohol or meat. He will be praying the biblical god, but will still be part of the culture, because culture is a very wide term. It’s more than praying to the black God. Taking care of others, helping each other is crucial in our culture. So they will still contribute to people of the same level that need money because they are in trouble.

How do they think then about circumcision, to be circumcised in the Maasai way, is obligated in Christianity. So how do they combine these two?
- They’re not praying on the black god, after Maasai circumcision, they can go in church and begin a new life there in which you abandon big parts of your culture.

What values are different in Maasai religion and Christianity? For example in both beliefs helping people is crucial, this is one value. Are there other values/characteristics that aren’t the same in both religions and thus make it difficult to combine both?
- They say it’s the same: helping each other is seen in both as crucial. It’s similar, but not completely of course.

To come back on education: they said it’s destroying a lot of their culture, but what do they all see as positive effects of education on the culture?
- The advantages are: you have a better life, you help each other in the society and yourself.
Can education help in preserving the Maasai culture better?
- He thinks education is going to destroy the culture, because everyone wants to be educated now, wants a good job and will participate less and less in the cultural activities.

Doesn’t education help to get more Maasai politicians on the national level and thus protect the society and represent the Maasai more?
- Yes

What is the impact of environmental change on the architecture?
- In the past people were destructing the environment to build the houses by cutting the trees. So the new architecture stimulated by government and NGO’s helps to save the environment.

How do they look to the doctor’s houses that were built here by C-re-aid?
- (translator explains how house was built, without cement and wood etc → subjective)
- Yeah they like it and wish to live in it.

Do they think education and government policies can help in preserving Maasai culture?
- To preserve the culture, the Maasai have a crucial role themselves. They should keep speaking enough Kimaasai, wear their traditional clothes from time to time, participate in celebrations in their own and neighbouring villages and keep learning things about the culture.

The government has a dubious agenda: they want to develop each country, giving them running water, electricity, schools and good houses, but at the other side they also want to preserve the Maasai culture. Do they think it is possible to combine this modernization and protection of the culture?
- Yes.

Do they think in the future the Maasai culture will remain like this or do they think it will disappear completely.
- They don’t think it will disappear, because the young children see and learn from others about the culture. For example they see others have circumcision and then want it too when they’re grown up, because they want to become part of the group.

What aspects of the Maasai culture will disappear in the future?
- Aspects that will never disappear:
  - Circumcision
  - Speaking Kimaasai
  - Cultural meetings
  - Pastoralism: having cows, but just smaller in numbers
- Aspects that will disappear:
  - Maasai clothes
  - Shifting/walking around with their cattle
  - Spontaneous reunions to sing and dance

How will they ever combine this with having a job as man and woman?
- How can you combine? By having other people taking care of your cattle, like people from other tribes. They’re already used now in the cultivation etc. (example of this is the prime minister of Tanzania, he has more than 5000 cows)
07/09 Interview with female Maasai elders in Majimoto: Juliana John and Paulina Tamamu

What did she see changing in the last years in general in the village and for women and what are the reasons for that?

- She feels like religion is destroying the culture because of the biblical words that forbid a lot of cultural activities.
- Modernization: social media has big impact on the young generation: the new technologies make them copy Western lifestyle etc and forget their culture.
- Education: it makes them stop the ‘bad’ things in their culture like FGM

Do they think you can combine the Maasai belief, so being Maasai and being Christian?

- These are two different things you can’t combine. You can’t believe in both.

How do they look to the younger generation that often tries to combine both. Do they still see them as real Maasai?

- You can’t live your religion and culture. You can live in religion, but you should stay in your culture. You can live in both, but not for 100% then.

So yeah you see some kind of syncretism. You get a harmony between both.

Do they see educated people, whether they live in cities or not, still come back for the local healers and local medicines or do they only go to the hospitals in the cities with the western treatments?

- Most of the people that get educated don’t like to come back for cultural beliefs like that. They don’t believe anymore in the witch doctors etc. Reasons? Hospitals are closer in town, they don’t believe anymore in the black god, there aren’t many witch doctors anymore...

What do they see as the positive and negative consequences of education? + difference boys and girls

- Advantages:
  o when girls get educated and get good jobs, they help their family, the society etc
  o (girls used to be a kind of capital, because when she married, you got money for her, so why would you send her to school, you give the girl to the husband’s family, so her education won’t help you, especially when have only cows to send 2 or 3 children to school. But now the government stopped this and stimulates to bring girls to school.)

- Disadvantages:
  o When girls get education, they don’t bring back the (financial) efforts to their parents. → not all of them of course, some do try to give back things like help to build a better house for their parents etc
  o Many girls when they get educated, abandon their culture, they don’t want to be a maasai anymore. They prefer copying the Western and popular city styles they see on their social media.

Do the girls still learn the skills they should learn as Maasai women to fulfil their duties as Maasai?

- In the maasai society everybody has his own responsibilities. The Ilmuran are responsible to bring the cattle from one place to another to feed them. Girls are responsible to take the milk from the cows, do the household etc. But nowadays we see that even a lot of girls are afraid of the cattle

Does education empower the position of the women in the society? Do they get more chances to speak up in the society about the issues they encounter?
- Education empowers women indeed, for example the deputee president is a women now in Tanzania. Men recognize more the capacities of women now.

Do they see changes within the household since more and more women are educated now and get jobs?

- Many girls when they come back home from school, they ignore their cuties in the household, they prefer being busy with their phone, looking on social media and visit friends. Why? They adapted to their school and city life in which they have fun during their time free instead of doing household tasks and thus do the same at home.

What do they see as core of the maasai identity (values etc) in the past and how did they see it changing today? How would they describe being maasai 40 years ago and now?

- Clothes: changes now and then: different style, the piercings that disappeared etc.

What changes do they see in the rituals in the role of the men and women?

- In the past they were doing FGM, similar ceremony to the male circumcision → explanation ritual 32’ – 36’10”

Is the ritual of FGM completely banned?

- In the past every women had to be circumcised, had to have the circles in their face, had to have piercings, wear heavy bracelets on their neck, legs and arms, cut the hairs short/shaved, had to wear the traditional clothes...

Is FGM now replaced by other things the girls have to achieve?

- If they want to achieve the new level, it depends on your husband. When he changes, you change, you don’t have to achieve certain things for it anymore. They share the level.

And in the marriages, do they see changes like the age they will marry, who they will marry etc?

- In the past you could choose who you would marry, your parents would choose someone for you. Today, in Majimoto, in a modern village like this, you can choose by yourself, your parents will still give you advise, but in the end you’re free to do what you want. In more traditional villages it’s not the case yet.

How do they look towards intermarriages or for example if one of the fundis would marry one of the volunteers here? Does this have an impact on his/her status and his/her family?

- It has advantages, not disadvantages: if you live together with more than one tribe in one place, you learn other things of each other, you develop new things, you can have a better life.

- (My critique: the only disadvantage then is the mixing/loss of Maasai culture. (if you see the maasai culture as fixed, not flexible) → indeed, but ‘let the culture go’, because like this we will get a better life, we can still be Maasai, but have a better life. So probably intermarriage will destroy parts of our culture, but will make our life more comfortable, which is more important.

About the impact on architecture: what changes did they see in the houses that make their life more comfortable?

- In the past they were sharing the house with all kind of animals, with the food inside etc

- Thanks to new technologies they could change this and put the goats and chicken etc outside.

What do they see as solutions/possibilities to prevent the loss of their culture?

- We have to try not to mix too much with other cultures and keep doing enough cultural activities, with copying a bit from other cultures, but not too much.
Can the government play a role in the preservation of culture? Or is the government only stimulating development and thus accelerating the loss of culture?

- The government can help. How?
  - Like in the ceremonies like the circumcision: that people if they want to do it, need to get a special permit from the government, but in this way more support and protection to prevent full loss.
  - Government should support the cultural leaders more. The cultural leaders are the local court, so they can help by sending people (Maasai etc) back to their village if they go to court in the city.

How do they see the future of the Maasai culture and what aspects will disappear and survive/remain?

- The culture will get weaker and weaker, but not fully disappear.
- Disappear: beliefs, clothes ...
- Survive: male circumcision, age-sets

07/09 Interview with Maasai woman (young) in Majimoto: Penina Mollel

What are the changes she sees in the culture if she compares the culture now and the one of her grandmother?

- Physical appearance: special haircut, clothing
- Others: respect, how they live together with their parents (wearing trousers as woman is seen as against the maasai culture)

Reasons next to globalisation?

- Education → people learn on school about FGM that it is a bad thing that need to be stopped, so this changes the women

At school what do they see about the maasai culture on school?

- Negative/bad things: FGM
- Positive things: they teach them about the respect in the Maasai culture, the pastoralism

What are the positive and negative consequences for women of going to school?

- The discrimination of girls of the past that forbid them to go to school and just help in the household, is fading away. More and more girls are allowed to go to school.

Does education give them more chances on having a job or aren’t they allowed to have one?

- The government will give you a chance to work if you success in your studies.
- The government stimulates the families to send their girls to school by the slogan: ‘Ladies first’

In what way does education empower women in the household and society?

- In the past women weren’t allowed to stand up in the neighbourhood of men to give critique. Nowadays they are allowed to speak up in case of problems like financial problems or violent husband etc. They will be heard by the men, which is different with the past.

What is the impact of social media on the Maasai identity, behaviour, clothing etc of women?

- Especially clothing styles are changing (and forgetting the maasai style)

Can you combine Christianity and being Maasai?

- Yes, but it depends on how much you participate in the culture for example you can’t go to witch doctors or pray to the black god when you’re a Christian.
Would she let her son be circumcised? Because according to Christianity you can’t have circumcision in the maasai way, but as maasai she will want him to be circumcised.
- Even though they don’t allow in church we do it and then afterwards go to the church and pray together.
(Haha it’s strange to see all the elder people say immediately: no you can’t be both while all the younger people say like: yeah, no trouble)
What does she see as crucial for the Maasai identity? What does she think her grandparents would answer on this and what would she answer herself?
- In the past maasai had some signs that show that they are maasai, nowadays it’s way more difficult to recognize a maasai. (signs like the circles on the face, removing of the teeth, the piercings, the clothes, language)
How did the role of women change in ceremonies?
- FGM stopped, also in male circumcision we see that parts are disappearing.
Does she sees that the relationships between boys and girls are changing? Can they be boyfriend and girlfriend? I read in papers that girls can’t be sexual partners of the Ilmuran as long as they don’t marry?
- In the past as boyfriend and girlfriend you couldn’t do anything until you were married.
- Nowadays you are allowed to have a boyfriend or girlfriend also for shorter times and are allowed to have sex etc.
Are you free to marry anybody you like? What is the present role of parents in this? Do they still choose who you’ll marry. Are they still trying to couple you to somebody?
- It depends on the family, they won’t force you, but will still advise you like: he’s a good fighter, loyal, wealthy, has the respect... They will also discourage you when you would marry a guy whose family has witchcraft, who is a thief etc. They won't forbid a marriage, but will just stimulate you to marry a good person. But you choose now by yourself which boy- or girlfriend you want to marry.
Does she think that the government does enough to empower women?
- Yes, why? The government brings them education and helps them to try to stop things that go against women’s rights and makes them feel stronger.
Does the government also tries enough to protect the rapidly changing maasai culture?
- The government has no power in her eyes to help protecting the culture. Because in the past there was culture before the government, without culture there was no government and thus they have no say in this.
What parts of the maasai culture are going to disappear? And which ones should we really protect, because they are crucial for the maasai identity?
- Maintaining respects is crucial, but will disappear she fears. And respect is in her eyes the most important value.
- Male circumcision will never end she thinks.
- Speaking Kiswahili will never stop.
- The celebrations of the age-sets will also never disappear.
Does she think education, government etc can help in preserving the culture or does she think it is only the community that can do this?
- She thinks the government is not going to interrupt in the culture, this is a duty of the community.
What parts of knowledge the elders still have now will get lost? So what parts of culture are not taught by the elders to the younger generations like stories, how rituals should be done, history etc.
- Not every elder is teaching his kids about the culture. But there are still enough people that will know how to do the rituals, that will be able to teach the new generations.

10/09 Interview with male Maasai Ilmuran in Orbili: Tubulu Baraudel and male Maasai elders in Orbili: John Olesindeti and Olais Olekaua

He can tell us maybe about the life as Ilmuran? Roles as Imuran?
- Helping the whole society that surrounds you, by for example helping them in the cultivation, helping in pastoralism, going to Marurani to find minerals
- Helping old or disabled people

How do they learn these skills?
- They learn them from the elders that teach their kids how to take care of all these things.
- Some things they learn at skills, but most of the things they learn at home by their parents.

What does he see as core of the maasai identity? What are the most important things in being maasai?
- How do you recognize a maasai men?
  - Clothing
  - Removed teeth
  - Knife they always wear
  - Piercings

How are they looking to the changes of the Ilmuran in the last decades (also compare to Majimoto)?
- Difference with majimoto is first of all: two different groups: majimoto = wa-arusha, so began changing long time in the past, while they are real maasai and just changing more recently.
- What makes them change?
  - Environment is changing like cities that are coming closer and closer because they’re growing. These people live very far from cities; so less influence.
  - Education changed majimoto a lot, because almost everybody goes to school. But here there are no schools, they’re really far from here, so really difficult to go. So when they’re more grown up, they go to school, but by the time they go to school, they don’t want to go anymore, because they want to be a proper Ilmuran.
- Nowadays they see modern tools and then want all of this like the phones, the modern shoes, modern clothes, getting educated...

How did the rituals change? And how are they done?
- They still do FGM, but have to hide it. But in the future it’s going to disappear because of the government policy and education.
- Explanation of ritual of FGM and importance of it in the society (status symbol, otherwise you have no rights or meaning in the society.
- Male circumcision how is it done? Explanation: 21’30” – 23’

Is the ritual in changing from age-set from Ilmuran to baba, is there a big difference in ceremony between Wa-arusha and real Maasai?
- There is a difference in size of party and in amount of meat there will be served (way bigger in the real Maasai village)
Did they see that these rituals began changing in the last years or not?
- In the past people were going to prepare lots of local alcohol, but today we see that there isn’t much of local alcohol prepared anymore, they bring soda and normal beers instead.

What was the impact of Christianity on these ceremonies?
- Christianity is going to destruct the maasai culture, they even have a Kimaasai bible now.
- An example is the Maasai witchcraft, that is almost completely gone because of Christianity.

Do they think you can be a true Christian and maasai at the same time?
- They say they can’t combine, they chose to be Christian instead of believing in the maasai god. They think it’s better to change completely to one of the two.

But what about circumcision? How can you be Christian and do FGM?
- In the past during circumcision they prayed to the black god, now they skip that part, so make it more Christian, they try to avoid the maasai god part beliefs.
- (strange because then they don’t belief in the ritual they’re doing)
- Avoid it by circumcising when they’re really young, if they want, so you can change when you’re a little older.
- (my critique on this: 36'-37’)

What is the role of certain food and drinks during the rituals like the kind and meaning of the beers, food...? When I go to celebrations I often get dished based on maize and goat meat.
- They say it has no meaning, that’s why they’re now changing to more popular beers etc.
- According to my translator it does have a meaning: the local alcohols serve to give people blessings.

It’s weird it would have any meaning, importance or role in the celebration. I heard and read about it before and the local beer would have medicinal powers. So then I wonder if the use of certain meat has no special meaning? For example is there no difference in which kind of animal that will be slaughtered by the Ilmuran during certain celebrations? Or is it just randomly, according to how much money the family wants to spend?
- translator: it depends on what you own and on the usefulness of the meat during the ceremony
- translator: the use of some kinds of alcohol is with special reasons indeed: they are made of honey and some plant roots that give people extra power or heal them.

Do they still do the lion hunting here or is it, like in Majimoto, not necessary anymore?
- The government forbids it, but in the region in Simanjiro they still do it, because there they still have troubles with lions attacking their cattle. But it’s not done anymore as cultural reasons (as part of your Ilmuran duties/skills you have to achieve). When the Ilmuran kill it, even though it’s just to protect their cattle, they will still be brought to court by the government and sometimes executed.

Because of the modernization, globalisation, education, religion etc do they see the younger generation has other life goals? I think they don’t want to live nomadic anymore, have a lot of cattle, several wives etc. ? Or am I wrong?
- No he still wants to have more cattle, have several wives etc. (village with no possibilities to study for a long time)

What are the values and personal characteristics you should achieve to be seen as maasai?
- All is about respects and being honest
How did the architecture change in the last decade?
- No useful answer, only like development will come in the future.

What is the impact of climate change on this village?
- It has an impact on their cattle etc, but when they see they don’t have enough grass anymore, because it gets here dryer and dryer, they shift the biggest part of their cattle to further, better grazing lands.

How did the creation of the national parks affect their lives? Did it make it harder for them or not?
- They survive here, so they don’t feel like it’s necessary to go back to these areas.

Part about their early history: too difficult questions, no useful answers.
- Translator: explained that the Wa-arusha were the first to move from Egypt to here and mixed with the locals here and are now seen as traitors of their own culture. The Maasai that arrived later, didn’t want to mix and thus see the Wa-arusha not as full Maasai anymore.

Does the government tries to change a lot in the Maasai life/culture? Or do they leave them more on their own? And how do they implement it?
- The government tries to reduce the violence and make them follow the general laws.
- Through the political and village meetings they let them know the new rules through ambassadors etc.

What is the role and power of local healers in this village? And is their role already weakened by the hospitals? Do these people thus already go to hospitals when something is wrong?
- They make the combination here, with huge diseases or severe injuries they go to hospitals or when they see local medicines aren’t helping enough, but for smaller things they still use local medicines as basis.

How does a local healer determines what illness you have? I read a lot about oracles, healers etc.
- It’s not through equipment they determine, but through symptoms.

How do they see the future of the Maasai culture? How will it evolve?
- The culture is going to be less powerful, some things will get lost and no new things will be discovered, we will only lose our culture through contact with other tribes etc. But this will still take a while.

What things do they think will not be lost?
- Male circumcision
- Language
- Use of walking sticks
- They will make in the future a combination of traditional clothes and modern clothes. But that the cultural clothes won’t disappear completely.

➔ Conclusion: different view in every village...
What are the exterior characteristics of the Maasai? And meaning?
- Clothing: blue, red, green → differences between groups
- Pronunciation (accent) → t = r, z = s
- Removing of the teeth (Wa-Arusha don’t do this)
- Big piercings in ears

What are the interior characteristics you should achieve as Maasai woman?
- Respect towards elders
- Respect towards men → you shouldn’t pass men, if you have to do, you hold your clothes away from him

Do they think FGM will disappear in the future? And how did the ceremony change in the past?
- FGM is still done here, but ceremony has changed, because the girls dare to stand up now since they learn on school about it that it’s bad. So in the future it will disappear.
- Different from Ilmuran ceremony in Majimoto:
  o Girls have been hidden in the house for three days, then they come out, sit on the skin and get circumcised. Then they go back in the house to recover for 2 days. While for the boys, they go outside, drink local beers, party...

What is the impact of the modern clothes on the Maasai identity? Does it raise troubles?
- Modernization is coming towards the maasai, the young boys and girls are changing because of development. The youth isn’t wearing the traditional clothes anymore all the time. So it is destructing the culture.

What do they see as positive and negative consequences of education on the Maasai?
- Positive impact:
  o Purpose of education is to remove the empty mind and bring the open mind. The Maasai used to be very stupid (words of herself...), but now everybody in the country is getting very wise.
  o Getting educated means also getting better jobs, so you can help the whole society.
- Negative impact:
  o Destructive powers of education: girls learn about the culture in school and are learned that FGM is really bad, so girls don’t want to be circumcised anymore. And this was crucial in their culture.
  o Educated people also don’t want the huge piercings in their ears anymore, because it can infect etc.

Do they see that education is changing the roles in the household? Are the men helping now more than in the past?
- These changes may occur if they both have gone to school, have a job etc, but here, when they come back home, nothing changed, the men are still just waiting for the women to do everything.

What is the impact of the cities on the youth?
- The cities have impact, but especially the mobile phones they bring back from the cities.
- Different type of shaving, clothes ...
- Some never come back or never let hear anything of them anymore
- Some bring money back if they have good job and help their parents

Can they explain me more about the traditional Maasai religion?
- Explanation ritual to get rain (offers voor de god) 33' + verschil Maasai en Wa-Arusha

How did this all change because of Christianity? Do they make a combination?
- She said: no we don’t make a combination, but then they had to admit they still do circumcision etc, so combine, but not fully, because they abandoned the cultural parts. Some of them aren’t Christian, but a lot of them are.
- The Bible doesn’t want them to do any cultural activities like circumcision, but as she says, you can’t change people in one day. In the end all will disappear, but if we all stop this, we won’t be maasai anymore, because this all forms our identity.

How do they see the future of the Maasai? Are they really that negative about the future of their culture?
- We are going to change a lot, and probably in the end going to lose everything of our culture and thus not be maasai anymore.

What is the role of local healers in this society?
- Not a lot of people dare to go to local healers anymore, because it is going against god.

What is the impact of climate change on this village?
- Why?
  - Cutting trees
  - Global warming
- Consequences?
  - Not any rain in the last years
  - People will suffer in the future: when there is no rain, you can’t do cultivation and pastoralism, so you have no money to make better houses, visit hospitals etc

What do they see as solution to preserve the Maasai culture?
- They would like to preserve parts, but also have a better life. So a life in which they get educated, but also live in a good environment to do pastoralism.

What is the impact of tourists on their culture?
- It makes them see how valuable their culture is! So positive impact.

Are there no negative consequences? Won’t they copy things from them?
- Indeed they will, like they see you know with trousers, so maybe in the future other maasai women will want to wear trousers.
What are the exterior characteristics of a Maasai woman?
- Clothes → difference between clothes mother and daughters
- Circles on their cheeks
- Piercings with ornaments in their ears

What are the interior characteristics of a Maasai woman?
- Respect for elders and men
- Kimaasai language + accent in Kiswahili (wazazi – wasasi)

How important is circumcision in the Maasai identity?
- FGM has no advantage, so this will also disappear in the upcoming years.

What levels changed the most because of modernization?
- Everyone is changing, but the problem for the elders is that their time has gone. But both levels are combining modern and traditional clothes (but way more often traditional)

What are the steps in the celebration of FGM?
- You won’t be circumcised until you have a fiancé.
- The girl stays inside for three days, then they bring her out, circumcise her and bring her back in the house to recover for 1 or 2 weeks. And then they are ready to marry.

This girl is a chagga and married a maasai man here. Was she circumcised and will she have to be circumcised?
- No it’s not necessary.

What are the reasons the maasai tribe is changing so fast?
- Education → so the girls have later a fiancé

What is the impact of education on the ceremonies? Does she know about changes in the performances, in knowledge, in their duties etc.
- There is too less time, so there is loss of some parts of the culture.

Is their fiancé still chosen by their parents or are they free to marry the person they want, someone they fall in love with.
- Nowadays nobody can force you to marry someone. The girls today have more power, so can say no. (here also the case with the intermarriage, she fell in love with him)

In the case of intermarriage, do they visit their new family before and can they visit their own family after their marriage?
- Before she got married, she didn’t visit the family of her fiancé, so she didn’t know how she would live.
- After her marriage she can visit her family only in special occasions/reasons like when somebody died or a special ceremony. But she can never visit them without her new family accompanying her, she can’t even go to present her kid.

Can they describe the ceremony of a marriage?
- Cultural celebration at your home and in church
- Changes nowadays: ceremony is in the church, but in Maasai way: you wear maasai clothes etc. But Christianity also changed the ceremony like no consumption of local beers, no maasai dances etc. And then you do a celebration after in your husbands home.
- In the past:
First: cultural engagement: you present your fiancé and then give gifts to the family of your fiancée.

The day you want your fiancée to be your wife, you bring some beers and money to her family, so they can buy clothes etc for your fiancée.

When you leave, your family will tie something on your back that symbolizes a kid, to show you should give your new family a lot of kids.

They slaughter a sheep and then give the lady 1l of his oil, find her Maasai clothes and jewellery for her to wear. Then two other women will escort you. And when you come out of the room, you will see your father and a friend of him that are standing in the door, then you will follow your husband and your parents will follow you. Then they will hold a maasai shuka up, then the husband can pass, this symbolizes good luck, then the lady will pass and everybody else = have a safe trip, have a good life... And then after they will have a big celebration with local beers, dancing etc.

In this party men and women party together.

What are the positive and negative consequences of education on the maasai culture?

- **Advantages:**
  - Get educated – good job, getting successful – better life – help a lot of people in society
  - Stopped some rituals that are bad like FGM
  - Give women more power, so they aren’t alone responsible for the household, remove discrimination etc

- **Disadvantages:**
  - Loss of culture

Does education change their lifegoals? Like do people want a car over a lot of cows etc?

- Education will change them indeed: they used to have a lot of cows and lived in bad circumstances, while now people will sell a part of their cattle and buy stuff to make their life more comfortable.

Do they see that education changes the gender relations in the household?

- It depends: the maasai has at least 2 wives: in the period you give birth, the other woman will do the tasks for both. So if the husband has two wives, he doesn’t have to help. But now often we see that the men only have 1 wife, in that case they have to help in this period.

Do they think you can combine Christianity and the maasai religion? And if they make the combination, what parts did they lose of the maasai religion?

- She says: I don’t know the black god. How can I combine them then?
- Me: But she is still doing the celebrations?
- Translator: yeah, but they are doing most of these things without full understanding of its meaning etc. I’m going to ask her indeed about the celebration and show her the link with the black god.
- Me: They are doing it thus because everybody is doing it.
- Translator: Yeah...
- Me: So then the celebrations and performances aren’t linked to religion anymore?

Do they see the same in the Chagga culture?

- On Sunday all the chagga are in the church, after they go to the bars and then they go home and after they go to pray at the graves. So how would you be able to combine?
- It seems like the older people used to do this. The younger people don’t do this anymore.
What is the impact of the cities on villages like this (so also social media)?
- The cities seem to be destructing the culture, but not completely. Like if people go to the cities, they wear the modern clothes, but still, when they come back home, they change. So the culture is still strong in some way.
- They learn to speak Swahili
- They learn the bad manners from town like stealing stuff etc

What is the impact of the cities on the architecture?
- When they go to town to work, they see good houses, good architecture etc and then send their parents to town to buy good materials for their houses.

Like for her, she came from moshi, in what kind of house did she use to live? Differences?
- She had a house with electricity, running water, decent bricks etc.

How difficult is it for her to live here?
- It’s very difficult life, but what can I do? I already married. So I just have to forget my past and adapt to my new life.

Does she regret being married to this man if she sees all this?
- She regretted in the beginning, but now after a few days she begins getting used to it to her new life.

What does she misses the most of her city life?
- She is missing a lot of things like: her friends, her small business, certain fruits etc

What do they see as possibilities to prevent the loss of the maasai culture?
- Education about the culture can help to save the culture.

Does education empower the position of the women within the society? And does it empower the position of the maasai on national level?
- The maasai are getting more chances nowadays and also women have more power now.

How do they see the future of the maasai culture?
- She thinks it will never get lost, when people will be educated about the importance of the maasai culture, they will preserve it.
- The other one think the culture will be lost, day by day it will fade.

What do they see as advantages and disadvantages of tourism in Tanzania?
- Advantages:
  o Employment
  o Society gets more education about other countries and cultures
- Disadvantages:
  o Copying of western (life) style like trousers etc
How can you recognize the maasai if you look at their physical appearance?
- Clothes
- Language and pronunciation of Swahili
- Piercings and circles on cheeks

Can they give me an inside description/inner characteristics of the Maasai?
- Respect towards everybody
- Kindness
- Being welcoming towards newcomers

What rituals/ceremonies are the most important in a woman’s life?
- Marriage

How did they see the marriage change in the last two decades?
- A lot has changed:
  - FGM used to be legal, now illegal, so they have to hide it.
  - Even male circumcision is changing: nowadays the amount of cows that are slaughtered and the amount of local beer that is consumed decreased enormously.

If they look at the youth; what changes to they see on level of duties, appearance ...?
- In the past the boys and girls just did their duties in the pastoralism, but nowadays they try to go to town, to find jobs there, stimulated by education.

Did they see food changing in the last decades?
- In the past the maasai only ate natural foods. Nowadays they changed and also eat rice, chapati etc like the other Tanzanians.

Do they see the respect towards elders is changing/fading?
- Respect is disappearing: people go to town and gain new skills and characteristics, not according to maasai rules. They buy clothes etc that aren’t respectful to the culture.

How crucial is circumcision for them in the maasai identity? Can you be maasai without being circumcised?
- In their eyes as boy or girl, if you’re not circumcised, you’re not a maasai anymore, so that’s why they still do it, but hidden.

If they think this is all so important, they will get in troubles in the future I think when parts will disappear. Like one of the women here is wearing a t-shirt, isn’t this in controversy to their culture then?
- She is an exception, because she also intermarried, she is a Wa-Arusha.

But don’t she think that people will follow her style? And what about the youth that isn’t wearing the traditional clothes anymore, don’t they see them as maasai anymore then?
- It depends on when and if you still wear your traditional clothes.

What kind of skills to they need to learn as Ilmuran?
- Respect
- Fighting to protect the lives of everybody in the society
- Help the society: children, elders...

Do they see the respect is disappearing/fading away?
- The boys are less and less respectful. Examples:
They drink too much alcohol
- Have no time to fight if necessary → they aren’t acting as warriors anymore
- They’re lazy, sleeping at home during the day and then go drinking during the night
Do they see the younger people have other lifegoals?
- Different houses with bati for example (triggered by cities, education and environment change) instead of grasses

What are the positive and negative consequences of education?
- Positive:
  - Education is the key of life → it will change their lives, they will be able live a comfortable life if they get better jobs etc
  - Brings development
- Negative:
  - They don’t see any negative consequences

Do they see that education empowers the position of the women in the maasai society, but also on national level?
- Indeed. In the past women had no right on power to become leader, to be someone in the society. Nowadays education is changing this, women are getting more powerful in the society.

Do they see that education is changing the gender roles in the household?
- There is no one going to help them in the household, only when the wife is really sick or when she is travelling.
- (the ones yesterday: it depends on the situation, here different)

What is the impact of social media on the youth?
- Bad stuff: pornographies is also here becoming popular, which is very bad in their eyes.

Can you combine Christianity and the Maasai religion?
- They can’t combine, if you choose to be a Christian you have to act as a Christian.
- What about the circumcisions? → It is indeed going against Christianity, but we try to not do the things that belong to the black god. (So but in the end it’s still not right, you just try to hide things and erase the worst parts, but in the end like male circumcision is no problem in Christianity, but FGM they can never justify, it’s completely against Christianity, even when they strip it of its maasai meaning.)

What parts do they change and leave away to make it more Christian?
- They don’t drink the local brewed beer anymore.
- They don’t pray the black god early in the morning anymore.
  - (so they deleted the directly linked things)

What used to be the power of local healers in the past and now?
- They still use natural medicines, but make them themselves, they don’t go to the local healers anymore. And go to the hospitals when it’s severe.

What is the impact of environmental change?
- Pastoralism and cultivation have really hard times, they have to really far to find grazing lands etc.
- They buy bricks from the neighbouring villages and try to build strong houses (so also impact of the cities).

How do they see the future of the Maasai culture?
This will never get lost. Because still everybody is performing parts of the cultural life, so parts will get lost, but not everything. Like FGM will get lost, but male circumcision never.

How do they look towards tourism in Tanzania?
- They are important and threatening for their culture at the same time. People are trying to copy them and forget their culture, but at the other side they create employment, bring new materials and techniques, bring NGO’s etc.?

13/09 Interview with cultural leader of Majimoto: Saiboku Velo

What does he see as crucial of being Maasai and how does he see it changing?
- Traditional clothes and shoes → is changing nowadays, people are wearing trousers, t-shirts
- Language → Kimaasai and it differs in the groups, typical pronunciation for each group
- Piercings in their ears
- Way they shave → or you shave all your hair or you have thin dreadlocks, but only young men have the rastas, others shave all hair

How important is circumcision in the Maasai identity?
- Circumcision changes all Maasai, because they are taught about respect, helping each other, what’s right and wrong.

How is the ceremony of circumcision changing?
- The shaving ceremony to become baba or mama has changed. Some of them choose not be shaved anymore, they go to saloons etc in the city, so or they are already shaved or don’t want to be shaved because it’s not stylish anymore.
- The women had to wear certain rings and bracelets (gauni?) during celebrations and when they want to remove it, they have to throw a party. Nowadays the women don’t wear it anymore.
- The kind of foods and drinks they bring to celebrations, before it was only traditional food and drinks like a kind of local banana wine and leshoro and nakuku (mix of maize and beans), while today they bring soda, beers, eat rice, pilau, roasted banana etc.

Does he see changes in the songs, dances etc?
- In the past people were singing from the morning till the evening, for several days, nowadays it’s not possible anymore because a lot of people have to go to work.

What is his role as cultural leader? What are his duties? Did it also change in the last decades?
- To protect the culture, help preserve it.
- Solving local disputes within the society like family problems or problems between families
- Helping to protect peace within society
- Their role didn’t change over the years

What is his role / task during ceremonies
- Keep the place safe
- Looking if everything (food etc) is available for everyone.
- Trying to make sure the ceremony follows the traditional patterns

Did the values in society change?
There are clear changes: if we look at respect for example, the young Maasai copy the lifestyles and ideas of respect of other cultures, other people they see in the cities, but that is a total different view on respect than the Maasai had. Like when they do something wrong, they say to their parents they can’t punish them (with sticks), because then they would step to police or court.

Type of marriage changed: before marriage the parents would visit each other and look if they could agree on the dowry, but now the youth just decides it themselves who they will marry.

Do they also question his role as cultural leader more as they value the traditions less?

He admits it’s a difficult time for him because a lot of people question the tradition and thus also question him. As response he is thinking to organize a meeting with as much as cultural leaders as possible from the region to think how they can solve the problematic situation.

Do the Ilmuran still learn all the skills they learned in the past? Is there still enough time despite education, work etc? What skills do they learn now and which ones in the past? Differences?

They are taught about respect, how to fight, how to hunt a lion, how to protect and grow your cattle, how to do agriculture, how the ceremonies are performed.

Nowadays they don’t learn anymore to hunt lions, because they don’t come to this area anymore, so these skills are not required anymore.

What are the reasons for these changes in their culture?

Impact of the cities: in the past you only went to the cities when you were dying and the local healers couldn’t heal you, so you go to the cities for Western treatments

Education: when people get educated, they stay in the cities

Religion: almost everybody is Christian now, and thus abandon their cultural religion

What is the impact of education on the households, on the duties, on marriages, on gender roles...?

In the past husband and wife lived scattered (men had several women and each woman had her own house and he has his own house too), nowadays young couples share the house, they build one big house where they share the house together with the kids. This is according to him a consequence of education and the impact of the cities.

What does he see as positive and negative consequences of education?

Positive:
  - they build new houses
  - change society to a more wealthy one etc

Negative:
  - People get educated, but they don’t use it to help our society.
  - Education is going to destroy our culture. When they get educated, they don’t want to learn more about culture.

Can he explain me more about the Maasai religion? What is the core? What are the symbols? ...

There used to be a stone in front of the house and people believed it housed all their grandparents, so before you begin a ceremony, you will spill some of the drinks on the stone and put food next to it.

They had a special kind of tree they saw as a sign of God. So when there was a period of drought, they would do sacrifices around it and thus slaughter a goat or cow and leave the meat there. Before they reach home, the rain would start. And when they go back the day
after, all the meat will be gone. So the God would have taken it. If there is too many rain, women will go pray to this tree to stop the rain.

If he looks at the population in this village, how many people still believe in Engainarok?
- 30% still believes in Engainarok he thinks.

Does he think you can combine Christianity and the belief in Engainarok?
- You can’t combine according to him.

We saw in our previous interview with the younger people in this town a lot of them think they can combine both. Does he think in the future people will more and more make a hybrid of these religions or does he think the Maasai religion will disappear or will even gain power again over Christianity?
- He thinks these hybrids will continue and that the Maasai religion will never get lost. It will only disappear when circumcision will disappear and circumcision is still powerful and frequent in this society.

And does he think circumcision will disappear in the future because Christianity is discouraging it?
- He doesn’t think it will completely get lost, but the ceremony might change and the amount of people doing it will also decrease.

What used to be the role of local healers? What is their future?
- Nowadays there are many hospitals an belief in the Christian god, which weakens the power of the local healers. They still exist, but only a small number.

Does the Tanzanian government make it harder for the Maasai to exist? Or do they help protecting them?
- Sometimes they help to preserve, sometimes they make certain parts disappear. They support the customary law, so when Maasai come to court, they send them back home to the cultural leaders so they can solve it and thus preserve a part of their culture, but other times like FGM or the pastoralism is often discouraged.

The government made the Maasai lifestyle harder when they privatized land, created protected areas etc. How do the Maasai deal with this?
- They shifted to agriculture or a hybrid between agriculture and pastoralism to counter this issue. The government appointed them a certain area to live and do agriculture.

What was the impact of environmental change on this village? If we look at agriculture, architecture...
- Less and less pastoralism
- Changes in architecture: no more grass etc as roof, stronger bricks, no more interweaving of branches as walls, but bricks, because they stay in one place.

What is the impact of an NGO like C-re-aid on this village?
- Advantages:
  - New building ideas: sustainable strong bricks or other materials
- Disadvantages:
  - None

How does he think he play an important role in preserving his culture?
- They should keep having several cultural meeting, every day. By having many meetings, they can help to preserve the culture and remind everyone of not forgetting the culture.

Can museums help preserve their culture?
- It can help to show the youth how the culture changed, which parts already changed or are already lost. Like certain instruments that were used in the past during ceremonies etc
How does he see the future of the Maasai community?
- It will depend on the attitude of the next generations. If they don’t want to learn about their culture from the elders, it will get lost. But he thinks circumcision and the shaving ceremony, that are crucial ceremonies, will never get lost, but he is not sure.

Does he think that Wazungu can play a role in protecting the culture?
- Yes because they can help the people see how important their culture is.

What skills does he need to have to become a ritual/cultural leader? How do you become one?
- It’s inherited, but also you need to prove yourself you’re worth to become one. They look to certain aspects: respect, how you live between the people in this society.

13/09 Interview with political leader of Majimoto: Andrea Njaro

What does he see as crucial parts of the Maasai identity and what is changing?
- Traditional clothes → kids aren’t wearing traditional clothes often anymore
- Language
- Greetings
- Reasons change: education, religion

What does he see as positive and negative consequences of education on this village?
- Positive:
  - Helps to understand the environmental change and its consequences
  - Helps people to get employed
- Negative:
  - Changes the culture: less respected towards elders, they care less about the age-sets and its cuties

Does he see changes in gender roles in the households or jobs? Is there more gender equality?
- Yes in the households the men will now do women’s tasks when she is not around because of work for example.

Does education empowers the position of the Maasai? How is their voice strengthened?
- When people get educated, they get chances to get positions within the government. Nowadays the Maasai have several people in the parliament for example and ministers or regional commissioners. So education gives them power within national politics.

What is the impact of the cities on the boys and girls that study there?
- Disadvantage:
  - They begin copying the lifestyles of people in town, so mix their own cultural elements with that of other cultural groups. And when they go back to the village, these kids will then imitate them.

Does he think you can combine the Christian religion and maasai religion?
- No. You can only believe in one god and do the prayers and rituals for one god. If you want to be Christian, you have to abandon your maasai religion.

A lot of the people in this village are Christian today, does he still see them as real Wa-arusha then?
- Maasai is a tribe like the Chagga etc. So you can go to church, but then you can’t pray to another god then. So they remain wa-arusha, but then can’t participate in rituals anymore.

How is Christianity changing this village?
- They’re less and less taught what’s seen as good and bad in the Maasai society.

Did Christianity and education change his role as political leader?
- Not really. My translator and I didn’t agree on this and asked him whether really nothing changed? And gave examples like education make people more independent and confident, which makes it easier to stand up to him. Christianity gives a lot of restriction on their culture and thus probably also on his role, but he said again nothing changed. So he clearly didn’t want to share his troubles with us.

If he looks at the past, other political leaders, did they have to deal with the same issues as him or does he encounter new issues?
- In the past there weren’t that many issues as today, because people lived according to the culture, so issues could be easily solved by elder meetings (customary law). Nowadays he gets a lot more issues, and he has to go to other institutions as police and court.

What are his duties as political leader? What falls under his command?
- To maintain peace in the village
- Solve problems villagers encounter
- Make sure everybody follows the law
- ...

How do they become political leader? Is it inherited? What skills are required?
- It depends on how you live with the people of the place, through going to a lot of social activities he gets more respect and power within society. And thus can be elected.

How does the national government implements new laws etc on this village? And how do they hear from it? Are there regional officials?
- Different levels: high level like parliament and ministers then regional commissioners and finally district commissioners who work with local officers, these are the ones that will come to the village and inform him about new laws or available positions on higher levels etc.

In what way NGOs like C-re-aid create challenges for political leaders?
- They don’t always follow the rules or traditions, which has a big impact on the society.

Does he feel as political leader a lot of pressure of the international community?
- Yes on environmental issues they feel pressure from the government and NGOs etc.

How long has he been political leader in this village?
- More than 15 years

Would he now change decisions he took in the past, because now he is ‘wiser, more experienced’?
- ...

What is the decision/project he is most proud of?
- More infrastructure: more structure in roads and private territories, so removal of fences that were too far for example → less jealousy, troubles and more safety to travel
- Building a street office next to the village office
This morning we saw the cultural leader, he tries to protect the culture, tries to solve problems between people as quickly as possible etc. How does he as political leader think he can help preserve the Maasai culture?

- Reduce all the bad groups in the village: drunk people, smoking people
- Trying to increase participation in all cultural events

What is the influence of social media on his politics?

- Helps him to get better view on national politics, on tendencies in Tanzania
- He thinks it is good he can see how people think about his policy, he can learn things from it.

How does he look towards the cooperation with the NGO C-re-aid? Positive things and how can the cooperation grow?

- He thinks it’s a good thing, it brings them new ideas of building, they show them how to build houses without having to destroy the surrounding environment.
- Problem is that C-re-aid doesn’t go directly to the village office, but works with Msafiri, who provides accommodation within their family and thus gain some money from it, while the village has a house where they could all stay together. Then it would be easier to also provide translators, fundis, security etc for them. → so they feel passed by and thus the NGO makes it possible not to follow the village rules in this way

How does he see the future of the Maasai?

- It’s going to disappear completely.

Does he think there are solutions to prevent this?

- Having many cultural meetings in which they explain youth the importance of their culture. So next to going to school, extra education in traditions.
- More participation in cultural events.

What are future challenges for him or future political leaders?

- People, if educated, are not going to recognize the political leaders if they haven’t studied too.

**14/09 Interview with primary teacher in Majimoto: Losinyari Raphael Minkarai**

What does he sees as crucial in the Maasai identity: physical appearance and inner characteristics?
And how is it changing?

- Clothes → not many people of my generation or younger ones wear those clothes anymore
- Changing because of religion and education → forbid big parts of the culture
- Also globalisation → youth looks at videos and social media and then choose to change

What are the positive and negative consequences of education on the maasai?

- Now the youth can read, count… which helps their families
- Less and less participation in cultural ceremonies

Are boys and girls allowed to go to school?

- Yes there is equality in the chances of going to school.

Is there a difference in program the girls and boys will follow?

- More boys will go to science, and girls will more become teacher, nurse...

If a family only has the money to send one or two children to study at universities, do we still see gender equality?
- Still equality, they will then just look who got the highest grades.

Does he see that education is changing the gender relations in the household? And in getting a voice in the Maasai community?

- Not really, the girls are still mainly responsible for the household. When they come back from school their mothers still expect them to help in the household. That only stops when they study in other cities and thus leave the country.

Do the students get educated about the maasai culture and history at school?

- Yes they see a part of the maasai history, then also chagga history and some other important tribes. → the same in secondary school

When do they get taught about FGM as bad part of the culture?

- Already in the first class in primary school.

Does he think you can combine Christianity and maasai religion/culture?

- No because both go against each other.

Does Christianity has an impact on education?

- Yes, the positive consequences are that in churches the pastors stimulate the people to send their children to school, to get educated.

What is the impact of Christianity on the maasai rituals? How did he see the ceremonies/celebrations change?

- In the past people married according to the culture, nowadays more and more people marry in the church.
- Circumcisions are changing, some parts are removed because they were used to refer to Engainarok or pray to the dead grandparents to bless you. So more and more leave the culture and are circumcised according to the Bible.

Is there a big difference between the things he teaches here in the Maasai villages and the programs the children follow in the public schools in town?

- No difference everything should be the same.

Is his job influenced strongly influenced by the government? Do they implement a certain program or is he free to choose the things he want to teach the children?

- They have a government syllabus, so this is what you should teach, in public schools and private schools. But you can be creative with adding some extra’s. → because they have to pass state exams (so all tests and exams are created by the government)

How many percent of the students in Majimoto pass the exams in primary school?

- 75%

Is it a lower or higher percentage than in the cities?

- Higher in the cities

Is the job as teacher good paid or isn’t it sufficient to live?

- It’s enough to live, but not super good paid. But enough to save some money, and that money he uses to build a new school.

Are the children respectful towards him or does he see the same tendency as in Europe where students dare to stand up to the teacher and are disrespectful? Like the elders mentioned before.

- Not in primary school, but we see this trend in secondary school.
- Then the parents come to school and then try to find a solution with the director and teachers and if necessary send them home so the parents can ‘re-educate’ them.
Does he see that most of the students that study secondary school or university in the bigger cities in the neighbourhood stay there or return after their studies?
- Often they stay there, because they've found there a job etc, a house, so they don't come back. They want to enjoy the privileges of the city life.

Are there a lot of people that want to become a teacher?
- Many people in the village want to become teacher, but there aren't many places.
- It’s a respected and thus desired job.

What is the impact of social media on education?
- It’s like an extra mind they have if they have access to internet, to google etc.
- But some others are misusing it, are looking to pornography etc or all the time busy with social media which promotes westernized clothes and thus erases the culture.

How can education help to preserve the maasai culture?
- Because it can teach the children about the culture: the levels, the respect, the characteristics ...

Does he see other things that can help the culture?
- The government: they support the cultural leaders, send people back to their village if it falls under their authority

How does he see the future of the maasai in 50 or 60 years?
- Within 50 or 60 years he thinks the maasai culture is going to disappear completely. If he sees how much already changed in the past years, he thinks this will all disappear.

What aspects of the maasai culture he thinks will last the longest?
- Clothes
- Circumcision
- Traditional marriage

14/09 Interview with pastor (Anglican church) in Majimoto: Joyce Michael (priest + 2 other representatives of the local church)

Is she a Maasai?
- No she is a Chagga.

When did Christianity arrive here in Majimoto?
- She has no idea, only arrived here 3 years ago to become priest here.
- The other representative says in 1974.

What was the impact of Christianity on the Maasai culture since then?
- Representative:
  o People began changing slowly certain aspects in life: changed the architecture, clothing, certain cultural events... and still continues to change.

What aspects of the Maasai religion do they try to change? What parts go directly against Christianity?
- FGM → in Bible there is nowhere to be found something about women circumcision, so male circumcision is no problem, it’s in the Bible, just some parts of the ritual need to be abandoned, because they refer to another God.

Do they support the age-sets/ the division in levels or do they prefer to see it disappear?
- They don’t support the levels, because these levels have names and they don’t know the origin of these names. It can be given by Maasai God spirituals, so then they can’t support it. She also states it’s not necessary to have these levels to show respect to each other. Everyone that is older than you, you will give extra respect.

What aspects of the Maasai identity don’t they see as threat and they does support? Is it possible for the Maasai to preserve some parts of culture without getting in trouble with Christianity?
- they support the customary law, so they approve the cultural punishments (sticks...) because instead of spending lots of money of your parents in court because you did something wrong, they support the system in which you level will take you to the forest and beat you
- the education of respect towards elders → but the education is taught in function of the levels → so is contradictory in my eyes

Do they see similarities between the Christianity and the Maasai religion, which thus made it easier to implement Christianity here?
- Not any similarity. For example in the culture people will have some drinks like local beers, while this is forbidden in the church.
- Not true I point out: there was for example in both religion only one God they were worshipping, so makes it easier to replace it than when there would have been a whole range of gods. It takes a way shorter time.

In their eyes you can combine being Maasai and Christianity, and thus still perform certain parts of their culture, if they strip it away from its Maasai religion?
- You can’t combine the Black God with the Biblical God.

Yeah I know, but how do they look towards the rituals? Can the Maasai still perform some of them, but change them more towards a Christian meaning?
- No. If they are Christian they are not really Maasai and will thus abandon their culture in the future.

Are the schools in the neighbourhood mostly Christian?
- Indeed, and every Friday they go to the schools and teach them about Christianity.

Do they see the children struggle with the combination of being Christian and being Maasai (often their parents still do some of these rituals)?
- So it seems like when they’re still young, they’re strong Christians, but when they grow up, they are influenced by society and change because of society. → at that time they begin to create a hybrid culture

How did Christianity change Maasai marriage?
- Nowadays people are changing. In the church they are taught every time to stop their maasai religion and are shown how they should to it according to Christianity.

Do they see a few elements of the maasai culture appear in the Christian marriage or is it completely similar to the other marriages in the region?
- Every year more Christian marriages...

I have to repeat the question another time and give examples like clothing etc before they really answer the question...
- No they say it’s completely the same (although I observed a different story...)

How do they see the future of the maasai culture in 40 years from now?
- It will completely disappear.
So she thinks every aspect of being maasai (clothing, language, male circumcision etc) will disappear?
   - The language and clothes will remain
   - Religion will disappear

Do they think Christianity can help preserve some parts of the maasai culture, of course if they don’t go against the religion?
   - Not really, their mission is to get everybody believe in the Biblical god, not preserving the culture.

In church during the ceremonies, do they speak Swahili or Maasai?
   - Kiswahili so another part they don’t support

Do they think the secularization wave will also come to this region? (so raised as Christian, but never go to church and believe less and less in god, because of science)
   - Yes I can happen here in the future too. It is already happening, a lot only come for marriages or funerals, not every week. So to solve this, they go to every house in the village and ask people why they don’t come. It is a problem in the full country.

15/09 Interview with female Maasai elders in Mikocheni: Safina Koinase Munga and Veronika Imanueli Shingombag
Lothi Moll as translator, not such a good translator, he had real difficulties to understand my questions and often explains the questions too much to the interviewees, he sometimes gives the answers himself I think. He lives in Majimoto too So he is part of the Wa-Arusha branch of the Tanzanian Maasai.

What characterizes the Maasai identity? So how do you recognize them on the exterior parts and what are important inner values?
   - In the past you could easily see because of
     o Piercings
     o Bracelets
     o Clothes

What do you see as inner characteristics of being Maasai?
   - Respect towards all different changes

What changes did they see within the culture?
   - That young people are copying things from other cultures

Why do the Ilmuran change so fast?
   - More contact with other tribes, so then they learn other, new stuff like smoking, drinking.

We saw that the male Ilmuran almost wear all the time Western clothes, do the young women still wear the traditional clothes or not? translator didn’t get the question, explains the difference in traditional clothes
   - Young women wear only one kind of maasai shuka as clothes, once married they wear a combination of two maasai shuka.

Same question again: do the younger women wear clothes like you and me or only traditional clothes?
   - In the city when they go to school, they can choose what they wear, but here in the village they will wear the traditional clothes different from majimoto

What are the most important rituals in the lives of women and how did they change?
- Circumcision → but is disappearing now, because of education (shows them the dangers)

What are the positive and negative consequences of education on this village?
- So not all can go to school, because some need to stay to take care for the cattle. So only some of them can go, it is expensive, so they need to be motivated.
- It helps them to get jobs.

The children that study in the cities, do they return or stay in the cities?
- Some of them stay in the cities, but help the family, especially the girls. But often the boys stay in the cities and don’t send help home.

Does it give the women more power in the community and in the government when they study?
- They get little by little more power, but it’s difficult because the men have the power in the family. But the women push their daughters to go to school.

If women get a job in town, or the women of this project, since they now earn a lot more money than the other women and thus are less dependent of their men, does it have an impact on the families?
Does it give them more power in the families or are the men still very dominant?
- The men now respect these women more.

Do they see the men also do a share in the household when the women are working or is it still only done by the women?
- No they don’t help, the cooking or building the house, going to the market etc is only for women. → big difference with Majimoto! Also my translator admits this.

Are they Christian here?
- Two groups here: some belief in Maasai religion, in Engainarok, some are Christian.

Do they think you can combine the two beliefs?
- No it’s not possible.

What is the importance of local healers? Do they still go to local medicine men?
- Some people still go, some stopped. They don’t use the strong medicines anymore, because they had a big impact on the body, now they only the lighter ones like for flu etc.

What are the local medicines mostly made of? And do they make them themselves or always go to local healers?
- Different kinds of roots
- Some they make themselves if they can find the ingredients here.

What is the impact of climate change on this village? Because it is getting warmer, dryer etc here, so isn’t that giving difficulties with the cattle?
- They didn’t think the climate changed here, as far as they know it didn’t become dryer here.

Is there a big impact of cities and NGOs on the way they build houses? Did their architecture change a lot?
- There are changes, more and more. Some women study how to do business or architecture, so they learn how to use different materials and learn to build better and make place for little businesses.

Is social media changing their youth?
- The phones make the village life easier, when somebody is sick you can just call someone to come with a car to pick this person up and bring him to the hospital.

How do they see the future of the Maasai culture?
- It will disappear.
Will it disappear completely or will some aspects stay?
- Some will disappear, but most will fade like respect and clothes and circumcision

15/09 Interview with male Maasai elders in Mikocheni: Emanuel K. Shingombaya and Yohana K. Lamishira (present chairman and former chairman of the village)

What do they see as core of the Maasai identity? Physical appearance and inner values.
- Piercings
- Removal of teeth
- The circles on their cheeks
- Shaving
- Necklaces of Ilmuran
- Walking stick of the Baba
- Clothes

What skills do they have to achieve? What do they educate them? What attitude? Which skills?
- Translator didn’t understand the question, so not a useful answer...

What do Ilmuran learn during their training after being circumcised? What kind of things do they learn?
Like hunting skills etc.
- To be a warrior
- To protect a huge group of cattle and count them

What kind of things they need to be protected from? Is there still a lot of danger threatening the cattle?
- He didn’t understand the question again...
- He will protect the cow and family until he marries and thus begins a own family.

Another try to learn more about the values: Do they learn things as respecting the levels or help people during the Ilmuran period?
- Yes respect for the stages is seen as really important.

What is the role of the leaders of the village in the education of the Maasai youth?
- Totally different answer, so he didn’t understand my question again. In the past people were afraid to send their children to schools in the city, because a lot didn’t return. But now they see the importance of education, how it helps the people of the village.

But I meant the education of the Ilmuran, who teaches the Ilmuran during their training?
- The ‘Iguana’? is a maasai leader that is responsible for the education of the Ilmuran. He chooses what and when they will learn, together with the other Babas, elder males.

What are the tasks of a village leader?
- Keep peace in the village
- Village councils and going to town to voice the decisions or problems the village encounters
- Responsible to help fulfil the needs of the village
- Organize village meetings

A lot of Ilmuran go to school now, do they see they have less and less respect towards elders? Do they see this here like we could see in Majimoto? Do they have less respect for the decisions of the village leaders or not?
He didn’t understand the question, so different answer: Government obligates people to go to school, so the village leader will stimulate families to send children to school.

What are the positive and negative consequences of sending children to school?

- Positive: development of the village, improve livelihoods
- Negative: problem if girls get pregnant

Do they see that education is changing the culture?

- Stop FGM
- Changing the clothing style

Do they see that the more Maasai go to school, the more people go in politics and giving the Maasai thus a stronger voice in national politics? So do they get more power in the government?

- Now there are changes, they have more meetings with government officials.

Is school changing the relationships between men and women? Because some of them are now working, they have less time to do the household. Do the men help in the household now?

- They try to change a bit, but not so much yet.

What is the impact of Christianity on the maasai culture/religion?

- Here again... Most people here are Christian.

I know they can’t make the combination, but how do they perform the rituals if they are Christian? The church doesn’t agree on this.

- If you have circumcision, you change the parts that church isn’t supporting, so for example don’t drink alcohol, no big parties.

What is the impact of climate change on the village, on the cattle...

- They try to solve this by moving around with the cattle. The Ilmuran take the cattle around then. The rest stays here the whole year
- In the past everybody moved along with them.

What is the impact of globalisation and social media on the younger people? How is that changing their behaviour, life goals etc?

- Social media changes people, the kids. They use it for wrong things like sending (nude) pictures around.
- Good thing: easier way to send money to someone
- Good thing: easier to communicate with people, you can just call them instead of going there

Does social media makes the role as village leader easier or more difficult? (then I had to give several examples how social media can make it more easy or difficult)

- Again... he answered with something about people that misuse the social media by just all the time taking pictures and posting on social media

Do they see that the youth has other life goals than the older people in the village (like want to have a car, stone house, less cattle...) like we see in majimoto?

- Here we don’t see this tendency yet. → probably because not many children go to school here

As they don’t travel around anymore, do they see that the way of building a house changed?

- Yeah like they learn to build stone houses when they send their children to study entrepreneurship etc and the impact of C-re-aid

How do they see the future of the Maasai culture? What will stay and what will disappear?

- Greeting change because a lot of the Ilmuran stay in the cities

How do they see the future of the rituals and celebrations?
- The FGM will disappear, but the one for men never.
- But the event itself is changing, now it is performed by a doctor for example.

18/09 Interview with secondary teacher in Moshi, Majengo: Thomas Theobald Kiagho

How is the Maasai culture and history incorporated in the school program?
- Tanzania is divided in many ‘tribes’/ethnic groups/communities, we are a multinational country, which are all integrated in a bigger national Swahili culture. But it’s not like you focus in your course on the different groups, you give more a general kind of history. Do you teach them how all the groups migrated to this area etc?
  - Indeed it’s general. In the curricula we teach for example about migration and then we focus sometimes on a population groups, where they came from and settled, in which environment, but we don’t teach all communities, some of them, Maasai is one of them.

What do you teach about the maasai?
- Their social, economic and political organization which is linked in general to the organization of African societies.

Do you feel like colonialism had a big impact on education in the past and today? Like in organization of the schools (British colonizers)...
- Yes of course. The British implemented a certain way of education, which was copied in a lot of African countries. There are new things we integrate now, but everything still reflects the colonial kind of education.

If I think of history courses in the colonial times, it was a lot about the European history. Did this change? How did the curriculum change? Did the organization of school changed?
- We have now less administration than in colonial times
- But the school structure is still the same as in colonial times
- Infrastructure stayed the same too
- Some subjects still represent the European curricula, while it should be more about our own communities and environment. So we should really review our education, so it reflects more our culture, environment, needs, context...

Is the government trying to change this?
- It is trying, but it is contentious. Some members of the parliament want to change, others don’t want this. Which causes problems for our graduates that fail to put their knowledge into practice. Thus education fails to translate the real life situation.

What do you think is the impact of education on the maasai culture?
- It is positive, because the maasai are one of the communities that is keeping their traditions. They have been a little bit reluctant and slow in changing because of their homogenous kind of community. It happened already in the other parts of the country, but the maasai failed to leave the culture. But now education is illuminating them, liberating them, taking them to the next level, although they need a lot of extra effort to bring them to the level where the other communities are.
In the school we have quite a number of maasai students and they are doing very well, but it’s very difficult for the children to go to school as a lot of the families still move around and thus also difficult to stimulate others to come to school. But because of global climate change we see environmental change ... → Me: yeah it is changing. I’ve seen it with the Wa-Arusha for example that don’t travel around anymore, stay permanent in one place and shift to other ways to get an income.

What aspects of their culture will get lost through education? And what aspects will remain? I think of circumcisions, age-sets, pastoralism etc.
- If they get integrated in the modern system, they lose things like their cultural values as respect for the elders, which was a very good value we could even learn from. Another is the way they dress, but that’s getting wiped away. And it might even disappear completely. This is caused by education and civilization in general. Another examples is the haircuts.

What kind of aspects are discouraged by schools. Like what kind of celebrations are talked about?
- FGM is discouraged. But the teacher states the meaning given to the ceremonies is important and valuable. The things they learn in preparation of the circumcision and after during their training, shouldn’t stop, is really valuable. But the circumcision should stop.

Like the Ilmuran that live apart for several months after their circumcision and get taught all kind of skills by elders and older warrior. But of course through education they don’t have time anymore to isolate them for several months. It’s a difficult dilemma: education is supposed to ‘develop’ the children, improving their lives, but on the other hand it’s hard to see how much of their culture is already lost. When I spoke with several young men and women a huge number they stated they didn’t want to be Maasai anymore or no longer want to participate in the celebrations etc. It’s really contradictory.

How do you think education is changing the life goals of the Maasai? It used to be having a lot of cattle and women as status symbols, do the youth still wants to achieve the same things?
- Culture is power, the values they were brought up with, are still there. He has some maasai friends and though they’re educated and Christian, they still have several women, which is a status symbol to show you’re wealthy enough to take care of a big family. → different from my own experience!

Do you have an idea how many students would go back after their studies to the village and how many will stay in the city? (percentage)
- He has no idea of percentage. But most of them stay here and a lot of them have here a job, but will visit their family in the villages in the weekends.

Do you see that maasai students lose the ability to speak kimaasai?
- No not really, your mother tongue is often strong implemented. → different in my experience!

Are the exterior characteristics of the Maasai forbidden on the schools? (clothes, piercings, rings...)
- No it’s not allowed, but outside the school it’s allowed of course.

Does education empowers the position of the maasai women? Is education changing the gender relations?
- It is very powerful, not only for those going to school. Gender issues are more and more discussed and thus the patriarchal kind of system, subordination is decreasing. Even among the maasai there are raised several groups that raise awareness and raise power for the women. So what affects other communities, will also affect the maasai.
Do you think it is changing the gender roles in the household?
- Exactly men will help women more in the household, they will go to the market etc.

Does it give the maasai a stronger voice in national politics, since a lot of the maasai students now get more and more education and even go to universities etc?
- Exactly, because now you have a number of maasai in the parliament and other institutions. Also doctors, pastors, teachers...
- Then he refers to the different accent in English of Bantu speakers (Kiswahili) and Nilotic speakers (Kimaasai) in which the maasai have a better accent. Overall they speak English more fluent, is his feeling.

How do you see that the cities change the future of the youth? Does it give them more possibilities, but probably also surrounds them with more danger?
- Yes and no. More opportunities for everyone, but it is also a dangerous place for those who haven’t been in school for example: temptation to begin drinking or smoking (low-profile activities), being guards because of their warrior-status, but which makes them an easy pray for violent groups. They aren’t professional guards.
- Also honesty is an important value in their culture, which endangers them when they easily give away personal information to people with bad intentions.
- Not always they find good jobs, so then they get stuck with trying to sell groundnuts etc, but which is hardly giving them an income.

Okay but that’s for a very vulnerable groups the case. But what about the maasai that went to school in town?
- He didn’t answer on this question, was still laughing at the maasai groups selling groundnuts...

I was for example thing of alcoholism, is this not a big problem in the cities?
- You right.

I think a lot of the youth is vulnerable for this, but I even saw it in more traditional villages where there was a small duka that a lot of the young people were struggling with this. I don’t know if you see other problems like this appear in the cities?
- City life definitely has big impact on their lives.
- A problem is HIV (in the maasai community) that is caused by the changing sexual relationships in the cities.

Yeah I heard about the changing relationship in the villages, that more youth now has irregular boyfriend-girlfriend relations that was impossible in the past.

Can education help to preserve the maasai culture? How?
- We teach about cultural values of different communities. But this should even become more in the future.

Do you think museums can help in this process? Could this help to regain the interest and participation of the youth in the culture?
- Yes this could help a lot. It’s one of the last cultures that still is so traditional, most other forgot it already, so now we can still help preserve parts as they’re still alive.

What do you think is the impact of religion/Christianity on the maasai culture?
- It has changed and is changing them a lot. Most of the maasai are Christian. Christianity is changing the rituals around birth, marriage... according to him the new regulations around marriage, the fact you can only one wife is a good evolution.
What is the impact of Christianity on education? Are the courses changing because of religion?
- It has a strong voice. It has a big impact on the institutions. But not really on the subjects. We have always been forced to follow the policy of the government, so they choose what will be implemented.

What is the impact of social media and globalisation on the curriculum? Are they changing it?
- They have a lot of impact. Education is learning about all parts of life and media has a strong influence on life. So the media reveals and thus adds a lot, which is integrated in the education.

How is the social media changing the students?
- They change a lot, they are exposed to a lot of new things, good and bad. We can learn a lot through these media, but also should be careful with them.

27/09 Interview with male Maasai elders in Nungwi: Kilesi Pastei and Mathayo Nkushani (Lumbwa and Parakuyo/Wa-arusha)
Interviews in Zanzibar met Lothi Mollel as translator and Drake Faridy (isn’t a Maasai himself, so doesn’t speak Kimaasai, but helped as translator, he translated often my questions to Kiswahili, so Lothi understood my questions)

How can you recognize the Maasai population? And what is the difference between Lubwa and other Maasai?
- Clothes
- Small differences in clothes, speech

Are there other things that are crucial in the Maasai identity? How would they define a maasai?
- Drinking of blood
- Knowing how to slaughter a goat and prepare it

Do they know the names of the different Maasai groups?
- Wa-arusha
- Lumbwa = parakuyo
- Ndorobo? (live in the forest)
- Maasai

What are the most important rituals/celebrations in the Maasai life and are there differences between the two groups?
- No difference in circumcision for Ilmuran:
- In middle of the night they go to the forest to take a shower in a lake or so and then come back in the morning to the house where you will be circumcised. After circumcision you go with the ‘teachers’ away to a place where you will stay for 2 months. The girls stay in the house until they’re healed, don’t go to the forest.

During the education of the Ilmuran, is there a difference between the two groups in things they learn?
- You can’t eat food alone, you have to eat it with other men, most preferable other Ilmuran.
- You have to ask your mother to give you food, you don’t go inside the kitchen.

Do they observe changes in the behaviour/lifestyle of the Maasai in the last years?
- No not they have seen.

Don’t they think anything is changing in the maasai culture?
- Government stimulates to stop FGM
- Maasai copy things from other tribes like haircuts, clothing
- Education changes them a lot.

What is the difference between the educated and uneducated
- The ones that are educated often move to other places.

What are the positive and negative consequences of education?
- Negative: poor education, no government support, so very expensive
- Positive: they lived for long time as pure maasai, but nowadays they are known over the world, so the attraction of tourism makes more money, so now more support (weird explanation)

Do they think education helps them to get more power in national politics? Maybe more people now can get into politics after their education?
- They feel a difference some are going to politics, some have other jobs.

How is religion changing their culture?
- They are almost all Christian, some still have the traditional belief.

Do they think you can combine the maasai culture and Christianity? How do they still perform the rituals if they are Christian?
- We cannot combine the celebrations and being maasai.

But they still do it?
- The religion supports circumcision, but you just can’t drink alcohol.

What is the impact of social media on the youth? How is it changing the goals of the youth? It used to be having a lot of cattle and women. Did this change?
- Social media help the families
- Some of them go to school and use it in a bad way, use it to send (nude) pictures etc

Is the life on Zanzibar changing their culture?
- It’s not changing them, because they move between their own village and here to work. So they still attend the celebrations on the mainland.

In Zanzibar they live together with a lot of groups in a small area, do they feel they get more easily influenced? Is this mix changing them?
- Yes they change while they live here, but when they go back to their village they stop.

How do they look at the people that aren’t maasai, but are pretending they are maasai or sell things that refer to the maasai?
- This is a place for business, so some of them do like this just because they want to earn money.
- They give a bad name to the maasai, because some of them are thieves and then the maasai are blamed.

How do they look at the tourists that copy the maasai culture and that just buy that is typical for the maasai?
- They are okay with it, because it’s business.

Do they think the tourists are changing their culture?
- Sometimes it changes them, like some of the will marry a tourist.

How do they see the future of the maasai? What parts will disappear and which will remain?
- In the future the culture will further change, the Ilmuran aren’t respecting the elders anymore, don’t want to take care of the cattle anymore.

Can education help in preserving the culture?
- Yes it can teach them how to support the culture, even a museum can help.
What is the difference in physical appearance between the different maasai group?
- Difference in clothing
- Difference in speaking: Lumbwa speak slower than Wa-arusha

How can you see the difference in clothing?
The Wa-arusha men are wearing only one shuka, while the Lumbwa was combining several ones.
- Same clothes, just difference in thickness of the clothes

Is there a difference in jewellery?
- There is a difference. The lumbwa have two of this, the maasai have this...

During the lives of the women, what are the most important celebrations/moments?
- Their circumcision, marriage and birth of children

The celebrations, how do they look like and what are the differences between the two?
- By the birth of the kid, they kill a goat, they need the oil of the goat and then the women will eat the meat.
- Circumcision of women: they kill 2 cow they will eat

Do they see differences between the two groups or not?
- No it’s the same

What are the most important things they learn during their education as ‘Ilmuran’? Also the same in the two groups?
- How they should live with their husband
- How they should take care of the children
- The Lumbwa can’t be around men, just stay inside their home, while the Maasai can go around, go dancing etc

Did they see that the celebrations the women attend changed if they compare it with the time of their mother etc?
- The maasai doesn’t see changes. The Lumbwa says there are some changes: because you can stop nowadays.

How would they describe the crucial aspects of a Maasai women if they compare themselves with the tourists or other populations groups. So how would they define themselves.
- Clothing and shoes

What about the inner characteristics? What attitude, values etc do they have to achieve?
- Didn’t understand the question again.

What are the positive and negative consequences of education on the lives of Maasai women?
- Long time ago the women gave birth at home, but nowadays it’s a big problem. You need to go to hospital, so a lot of changes. In the past they didn’t get diseases from birth, but now sometimes they get sick in the hospital.
- Their life gets better because the men and women now can get an income, because now both can have jobs, while in the past women only did the household.

Do they see differences in the household? Will the men help in the household since the women have less time for it because of their jobs?
They cooperate now. When she is working, the man will be at home to take care of the children, he can cook and look after the cows etc.

Do they see that the women get a stronger voice in the Maasai community?

- A long time ago the men used to have more power, were dominant, controlled everything and made all decisions, even now they have a lot of power, but the women begin gaining power too. When a woman says something, the man has to listen nowadays.

Do they see that the younger men and women have other (life) goals today because of their education and use of social media? Or is it not changing?

- Long time ago, people used to focus only on cattle, they always wanted more cows. But now there is a new generation, people want good life with good house, phones, maybe even migrate... They will sell some cow to buy stuff now. That’s also why women work now.

How do they see the future of the Maasai? What aspects do they think will get lost and will survive?

- Three things that will disappear:
  - The circles on their cheeks
  - Gap between their teeth
  - Making holes in their ears

- The clothes won’t easily disappear, because it is how we can recognize maasai.

Do they think the rituals will change? Like circumcision, marriage...

- Circumcision is going to disappear

They travel between the mainland and Zanzibar. How many months do they stay here and then go back to the mainland? How is it divided?

- They stay here 4 months and then at the mainland max. 2 months.

How do their families look at this? Do they find it difficult they miss all these celebrations etc?

- If there is a big celebration, she goes home and stays there a few days/weeks and then come back.

Do they feel that the tourists are changing their younger people, their culture?

- They cause a lot of change: the young many copy their haircuts, clothing style, young women also copy clothing style etc.

They copy the tourists, but it works also the other way around: the tourists copy the maasai culture by buying all kind of souvenirs here. How do they experience this? Offending?

- They don’t have problems with it?

How do they look at the people that pretend to be maasai on the beach, but aren’t real ones, or when they sell maasai souvenirs etc?

- They feel bad about this.

If they look at their own children, do they see changes if they compare it with themselves? Like will they circumcise them? What clothes do they wear? Do they speak still Kimaaasai?

- They don’t learn them Kimaaasai anymore?

So then they don’t see speaking Kimaaasai as a crucial part of the Maasai identity anymore?

- Yes it is a problem, but it helps them to learn more at school, get higher levels there when they learn better Kiswahili.

What can help to preserve the Maasai culture?

- Education helps them to get better lives.

But then isn’t it destroying their culture than preserving it?
- As answer she shakes her head.
Can museums help to preserve the culture in their opinion?
- This can help they think.
What is the impact of religion on their culture?
- Religion is changing the maasai culture: it stimulates them to stop wearing traditional clothes and performing celebrations.
Do they think in the future people will follow this completely and thus everything will get lost or do they think they will keep combining the two?
- They try to continue the maasai celebrations a bit, but they think it will disappear completely in the future.

27/09 Interview with male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Sailevu Manju and Mathias Okeseriawi (Lumbwa and Wa-arusha)

What do they see as the core of the Maasai? So in physical appearance and inner characteristics.
- Behaviour
- Clothes
- Rules: like you can’t eat alone as Ilmuran, you eat with other Ilmuran or Babas
- When you have the age to marry, others will give you gifts as support so you can buy a house, you start your own life. But from then on you have your own responsibilities, you have your own family. But still they will cooperate with the others, help them when they need it.
Do they see difference between Lumbwa and Wa-arusha or other groups in physical appearance, life goals, characteristics etc?
- The language is different between for example Lumbwa and Kisongo because of accent.
- Lumbwa always wanted to have good time, good life, nice car, nice watch, especially the new generation, but the Kisongo are more traditional, their goals are always expanding their amount of cattle, have several women, lots of kids etc
What are the names of the different Maasai groups?
- There are a lot of different groups: we have Lumbwa, Sambo, Kisongo, Wasonso, Larusa (Wa-Arusha), Ndorobo
What are the differences between the celebration of circumcision between the Lumbwa and Wa-arusha?
- Lumbwa get the training in a different way than the Kisongo. But the same as the Wa-arusha.
- The Kisongo go for several months in the forest, it depends on the money the family can give for the food (amount of goats, to pay maasai medicin...) etc. So it depends on how wealthy you are how long your training will be. When you come out of training you will have a lot of new skills and a lot of respect for elders.
- In other groups they just stay with their family instead of in the forest.
What is the impact of education on the maasai culture?
- Nowadays education is good quality. In the past only cows counted, now they go to school, want to develop their country because of the education.
The problem with education is that some people get education, but can’t use it, can’t do anything with it and then it’s useless and very expensive. Some get education and don’t help the people, don’t stimulate development, so then it’s useless.

Is education changing the gender relations? If women get education, does it change the gender roles in the household and in society?

- If they get education, it changes their lives. Some build a school or work for the government or teacher or chairman in the village and thus help the maasai community.

Do they see that some of the educated people abandon their maasai identity or don’t come back home and just stay in the cities and begin a new life there?

- If you build a house in town, you should also build a new nice house in the village to make changes for everybody in the village, help your own people to develop further.

How is religion changing their culture?

- All maasai are Christian.
- Now things are changing. In the past they had their own religion, but now things changed.

Can you make the combination between being maasai and Christian? Because Christianity is forbidding a lot of cultural practices of the maasai.

- Even if you go to church when you’re young when you go to circumcision place in the forest, they will slaughter a cow, that cow is medicine, a strong medicine, which takes a lot of time to go out of your body. So even if you move to the city, move to Europe, go to the church etc, the soul of the medicine, of the maasai is still there.

What is the impact of living and working in Zanzibar? Living together with all these groups on such a small place, working with the tourists etc, does it change them?

- No the tourists come for the Maasai culture, so they will keep it, because we have respect for our own culture. We can’t wear clothes like the tourists wear or do what they do etc.

How do they look at the cultural appropriation, so at the tourists that copy their culture, buy clothes and jewellery, wear maasai shukas etc.?

- Of course it’s not good, but they see it as extra publicity for them, good for business.

What are the positive and negative consequences of social media on the maasai culture?

- Positive: communication with family and business people, connected with the world
- Negative: pornography, waste of time on social media

How do they see the future of the maasai culture? What parts will remain and what parts will disappear?

- FGM will get lost. Also the physical appearance changes: the circles on their cheeks, the holes between their teeth etc will are get lost. It’s seen as mutilation.

Do they think education and museums can help preserve the culture?

- They think this are good ideas. Especially the museums can help their children to learn about the maasai in the future, when it gets lost more and more, in that way the children can learn more about their origin.
I gave the introduction of my research and one already began with telling all kind of stories:

- Globalisation is changing a lot of things now. Imagine a long time ago, no maasai could live like we do now. You could know when you saw a maasai in the city that he is a maasai from the bush, because of his accent, caused by the gap between the teeth that make the accent. But now they no longer do this, so you can’t know if they are maasai.

- No maasai like going to school a long time ago, because the maasai wanted to keep their local life. But today this is changing, they see now that through education they can help their family. So some now go studying, others still choose for the traditional lifestyle.

What do they see as positive and negative consequences of education on the maasai culture?

- Positive: nowadays education is really important, he doesn’t think it will ruin their culture. If you need land now and you didn’t study it is very difficult. Now they can read the documents and see if people try to disadvantage them. You can now buy the right medication or read how to use them when the doctor gives you a prescription.

- Negative: So don’t want to be maasai anymore after education, they abandon their culture after studying in the cities: wear western clothes, don’t participate in celebrations, don’t marry someone their family approves, don’t build house in village, don’t respect elders… they also stop giving a dowry to the girl’s family anymore, as in western countries, but in the maasai culture this was crucial to show respect to other family.

Do they see taboos are changing in the maasai culture? I think for example of the boyfriend-girlfriend relationships that are now common under maasai youth but what was taboo in the past.

- If you get married, it’s not like in Europe. You can do what you like, but for him, if you get married and you are maasai, you can’t divorce. Then the family will come and have talks how they can solve it. If the men has done something wrong, they will punish him severely with sticks. When you have a baby, they will give you a cow, so your baby and the cow will grow together and this cow will be given to him and is symbol for luck.

What are the names of the maasai groups and how do they see the division between the different maasai groups and where do they live?

- A lot of different groups, 17 groups according to them, way more than three! You have Kisongo, Parakuyo/Lumbwa, Ndorobo, Larusa, Maasai, Ntebu, Kimaasai ... in both Tanzania and Kenya.

- Kimaasai as one language, but lot of different accents and they all influence each other by migrating for the cattle. But the traditions, clothes, law etc is for all the same.

- They get their names according to the place of their origin. So Larusa ➜ Arusha region. So you say: I’m a Maasai from that place.

How do they look as Lumbwa towards other Maasai groups? Do they have prejudices? I heard prejudices of other groups before that look down for example to the Lumbwa that live here on Zanzibar.

- So we shouldn’t call them Lumbwa, their original correct name is Parakuyo. Lumbwa is a joke name. Some, like Kisongo look bad towards the Lumbwa because they eat fish, but they just adapt to the circumstances. Another important thing is, you can’t eat while you are walking
according to maasai culture, you have to sit down. (like the other rules where men and women
can’t eat together, they have to eat together with other men, women can’t watch them
eating...) So everybody eats separate according to gender. The girls and women together in
the women place, the Ilmuran can eat with Ilmuran and Babas (because the men would eat as
lions, so not good for the women to see that).

How do they see that the tourists are changing them?
- Some of the Wazungu don’t support the maasai at all. Some come in groups and just stay in
the hotels and do expensive trips, but don’t support the maasai shops etc, while of course
some others will support them good.

But do they have an impact on the younger maasai? Do they see that the younger maasai copy
behaviour or style of the tourists and thus change their culture?
- That things happen. Some go back to the village and indeed try to live in a new way. But it is
not allowed, so not everyone does this.
- Like the maasai have their own tabacco, so they aren’t happy when the youth smokes
cigarettes or joints.

Do they see it changes their life goals? Do they still see cattle, women and children as status symbol?
Maybe this is changing because of education and tourism?
- Indeed they learn things from the tourists. Some people sell the cows and build nice houses,
do animal keeping just for business, not as tradition. So they are copying this from the tourists.

How do they see the future of the maasai? What parts do they think will disappear and what parts will
remain?
- One thinks everything will get lost, except for the language.

Do they think circumcision will stay in the future or will it also disappear?
- Female circumcision will get lost, it’s already beginning. People find it unfair now and try to
stop it.
- Male circumcision it will still remain for a long time and maybe never get lost. Other parts of
their culture they think will also remain: because of the medicine, you never lose your maasai
soul.

I see men always wear dark blue, dark red and dark green as colours of their shukas. Is there a certain
meaning of the colours?
- It’s just colours you can choose whether you like them. But red is obligated for Ilmuran for
example.

2/10 Interview with male Maasai Ilmuran in Nungwi: Kambara Mwake (Wa-arusha)

Did he go to school?
- He only went for a short time to school, he went to 4 classes (of the 7 classes).

Did he see that education helped him to get a job?
- Not really, because he doesn’t speak English which is really important to get a job.

What does he see as positive and negative consequences of education on the maasai?
- Positive: education helps to understand the tourists, get a job, would even make it possible to
move to another country, but now he is stuck in the village
If both partners went to school, do they see more equality in the family? Like when both man and woman have a job, will they then divide the household tasks?
- Yes then they help each other, otherwise normally not.

Does he see that people go to secondary school, high school or university, abandon their culture or change it a lot?
- Some of them come back to the village, and some of them stay in town. If you aren’t educated, you definitely stay in the village.

Do the colour of the maasai shukas have a certain meaning? (red, blue, green the men wear)
- The women have a different style then men, and older women have a different style then the younger women. Women will wear light blue.
- If you are a young boy, you are a warrior, so you’ll wear something different from the older men and red. Dark blue and green is also for the men.

Do he come on his own here or did he travel with a friend to Zanzibar?
- He is here only since 6 days, he has no wife or children yet, so he came on his own to earn some money so he can found a family later.

How does he think Zanzibar can help him further in his life?
- He can learn a bit other languages, learn how other people live and earn some money.

What kind of jobs does he hope to do here?
- He didn’t get a job yet, he hoped to become somewhere security, but he admits he doesn’t really like it. So he hopes now to learn a language and become a tourist guide.

What do most of the maasai here do as job? I see them walking on the beach, so then I wonder what they hope to get as job?
- Some are security, some sell stuff in shops, some work on the beach, some are guides etc

What groups of maasai are most represented here?
- Most are from around Tanga, but he already saw some of Arusha area etc.

Do they all live peacefully next to each other and share the jobs equally or does the dominant group get all the good jobs?
- They all live in peace, they see each other as one big family, so live together and look together for jobs.

Does he see that the tourists are changing the maasai that work here?
- The tourists change them: they learn new languages a bit, some of the tourists even give them money to go to school etc, so drastically change their lives at that moment, some marry a tourist etc.

Does he see that tourists change them in negative ways too? I think about drinking a lot of alcohol, showing less and less respect etc?
- Some people change in this way, but most don’t. Some begin drinking, smoking etc, but most don’t.

Does he see that tourists have a certain impact on the Kiswahili and Kimaasai language? Do they feel like there are changing their accent a bit because of the tourists and Swahili people?
- Of course. But if they go back home, they get back their own accent very soon.

How do his parents look to the fact he migrated here? Now he won’t fulfil his duties in the village since he is here, so how do his parents react on this?
- His parents don’t look bad now at him, before he leaved he made sure they were fine. He also has a very big family, so there are enough other children to take care of the cattle and his parents.

What does he think is the impact of Christianity on the maasai culture?
- He doesn’t know a lot of Christianity.

Does he think you can make the combination between being maasai and being Christian? How can you combine the rituals and living as Christian? Christianity forbids a lot of the maasai rituals.
- He never goes to church, so he prefers to be and believe as a maasai.
- But a lot of the maasai indeed go to church like the Wazungu.

What parts of the culture are getting lost because of Christianity? What parts are being removed?
- Traditional rituals, language, maasai religion

How does he see the future of the maasai? What parts will remain and what parts will disappear?
- Language won’t disappear easily.
- Male circumcision will stay, it is still allowed by the government, just it changes a bit to be conform with the government rules and Christianity.