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The importance of tourism for the livelihoods of the Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

A study of two cultural bomas

Master's thesis in Master in Geography

Supervisor: Haakon Lein

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Abstract

The tourism industry is an important part of the economy in Tanzania and has contributed to a rapid financial growth. It has grown to become one of the most powerful, but controversial socioeconomic forces. Because of the size of the global tourism industry it has potential to influence and change how people use natural and cultural resources.

One of the most visited areas in Tanzania is Ngorongoro Conservation Area. The area was established as a multiple land-use area in 1959, and is famous of its wildlife population, unique landscape, natural resources diversity, and the Maasai people. The aim with the conservation area is to secure coexistence between wildlife, tourism and the local residents. The tourism is an important alternative to livestock for the Maasai to maintain their livelihoods and wellbeing. Culture-based tourism is one of the activities the Maasai in NCA are involved in. This type of tourism has been positive in many areas as it contributes to development of communities, infrastructure, employment and economy.

In this thesis I aim to investigate how the tourism in Ngorongoro Conservation Area and people's employment in the cultural bomas have affected the socioeconomic situation of the Maasai. This I have done by using theories within livelihood, wellbeing, gender and political ecology. To structure the thesis and to understand how the complex relationship between the Maasai, NCA and the tourism industry is affecting the possibilities of the Maasai to achieve desired livelihood outcomes, I have used the UK Government's Department for International Development Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. In generating data, I have interviewed 21 Maasai working in the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi. In addition to the interviews, I have used information from a presentation given by a NCA officer to get an understanding of their opinions of the Maasai, the tourism and the conservation. In investigating how the Maasai can develop the cultural bomas in the future to meet the expectations of the tourists and continue to increase their income, I have used travel reviews from TripAdvisor.

The results show that tourism has contributed to development within economy, education, knowledge, and empowerment of women in the Maasai communities in NCA. However, there are some challenges related to the conservation area's policies. The Maasai are denied access to some important grazing and water areas, as well as to cultivate. As a consequence, the people cannot produce grain or keep enough livestock to survive on them alone.

Norwegian abstract

Turistindustrien er en viktig del av økonomien i Tanzania og har bidratt til rask økonomisk vekst. Den har vokst til å bli en av de mest innflytelsesrike, men kontroversielle sosioøkonomiske kreftene. På grunn av sitt store omfang har den globale turismen potensiale til å påvirke og forandre hvordan mennesker bruker natur- og kulturressurser. En av de mest besøkte områdene i Tanzania er Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Området ble etablert som et flerbruksområde i 1959, og er berømt for sitt dyreliv, unike landskap, naturressursmangfold og Maasai befolkningen. Hovedformålet med området er å fremme sameksistens mellom dyreliv, turisme og lokalbefolkningen.

Turisme er et viktig alternativ til husdyrhold for Maasaiene slik at de får til å opprettholde sitt livsgrunnlag og trivsel. Kulturbasert turisme er en av aktivitetene Maasibefolkningen i NCA engasjerer seg i. Denne typen turisme har bidratt positivt i mange områder, og har ført til utvikling av lokalsamfunn, infrastruktur, arbeidsplasser og økonomi. I denne masteroppgaven skal jeg undersøke hvordan turismen i Ngorongoro Conservation Area og menneskers arbeid i de kulturelle bomaene har påvirket Maasibefolkningens sosioøkonomiske situasjon. Dette har jeg gjort ved å bruke teorier innen «livelihood», «wellbeing», kjønn og politisk økologi som teoretisk grunnlag. For å strukturere oppgaven og forstå hvordan det komplekse forholdet mellom Maasibefolkningen, NCAA og turistnæringen har påvirket Maasibefolkningens muligheter til å oppnå ønskede utfall i sitt livsgrunnlag, har jeg brukt UK Government's Department for International Development Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.

For å generere data har jeg intervjuet 21 Maasaier som jobber i de kulturelle bomaene Seneto og Irkeepusi. I tillegg til intervjuene har jeg brukt informasjon fra en presentasjon av en ansatt ved NCAA for å oppnå forståelse av NCAAAs synspunkt i temaer relatert til Maasibefolkningen, turisme og bevaringen av området. For å undersøke hvordan Maasibefolkningen kan videreutvikle bomaene i framtiden for å imøtekomme turistenes forventninger, samt å øke inntektene, har jeg brukt reiseskildringer fra TripAdvisor.

Resultatene viser at turisme har bidratt til utvikling innen Maasibefolkningens lokalsamfunn i NCA, men det er noen utfordringer knyttet til enkelte lover og reguleringer. Maasibefolkningen er blant annet nektet adgang til viktige beite- og vannområder, samt et forbud mot kultivering. Konsekvensen er at de ikke kan produsere korn eller ha nok antall dyr til å overleve kun på det. Maasibefolkningen er derfor avhengig av matrasjoner fra NCAA og uavhengige organisasjoner for å overleve.

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List of abbreviations

DFID	UK Government's Department for International Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
NCA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NCAA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research
PAs	Protected Areas
PC	Pastoral Council
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
TAWIRI	Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute
TLUs	Tropical Livestock Units
TZS	Tanzanian shilling
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USD	United States Dollar
WHS	World Heritage Site

1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

The growing tourism industry provides new opportunities, jobs and economic benefits for many local communities in Africa and parts of the world (Saarinen, Becker, Manwa, & Wilson, 2009). World travel and tourism council defines tourism and travel as “the activity of travellers on trips outside their usual environment with a duration of less than one year” (World travel and tourism council, 2018, p. 15). Today, world’s tourism industry is larger than that of oil exports, food products and production of automobiles, and has become an important income generating industry in less-developed countries (UNWTO, no date).

Since the mid-twentieth century, tourism has grown to become one of world’s most powerful, but controversial, socioeconomic forces (Sharpley & Telfer, 2016; UNWTO, no date). The growth of the sector has made tourism an effective means in achieving economic and social development in developing countries (Sharpley & Telfer, 2016). It has led to employment, income, foreign exchange, cultural preservation, environmental protection, peace and security in societies (Sharpley & Telfer, 2016; UNWTO, 2018). As a result of people’s engagement in the industry, many places and rural areas have become part of cultural, social, economic and political networks. Because of the size of the global tourism industry it has potential to influence and change how people use natural and cultural resources. This has resulted in an increased awareness considering the sustainability perspective of tourism (Saarinen et al., 2009). Often, political, economic and social structures within the destination countries prevents the extent to which the benefits are accomplished (Sharpley & Telfer, 2016).

Tourism is an important part of Tanzania’s economy and has according to United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) contributed to economic development and rapid financial growth at national, regional and local levels. In 2017, the total contribution of tourism and travel was approximately 4.6 billion USD (10,526.7 bn TZS), which constitutes to 9.0 percent of total Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and is forecast to rise with 10.1 percent of GDP in 2028. The number of people employed in the tourism sector in 2017 was one million people, which is 8.2 percent of the total employment in Tanzania (World travel and tourism council, 2018). This includes people working in hotels, travel agents, airlines and other passenger transportation services, restaurants that depend on tourists, and leisure industries directly supported by tourists (World travel and tourism council, 2018).

One of the most visited tourist destinations in Tanzania is the multiple land-use area Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). It is well-known for its wildlife population, beautiful landscape, natural resources diversity, and the Maasai people (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) the number of tourists visiting NCA has grown from 20,000 in 1979 to 601,215 in 2016/17. In the period of 2016/17 the revenue generated by Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) was approximately 45 million USD (104 billion TZS, 1 USD = 2,315 TZS) (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

Today, culture-based tourism is one of the segments within tourism with most rapid growth in the world (Melubo & Carr, 2019). According to UNWTO (2017) cultural tourism is defined as “a type of tourism activity in which the visitor’s essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination” (UNWTO, 2017, p. 18). According to Melubo and Carr (2019) this type of tourism can be a good method in achieving development of communities, infrastructure, employment and financial benefits. Cultural tourism is also considered as a great opportunity for local people to take part in the tourism business without having to move out of their ancestral areas. It is advertised as tourism that benefits the social and economic wellbeing of people living in rural areas (Melubo & Carr, 2019).

Livestock is considered to be the most important economic activity among the Maasai living in NCA, but tourism has become a supplement to livestock to ensure a more stable financial basis in times of decline in livestock population (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013). People are taking part in the tourism industry through producing art, jewelry, and beaded handicrafts, as well as showing tourists traditional dance and clothes. In 2013, tourism activities including walking safaris, game viewing and cultural heritage tourism contributed to about 70 percent of communities’ income (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013; Melubo & Carr, 2019; Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). It is NCAA that is responsible for the game viewing activities, while Pastoral Council (PC) is responsible for the cultural heritage tourism activities, including the cultural bomas (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). According to Melita and Mendlinger (2013) tourism is considered to be one of the most beneficial activities that Maasai can engage in and income from this may improve people’s and communities’ livelihood situation (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013).

1.2 Problem statement

The large number of tourists visiting NCA yearly creates an opportunity for the Maasai to improve their economic situation and livelihood. Still, many Maasai living within the conservation area explain that they have poor economic opportunities because of conservation policies (Galvin, Boone, McCabe, Magennis, & Beeton, 2015). According to Galvin et al. (2015) the situation of the Maasai in NCA has to be understood on the basis of the history of conservation policies together with human population dynamics, food insecurity, disease interactions, and land-use changes through times.

In the General management plan 2006-2016 Ngorongoro Conservation Area, ten challenges related to community development is listed (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). That include challenges related to increased number of people in NCA, increased size of the cultivation areas within NCA, perceived inadequate involvement of NCA indigenous residents in NCA development and management processes, food insecurity, poor local economy, poor quality and slow growth rate of livestock populations, poor social services, HIV/AIDS pandemic, and conflicts between development and environmental protection (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010).

In many areas, including NCA, the idea and implementation of Protected Areas (PAs) for biodiversity conservation combined with an aim to develop the tourism industry have been supported and utilized by local people (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). Many planners, organizations, and governments have concluded that biodiversity loss is a global commons problem which need to be managed by organizations working under international conventions and treaties. Because of the involvement of international actors there has been an enormous growth in the numbers of national parks and equivalent reserves since the 1960s. Most of the newly established PAs is located in the global South in countries that are economically less-developed. Since the establishment of the world's first national park in Yellowstone in 1872, nature conservation has been deeply political because governments have often claimed ownership over areas characterized by "wilderness" while these areas often also are considered as homeland of local people living in the area (Neumann, 2005).

Historically, there have been no place for local people within conservation areas because of the idealistic conservation ideal to maintain the "wilderness" of the areas and for the purpose of tourism, and as a consequence in many cases the local people have been relocated. NCA,

however is a multiple land-use area where Maasais are allowed to live within the conservation area (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

In this thesis I will have a look at how the tourism industry is affecting the Maasai community in NCA by analysing tourism activities in the Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. Changes in socioeconomic factors contributes to the reforming of individual perceptions and beliefs, cultural patterns, economic organizations, methods of production and distribution, socio-political arrangements, and the international economy (Jaffee, 1998).

1.3 Research questions

The general objective of the study is to investigate if and how the Maasai in NCA benefit from the tourism industry based on employment and income in the cultural bomas. I will analyse how the tourism affect their socioeconomic situation, how the tourists experience their visit in the cultural bomas and if there are planned some changes of the bomas to meet tourists' expectations in the future. On this basis, the research questions for this thesis are:

The influence of tourism on the socioeconomic situation of the Maasai people in Ngorongoro Conservation Area. A study of the two cultural bomas Seneto and Irkeepusi.

- **How is the social structure and the economic distribution within Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas?**
- **How has tourism affected the livelihood and wellbeing of the Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Area?**
- **How do tourists experience the cultural bomas?**
- **How do people working in the bomas want to develop the businesses in the future?**

1.4 Motivation of the study

This thesis is a part of the EU-funded AfricanBioServices project "Linking Biodiversity, Ecosystem Functions and Services in the Serengeti-Mara Region, East Africa: Drivers of Change, Causalities and Sustainable Management Strategies".

Since I was a small child, I have been concerned with justice among people and their opportunities to achieve a good life. People should not have to worry if they will be able to cover their most basic needs for the next day. With background in this engagement I found the topic about how the Maasai benefit from tourism very interesting.

The Maasai should get the possibility to be more involved in the large income-generating tourism industry in NCA in order to be able to improve their livelihood, wellbeing, and life standard. It is interesting to see how the conservation policies affect people's lives and their opportunity to get out of poverty, and whether it contributes positively to social development. Because of the consequences of the population growth and the climate change it is important that the new strategies, such as take part in the tourism industry, works well for them to be able to cope with life. I hope that this thesis can contribute to show the importance of people getting the opportunity to work in a cultural boma and how they can develop the boma to attract more tourists.

This study is based on a set of interviews conducted in the two cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi in NCA. In addition to the interviews I have used material from a presentation given by a NCAA officer, document analysis and travel reviews.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

The thesis has been organized into seven chapters. In this section I give an introduction of each chapter.

Chapter one: Introduction

In the introduction chapter I have included a background of the study, problem statement, research questions, my motivation for conducting this study, and organization of the thesis.

Chapter two: Background

The purpose of the background chapter is to give a historical and political context to the thesis. In the beginning of the chapter it is a presentation of the study area. The chapter includes a presentation of the historical and political development in the Maasai community and Ngorongoro Conservation Area, mainly from the 1950s to the present day.

Chapter three: Theoretical Foundation and Analytical Framework

In this chapter I present the theory relevant for this thesis. I explain the concepts of political ecology as well as theories within gender, livelihoods and wellbeing. Thereafter, I give an explanation of the framework used in this thesis, the Sustainable Livelihoods framework. I end the chapter by explaining the application of the theories and the framework.

Chapter four: Methods

In this chapter I give a presentation of the methods I have used in this thesis. These includes interviews, travel reviews and documentary studies. In the end I explain the process of

managing the data material and about the analysis processes, before I end with a discussion of the ethical considerations.

Chapter five: Community composition and the livelihood of the Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

In this chapter I present the main findings from the data material. I start with going into how the households are organized before I give an introduction to the cultural bomas in general and Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. Thereafter I move on to the cooperation between the different cultural bomas in NCA and surrounding areas, before having a look at the relationship between NCA and the Maasai. In the end of the chapter I explain what a traditional Maasai life is.

Chapter six: The importance of tourism in achieving a sustainable livelihood for the Maasai, and tourists' experiences from visiting a Cultural Boma in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

In this chapter I have a look at women's role in the cultural boma, people's educational possibilities, and the economic significance of tourism for the Maasai working in the cultural bomas. Then, I have a look at how tourism has affected the livelihood assets of the Maasai. Thereafter, I investigate the tourists' experiences of their visit in the cultural bomas. In the end, I have a look at how the Maasai want to develop the cultural bomas in the future to attract more tourists to visit them.

Chapter seven: Discussion and conclusions

In the discussion and conclusions chapter, I start with discussing the findings and the theory. In the conclusion I go into how tourism have affected the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai, how the tourists experience the cultural bomas and what they can do to develop the bomas to attract more visitors. To end this thesis, I address some limitations within the study, as well as some recommendation on topics that can be studied in more detail in the future.

2 Background

2.1 Introduction

Knowing the history of a place and the people, as well as the political development, is important in understanding the contexts of people's lives. The historical background is the foundation of how the structure of the society and under which conditions people are able to make decisions for their lives today. To understand the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai, it is therefore important to take the history of the people and the area into consideration. In this chapter I give a presentation of the study area as well as the historical and political development of the Maasai and NCA.

2.2 Study area

NCA was established in 1959 as a multiple land use area and covers 8292 square kilometres. It is located in Arusha Region, northern parts of Tanzania (NCAA, no date). The intention of the area is to promote conservation of natural resources, meet the needs of the local Maasais as well as promote tourism (NCAA, no date; UNESCO, no date).



Figure 1 The Ngorongoro Crater.

Source: Author.

The nature is characterized by highland plains, savanna, savanna woodlands and forests (UNESCO, no date). NCA is most known for the Ngorongoro Crater which is the largest caldera in the world, the Serengeti Plains, the Northern Highland Forest Reserve, and the Oldupai Gorge where ancient human foot-prints were discovered (NCAA, no date; UNESCO, no date). Because of the area's uniqueness and spectacular scenery and landscape it was given the title as "World Heritage Site" by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1979 and the title "Cultural World Heritage Site" in 2010 by the same organization (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013).

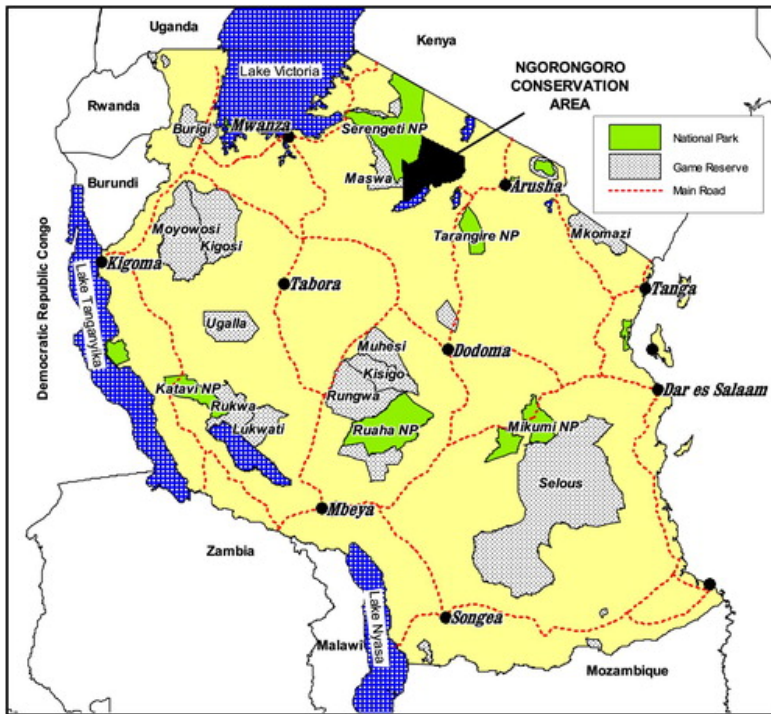


Figure 2 Ngorongoro Conservation Area's location in Tanzania.

Source: Melubo and Lovelock (2019, p. 200).

The area is important due to biodiversity conservation because of the large population of animals, plants and other species that lives there, as well as the large annual migration of animals into the northern plains (UNESCO, no date). Getting World Heritage Site (WHS) status by UNESCO is by governments, conservationists and the tourism industry listed high among desired achievements. Being a WHS set requirements for the protection and conservation of the area. It can contribute to give the area international publicity and prestige, as well as engagement of local, national and international donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to help preserve the area's natural and cultural values (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

NCA is managed by NCAA, which is an organization established by the Tanzanian government to administer the area. NCAA is under the auspices of the Wildlife Division for the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), and consists of several departments, each of them with different focus areas within wildlife, local people, forestry, archaeology and history, tourism, education and research (Galvin et al., 2015; NCAA, 2019). The Maasai are represented in the organs of NCAA through the so-called Pastoral Council (PC). The PC was established in 1994 with the aim to empower the Maasai in political discussions and decisions related to development, and their sociocultural and economic livelihoods (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).



Figure 3 The NCAA's office in Ngorongoro Conservation Area.

Source: NCAA (2019).

2.3 The history of Ngorongoro Conservation Area and the Maasai

Before colonial rule, Maasailand stretched from northern Kenya to the Maasai Steppe of northern Tanzania. In the early 1900s, British and German settlers started the process by dividing the Maasai into two parts and created a boundary between British Kenya and German Tanganyika. The result of the forced movement of the Maasai was that they lost about 60 percent of their land (Fratkin, 2001). In 1904/05 some Maasai were moved by force out of their important grazing areas in Rift Valley (Naivasha-Nakuru) into reserves because the areas were allocated to white settlements. One of the two reserves that Maasai were replaced into was located in Laikipia in British East Africa, today's Kenya, and the second on the border to German East Africa, today's Tanzania. The British legitimized their actions based on the lack of official documents on owners of the land, as well as the Maasai were only users of the land and not the official owners and the colonial government had the right to use the land (Hughes, 2006). Such forced replacement of people often result in dramatically changes in people's livelihoods and lifestyles. It most likely lead to disruption in social support systems and economic impoverishment and psychological issues (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). In 1919 Tanganyika went from being under German colonial rule to become a British colony (Galvin et al., 2015).

The first suggestions to conservation legislation was the Game Preservation Ordinance introduced by the British in 1921. In 1930 all the area in Serengeti-Ngorongoro was declared as a closed reserve (Århem, 1985). In 1940 the government of Tanganyika signed the Game Ordinance of 1940, which created a new category of PAs; the national park (Galvin et al., 2015;

Århem, 1985). Serengeti and parts of Ngorongoro was the first official national park in Tanzania. In the 1940s people could still live within the area and were allowed to continue with their land-use traditions. Except for hunting which became prohibited (Galvin et al., 2015).

2.3.1 The 1950s

In the 1950s many game reserves and national parks were established in Tanzania. These types of parks exclude all human habitation and activities, except tourism (Århem, 1985). Based on the Fauna Conservation Ordinance No. 17 of 1951 which replaced the Game Ordinance of 1940, three categories of PAs were established in Tanganyika. Those were Game Reserves, Game Controlled Areas and Partial Game Reserves (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). National parks and game reserves are conserved based on the *fortress* model. In *fortress* conservation dominating ideas are the total absence of human impact on nature, wildlife and landscape, and to promote the conservation of wild flora and fauna and for the park's touristic potential (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013; Neumann, 2005). The establishment of national parks was important for the colonial governments because in that time national identity was formed with basis in nature and natural landscapes. This has caused conflicts over common property resources that are important in maintaining and reproducing rural communities and households (Neumann, 2005).

Conservationists expressed concerns regarding the compatibility of conservation and human activities (Galvin et al., 2015). As a result people's access to their traditional resource base became restricted, and people were no longer allowed to cultivate, collect wood, graze their livestock, use water sources, use plants for medical purposes or any other use of flora, fauna or land (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013). Cultivation was banned from Serengeti in 1954. The decision-makers believed that Maasai did not rely on cultivation because of their access to milk, meat and blood. The intention of banning cultivation was to force non-Maasai cultivators to move out of the area. This proved to be wrong as most of the Maasai were dependent on grain in their daily diet. This resulted in a conflict between the Maasai and the authorities of Serengeti National Park (Galvin et al., 2015).

NCA as we know it today was a part of Serengeti Game Reserve. The conflict led to negotiations about separating the NCA from Serengeti Game Reserve. The Tanganyika government decided that the new Serengeti National Park should be without people. In 1956 the final decision was made. It was decided to move the Maasai from the western and eastern Serengeti Game Reserve into the area of today's NCA. The new boundary was implemented in 1959 in accordance with the 1959 NCA Ordinance (Galvin et al., 2015; Sinclair, Dobson,

Mduma, & Metzger, 2015; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). NCAA was given the authority by the government to manage the new conservation area (Galvin et al., 2015).

In 1959, the colonial government in Tanganyika, with support from international environmental consultants, offered a compensation in order to make the Maasai to move away from the rich plains of Serengeti National Park (Fratkin, 2001; Melita & Mendlinger, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). The compensation was grazing privileges on the external slopes of the NCA, which was based on the alternative conservation model *community conservation* (Fratkin, 2001; Melita & Mendlinger, 2013). The idea of the model is the coexistence between human and wildlife, and facilitation of multiple land-use (Melita & Mendlinger, 2013). Mayhew (2015) defines community as “the population and the interconnections of that population in a particular area, town, village, suburb, or neighbourhood; a set of shared values, practices, and ways of being in the world” (Mayhew, 2015, p. 93). Community conservation aims to involve communities in the management of an area to achieve both conservation and development goals and acknowledge the importance of markets and restructured property rights in shaping incentives for conservation (Neumann, 2005).

2.3.2 The 1960s

Ninth of December 1961 Tanganyika got full independence from the British colonial government (Maxon, 2009). The same year the organizational structure of NCAA was changed. It went from consisting of conservation officers from disciplines within the natural sciences, five Maasai representatives, and a chairman to consist of a conservator as chairman, the regional chief of departments of forest, game, veterinary and water development, a district commissioner, and only one Maasai (Galvin et al., 2015).

In 1960 an administrative team published the first management plan of NCA. This plan was later revised by Fosbrooke, the chairman of the Advisory Board, later chairman for the new unit within the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Wildlife as the Advisory Board was dissolved in 1963. The plan was later, in 1966, revised by Dirschl. This resulted in a plan that focused on land use zones. That included zones for wildlife and forest protection, agricultural and pastoral development, tourism, and archaeological sites. Because of conflicts between conservationists and economic interests the plan was not implemented (Århem, 1985).

2.3.3 The 1970s

With pressure from international conservation organizations to manage NCA as a national park, the government signed the Wildlife Conservation Act in 1974. In 1975 the Game Parks Laws

Act was signed to replace the 1959 NCA Ordinance. As a result, the NCAA became a corporate body rather than a division of a government ministry (Galvin et al., 2015). The new Ordinance stated that in addition to preserve and develop the natural resources NCAA should promote the interests of the Maasai (Århem, 1985).

Some people were concerned about increasing livestock pressure and environmental degradation. The implementation of stricter conservation management in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance of 1975 resulted in prohibition against cultivation, removal of people out of the craters in NCA, and restrictions in use of the water in Olduvai river (Galvin et al., 2015; Århem, 1985). The consequence of the ban against cultivation was a decline in living conditions for the Maasai families and increased level of conflicts between the Maasai and NCAA (Galvin et al., 2015).

In 1979, NCA was given the status as a WHS by UNESCO because of its landscape, wildlife, diverse ecosystem, archaeological sites, and the Maasai (UNESCO, no date).

2.3.4 From the 1980s to the present day

According to Neumann (2005), biodiversity conservation became a part of the vocabular of conservation planners in the 1980s. It has since then been discursively constructed with a global perspective and top-down approaches in handling nature and nature resources. Many of the PAs in developing countries have been planned and established on the basis of the interventions of developed countries' scientists and managers (Neumann, 2005). Biodiversity is, according to Blaikie (1995), mainly been accepted as a global issue among biologists and ecologists as they have been looking at the extinction of species at a global scale. At the same time as the opinions and findings of biologists and ecologists creates international conservation paradigms and influences the conservation practices of many places in the world, local people often have another perspective when it comes to the use of the surrounding environment (Blaikie, 1995).

In 1992, cultivation became temporarily allowed again. It was concluded that the human development had deteriorated as a result of a growing population that was living on the same amount of livestock (Galvin et al., 2015).

In 1994 the Pastoral Council was established with the aim to increase the involvement of the Maasai community in the management (Galvin et al., 2015). In 2001 the Land Act and the Village Land Act came into law. These acts were adopted on the basis of an attempt in empower local communities by delegate some authority regarding land matters from central government and by formation of village councils. The aim was to give the people more control in the

planning and management of their development. The act recognizes traditional land rights, allows villagers to manage their lands, give help to the communities to ensure the right to occupy and use land, and it limits the power of the government to take village land. The National Forest Policy and the Wildlife Policy are other national policies that were adopted with the aim to empower local communities in questions about resources (Snyder & Sulle, 2011).

In 2009 cultivation was once again banned (Galvin et al., 2015).

In 2016, the Tanzanian Primer at NCA Headquarter ordered the Maasai to restrain from taking their livestock into the Ngorongoro Crater. This message came as a result of several complaints from tourists and conservationists that cattle within the crater would damage the slopes and the floor of the crater, and that tourists want to see wildlife not livestock. In July 2018, NCAA ordered the Maasai to stop taking their livestock inside the crater, marshes and the forest reserves (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

3 Theoretical foundation and analytical framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present relevant theory for this thesis. First, I give an overview of existing literature regarding the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai in NCA. Thereafter I present the meaning of political ecology in general before I explain its position within the fields of environment and development, and property rights. Then, I present theories of gender, livelihood and wellbeing. At the end of the chapter I give an introduction to Sustainable Livelihoods framework (SLF) that I have used as an analysis framework for this thesis, before I explain the relevance of the theory and framework.

3.2 Literature review

Literature on how tourism has affected the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai living in NCA do already exists. But since I am using other methods, framework and theories and focus on the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi I consider my research as important as it reveals new aspects. New ideas and perspectives that my research provide are how people within Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas benefit from tourism, how tourists experience their visit, and how people working in the cultural bomas want to develop the bomas in the future. Therefore, I find this thesis highly relevant in the questions regarding how the tourism has affected the lives of the Maasai in NCA.

The research by Ernestina Coast (2002) “Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison” is about the socioeconomic situation of the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya. NCA is one of the areas where she has conducted her research. According to her work, NCA is a unique experiment in multiple land use between conservation, tourism and agropastoralism.

Coast takes a look at the historical development and how the situation of the Maasai has been influenced by nation-states, monetization of the traditional economy, formal education, land tenure changes, and demographic factors. Many stakeholders with different interests have resulted in increasing levels of tension and potential conflict between wildlife managers and the Maasai.

Her work also describes the household and living conditions of the Maasai. In 2002, when the research was published, cultivation was allowed and many Maasai families sold cash crops to NCAA staff. The cultivation in Irkeepusi was important for the residents and contributed to permanent settlements.

According to Coast, 0.2 percent of individuals over 15 are employed full-time in tourism related businesses in NCA. Most women take part in the production of the beaded handicraft, but only a few are selling them to tourists. Someone sells it at the park gates and others in the cultural bomas.

Only a few individuals benefit from the cultural bomas. Much of the entrance fees tourists pay to enter the bomas goes to the tour guides, and the diversification of livelihood strategies will mainly favour the people with education. The women are less likely to take part in the non-traditional economic system and have lower levels of education. It is according to Coast, perhaps within the tourism industry women are most excluded relative to men.

The research by Katherine A. Snyder and Emmanuel B. Sulle (2011) “Tourism in Maasai communities: a chance to improve livelihoods?” is about community-based tourism in Maasai communities with an economic perspective. They explain that one issue in the distribution of tourism revenues is that foreign companies own many of the businesses within the industry. As a result, a large amount of the revenues is exported out of the country in particular to western countries. This has negative impacts on poor populations who do not get to benefit from the tourism, but often have to bear most of the costs.

According to Snyder and Sulle, the rapid growth of the tourism industry causes an increase in the levels of conflicts between the tour operators and the Maasai. The conflicts are often based on the needs of the tour operators to satisfy the tourists’ wish to be close to the wildlife. Some tour operators are afraid that the Maasai will increase the numbers of livestock. They believe that a large livestock population will result in damage of the “pristine wilderness” that tourists want to see. Also, they are afraid that it will lead to degradation in the natural resources that wildlife depends on. They argue that this type of situation is bad for their business.

In 2001, the Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 came under law. As a result, tour operators had to start paying fees to the central treasury who would distribute it to the villages and the districts. According to Snyder and Sulle it is mostly the tour operators that benefit from the cultural boma entrance fees. This especially applies to the tour drivers who threaten the Maasai to stop bringing the tourists to their boma if they deny paying enough.

In their research they explain how the livelihoods of the Maasai are affected through the support from PC for education, infrastructure and bursaries for students who want to study outside NCA. They also mention that the Maasai are selling milk and meat to the staff of the lodges,

but according to the Maasai they have too little stock to sell because of a growing human population and a declining livestock population.

Asantael W. Melita and Samuel Mendlinger (2013) published their study “The Impact of Tourism Revenue on the Local Communities’ Livelihood: A Case Study of Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania” in 2013. According to Melita and Mendlinger, the conservation policy has led to stunted economic development and growth for the Maasai.

The decline in the livestock population and an increased human population have encouraged some of the people to establish small-scale businesses. But because of the large distances and limited infrastructure in NCA, it is difficult for the businesses to grow. As a result, many men have to migrate to other areas to make enough income.

Livestock is the main activity of the Maasai, and a decline in the numbers of individuals results in a decline in people’s wellbeing. Tourism has been prioritized as an alternative activity to their economy. When Melita and Mendlinger published their study in 2013 tourism activities accounted for about 70 percent of the communities’ income.

The cultural bomas are considered as the main activity for the Maasai to involve in the tourism industry. This type of involvement helps to form a positive image of tourism among the people. In their study they explain that one cultural boma earned about 368 USD in 2008. The income of the beaded handicrafts goes to those who are producing and sells the items. In their research they explain that many people mean that tourism employment only are benefiting those with good education.

Melita and Mendlinger concludes that tourism is a complementing source of income to many of the communities, but fewer people benefit from the industry than it should be.

The research by Kokel Melubo and Anna Carr (2019) “Developing indigenous tourism in the *bomas*: critiquing issues from within the Maasai community in Tanzania” is about some of the difficulties the Maasai faces in their engagement in the tourism industry in NCA.

According to Melubo and Carr, indigenous culture-based tourism can be a good way in providing development, infrastructure, employment and economic benefits in communities. But tourism and conservation are by many associated with loss of land. Because of the wildlife, natural resources and the landscape, the Maasai experience increased level of conflict with conservationists, hunting outfitters and tour operators.

With support from NCAA the Maasai established the cultural bomas in the 1990s to sell beaded handicrafts and show traditional dance to the tourists. The cultural bomas are considered as a type of safe net that prevents poverty among the Maasai. Despite many positive outcomes, the cultural bomas also have some challenges. Those are the powerful positions some of the leaders possess, shortage of professional staff, lack of improvement of the beaded handicrafts, limited communication between the tourists and the Maasai, difficulties in advertising the boma and the products, under-representation of women in leader positions, uncertainties regarding the distribution of fees, lack of health care centers, water supplies, energy supplies and waste management, and competition from markets outside NCA that sells Maasai products.

According to Melubo and Carr, the sale of beaded handicrafts has contributed to the acknowledgement of women as craftspeople. It has also empowered the women economically and challenged the patriarchal culture. People use the income from tourism to support schools, infrastructure and bursaries for students to study outside NCA. Their study shows that certain components within the Maasai community have improved due to tourism activities, but people often experience being disempowered socially and economically.

The research by Kokel Melubo and Brent Lovelock (2019) “Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania” is about how the lives of the Maasai in NCA are affected by living within a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS). When NCA received the status as a WHS many Maasai lost access to important grazing areas, including the Ngorongoro Crater, Ndutu marshes and Entim Olturot (forest reserve).

According to Melubo and Lovelock, the water tanks and swimming pools of the lodges often are prioritized over water supplies to the Maasai villages. This results in weakening of the livestock, and an increase in the workload of the women since they have to walk larger distances to collect water.

According to the Maasai their wellbeing has declined because of low numbers of livestock, lack of food and protein, and the prohibition against cultivation. Their research also discusses the under-representation of the Maasai in tourists related jobs and in decision-making structures in NCA. Because of these challenges many of the Maasai are positive towards tourism as it creates new businesses and employment opportunities, income to support education, and health facilities.

According to their study another challenge is the constant threat against relocation. The government has often based their arguments of removing the Maasai from NCA on

recommendations from UNESCO. One of the arguments they use is that an increased human population is a threat to the ecological value, and to NCA as a WHS. Many of the Maasai consider the conservation and management to be the reason to livelihood hardships, and that the area has become a playground for tourists, investors and conservationists.

3.3 Political ecology

Political ecology combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy (Neumann, 2005). Stott and Sullivan define political ecology as

a concern with tracing the genealogy of narratives concerning 'the environment', with identifying power relationships supported by such narratives, and with asserting the consequences of hegemony over, and within, these narratives for economic and social development, and particularly for constraining possibilities for self-determination. (Stott & Sullivan, 2000, p. 2 in Nunan, 2015, p. 31).

At the heart of political ecology is the human-environment relations. Questions that are relevant to ask in political ecology are how conflicts over human rights, social justice and poverty are linked to the politics of environmental conservation and degradation (Neumann, 2005).

Political ecology has been used as an approach in many research projects to investigate the environmental degradation in developing countries (Neumann, 2005). According to Blaikie (1995) degradation includes “a scientific and cultural view of a set of biological and physical processes which are interpreted on the basis of implicit views about how the environment should be used in terms of specific management objectives” (Blaikie, 1995, p. 209).

Neo-Malthusianism is a common way of seeing the relationship between the human and the natural environment. The idea is that population growth is the primary or even the sole cause of environmental degradation (Neumann, 2005). According to Neumann (2005) thoughts within neo-Malthusianism has led to a too simple explanation of environmental degradation, where over-population is considered to be the main reason. It became said that over-population will result in over-stocking, which will result in over-grazing and loss in vegetation, and in turn desertification (Neumann, 2005).

Other approaches closely associated with neo-Malthusianism are the managerial approaches to environmental degradation. Managerial approaches involve the belief that environmental degradation is a consequence of mismanagement of resources by local population. A solution

to prevent degradation is according to the managerial approach to introduce rational planning by specialists (Neumann, 2005). Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" is an example of a managerial writing. The theory is about the result of resources shared among several actors within a space without restrictions. In the example in his publication "The tragedy of the commons. The population problem has no technical solution; it requires a fundamental extension in morality" from 1968, Hardin uses an open access pasture. In that pasture it is expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many animals as possible. The capacity of the land will be in harmony as long as wars, poaching and natural causes, like diseases, keeps the number of individuals at a normal level. But eventually the harmony of the land will be disturbed, and the inherent logic of the commons remorselessly generates a tragedy. Each herdsman will initially continuously try to maximize his livestock and income. The herdsman will most likely try to increase his income, but since all the herdsmen are thinking the same, there is a risk of overgrazing over time (Hardin, 1968). His solution to the problem where individuals exploits the resources at the expense of the whole community for their own economic gain, is to privatize the resource. That means to introduce the rationality of the market, or that government or another authority intervene to introduce rational resource management practises. Hardin's theory was never meant as anything else than an argument for population growth, but became included in policy and academia as an argument against the local traditional management of resources and for the benefit of privatization and state intervention (Neumann, 2005).

According to Blaikie (1985) environmental degradation can be considered to be a result, cause, and symptom of underdevelopment (Blaikie, 1985). According to Neumann (2005), Blaikie meant that poverty needs to be understood at different geographic scales. The increased involvement of peasants in market and systems of wage labour in less-developed countries is not the solution to reduce poverty and degradation. He meant that it too often leads to the opposite, exacerbation of poverty and degradation. It is therefore a close relation between poverty and degradation, and social and spatial patterns of wealth accumulation (Neumann, 2005).

According to Neumann (2005), Blakie and Brookfield (1987) explain in their work "Land Degradation and Society" that there are reasons to question the role of the state's power in environmental concerns. Often does the state lend its power to dominant groups or classes, which contributes to give them an even more positive strategic position, and marginalization of

the losing groups, through actions as taxation, food policy, land tenure policy and the allocation of resources (Neumann, 2005).

3.3.1 Political ecology of environment and development

Neumann (2005) explain development as “transformation, embracing a new way of being and thinking and leaving the old ways behind” (Neumann, 2005, p. 81). Much of the development in the developing countries is about the struggles between local communities, the state, and capitalist enterprises over livelihoods, how the control over access to land and resources is organized, how local knowledge is recognized and valued, and the perspectives of the environment (Neumann, 2005). According to Blaikie (1995) people’s conception of the environment and landscapes is subjective as different people defines their own realities as they have different views on the environment and landscape.

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission, published the report “Our common future” to bring sustainable development into political mainstream (Neumann, 2005). They came up with the famous definition of sustainable development; “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987, p. 43 in Neumann, 2005 p. 84). The report identified poverty as a fundamental cause to environmental degradation. To reduce environmental degradation in an area the decision makers therefore have to reduce poverty. This can be done through promote economic development (Neumann, 2005).

Political ecology has long been critical to the neo-liberalist thoughts of the 1980s. The acknowledgement of local knowledge and community-oriented land and resource management as important in development is central in political ecology. There has been an uncritical promotion of NGOs, civil society, and community in development policies by World bank and other institutions and agencies. Critical research of this has revealed how different factions within communities compete to position themselves as the representatives of the local people. These self-appointed representatives have the tendency to represent the interests of some community members while they are neglecting the interests of others. It is often the women’s interests and knowledge that is being overlooked or undermined when their involvement in community-based organizations are restricted (Neumann, 2005).

3.3.2 Discourses and dominant environmental narratives

A discourse is based on a specific selection of combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and practises, and chooses to highlight some concepts at the expense of others. Some discourses become so well-established that they get hegemonic and globalized (Neumann, 2005). Harvey (1996) explains that “discourses express human thought, fantasy, and desire. They are also institutionally based, materially constrained, experientially grounded manifestations of social power relations” (Harvey, 1996, p. 80 in Neumann, 2005 p. 94). According to Blaikie (1995) a discourse includes speaking in form of symbols and meaning, and action in form of material transformation of society and the environment, where both factors are important in how a landscape is created and perceived. Discourses can be created in many ways, for example through oral testimonies, religious ceremony and ritual, agricultural practice, scientific research papers, multi-lateral projects, NGOs activities, and World Bank documents. All actors operate within a political economic context where there are several people who tries to pursue their points of view. These people have often unequal access to power as they try to convince others about their knowledge and projects. It all results in processes consisting of several truths and interests, the different lives of different actors, and actors meeting each other under the circumstances of the unequal power relations that influences the social relationships (Blaikie, 1995).

According to Nunan (2015) the rules and regulations imposed upon pastoralists communities have contributed to perceived overstocking and overgrazing within the dominant narrative of pastoralism. Dominant narratives have received much criticism by political ecologists and others. They argue that degradation sometimes occurs, but people’s perceptions of the dominant narrative may result in disregarding of more appropriate responses. This includes the acknowledgement of the high productivity of extensive nomadic pastoralism and the importance of indigenous technical knowledge and customary institutions can be appropriate responses to dryland degradation. Another criticism is that many have used insufficient data during a too short periods of time and space in their representation of land degradation. The narratives have therefore been challenged through use of correct historical data on climate and vegetation in specific areas.

Many of the perceptions about the causes and processes underlying the dominant narratives includes inaccurate assumptions about the ecology of the areas by early colonial scientists. They believed population growth and increase in the numbers of livestock were the reason to dryland degradation. At the same time as the “tragedy of the commons” had a dominant position in the

resource management, particularly in traditional management systems, to inform beliefs and policies (Nunan, 2015).

3.3.3 Political ecology of property rights

According to Nunan (2015) property is an economic term and is characterized as a benefit or an income stream. Bromley (1991) defines property right as “a claim to benefit or income stream that the state will agree to protect” (Bromley, 1991, p. 2 in Nunan, 2015, p. 17). There are four categories of property rights: use, transfer, exclusion, and enforcement (Nunan, 2015). The structure of property rights at different scales as the state, community, and household, has an important position in political ecology. Interesting aspects are how property rights are defined, negotiated and fought over between different social groups, as class, gender and ethnic groupings, and how this may contribute to understand development and environmental conservation and degradation. Investigating property rights is important because it says something about who are allowed to participate in, gains from, or is excluded from the process of development (Neumann, 2005).

Political ecologists’ interest in property rights began with the introduction of neo-liberal economic theory in the 1980s, when privatization became an important part of international development policies. The World Bank has been a central actor in the privatization of property as a strategy for economic growth in the less-developed countries. They have released many publications where they explain that privatization is the first step in achieving property security necessary to stimulate investments by individuals in land and increase productivity (Neumann, 2005). According Neumann (2005), the World Bank believe such individual investments will result in better husbandry and resource-conserving practises. These ideas became popular among international development planners and conservationists and got a central role in sustainable development. Research within political ecology has shown that these ideas have had unintended consequences for people’s access to land, social justice, and environmental change (Neumann, 2005).

Property rights are structured in specific ways and are affected by different rules under which rights can be realized. This is called property regimes. Understanding the poverty-environment relationships often involve investigating which property regimes and property rights people have within a regime. There are four different property regimes: private, common, state and open, where each of them is characterized by different rights and duties (Nunan, 2015). Table 1 gives a short explanation of the different property regimes and an example.

Table 1 The different types of property regimes.

Property regimes	Explanation	Example
Open access regime	Anyone can use the resources and there are no rules defining how much of a resource someone can take and how they can take it.	“Tragedy of the commons” by Hardin.
Common property regime	Rules that exclude non-members of the group to extract resources from the area, how much of the resource people can take, and when and how they can take it.	Pastures where there are rules regarding the grazing intensity during a period to prevent degradation.
State property regime	The government or an organization given authority set the rules of who are allowed access to the resources, when and how.	Serengeti National Park and NCA.
Private property regime	The resources are under private ownership. It can be individual ownership, or the resources can be owned by a group.	Fencing around people’s private farms.

Source: Nunan (2015).

3.4 Gender, livelihood and wellbeing

3.4.1 Gender

Gender is important in analysing poverty-environmental relationships as the socially constructed gender relations form some specific institutions that are related to power distribution within a society (Nunan, 2015). North (1990) defines institutions as “the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction, which reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life” (North, 1990, p. 3 in Nunan, 2015 p. 13). Institutions are dynamic and can change over time and space. They are part in mediate and influence the decisions made and people’s behaviour (Nunan, 2015).

“The relations among resource uses, users, owners, and managers may be relations of conflict, cooperation, complementarity, or coexistence, which raises the issue of power and gender” (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari, 1996, p. 13). According to (Rocheleau et al., 1996) gender relations can be seen in issues related to rights and control of, access to, and use of resources, and responsibilities in the production and/or management of resources for family and community use (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Men and women have different rights and duties regarding to land and resources. These differences are linked in complex ways to their productive and reproductive roles in the household, community, and society. Often the variations in the rights and responsibilities between the genders have a strong spatial dimension, where men and women have different knowledge of how to do specific activities (Neumann, 2005). Property and resources are dynamic and are continual changing between groups, places and in time. The need and value of resources change with human needs, abilities, knowledge, skills, and relations of power (Rocheleau et al., 1996).

One pioneer within research on gender was Ester Boserup. According to Nazneen, Tan, and Toulmin (2011), Boserup directed in her work “Women’s role in economic development” from 2011, attention to how women contribute to agricultural and industrial development, and how policies and processes dating back to the colonial era have been biased against women. An example is that since many people thinks men possess many of the most important positions within economic development, it is the men that should get the benefits of education, training and technology. This at the expense of women's opportunities (Nazneen et al., 2011).

Boserup’s research shows that polygamic households are closely related to economic conditions and land use rights. Historically, men with several wives had the rights of more land, and wives were often considered as a workforce. Men with several wives were therefore able to produce more food and achieve greater status within the community than those with only one wife or those who were not married (Boserup, 2011).

All over Africa a decline in the number of people living in polygamic households can be seen. Despite this trend, polygamic relationships are still considered as an economic advantage in many rural areas. In many African societies, women are supposed to support themselves and their children economically and with food. As a result of these responsibilities women often appreciate several wives within a household because it simplifies their workload (Boserup, 2011).

3.4.2 Livelihood and wellbeing

According to Buzinde, Kalavar, and Melubo (2014) wellbeing has developed from being an economic weighted definition in the 1950s, when people's wellbeing mainly was defined through GDP, to the 1990s when non-economic parameters such as human development and sustainability were incorporated in the term. In the 2000s it was a deemphasizing of economic parameters and aspects as universal rights, livelihoods, and people's freedom became central (Buzinde et al., 2014).

Livelihood is often used in studies on poverty and rural development. Ellis (2000) defines livelihoods as; "a livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household" (Ellis, 2000, p. 10 in Nunan, 2015, p. 107). In his research on livelihoods and diversity in developing countries, Ellis (2000) found that farming activities often do not provide enough results for people to survive on it alone. As a consequence, most rural households are found to depend on several activities and income sources to maintain the wellbeing of the family. Because these supplementary activities also depend on people having social networks, livelihood diversity has both economic and social dimensions (Ellis, 2000).

Livelihood diversification is to be found in all locations and most families living in rural areas have multiple income sources. Household coping strategies, intrahousehold relations, non-farm activities, rural-urban migration and poverty tell something about the causes, opportunities, effects and policy implication of diversification. Diversification can be a response to a household's desire to improve their lives or as a response to a crisis. Its causes and consequences are influenced by location, assets, people's income level, opportunity, institutions and social relations (Ellis, 2000).

3.5 Sustainable livelihoods framework

From the 1990s, poverty went from being considered as a pure economic phenomenon to become a multi-dimensional and complex term, including aspects such as level of income, people's wellbeing and investigation of people's capabilities. Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) is part of a larger Sustainable Livelihoods approach (SLA) and aims to put the humans in the centre of analysis to find causes and responses on how to reduce poverty. In studying people's livelihoods one can get an understanding of the different survival strategies that they utilize, and that these strategies not only have economic dimensions. The economic

strategies are interconnected with social interactions through networks and communities. In analysing people's livelihoods it is therefore important to investigate how they manage their lives through relations, institutions and assets to understand the possibilities and challenges they may have (Nunan, 2015).

Chambers and Conway found three important concepts regarding sustainable rural livelihoods. Those are capability, equity and sustainability (Nunan, 2015). Scoones emphasizes the sustainability perspective in his definition of livelihoods as

the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base. (Scoones, 2015, p. 5 in Nunan, 2015, p. 107).

Based on his work on sustainable livelihoods in rural areas, Scoones developed the framework UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID) Sustainable Livelihoods framework (Nunan, 2015). Figure 4 is a representation of the framework.

According to DFID, livelihoods can be determined whether to be sustainable or not based on four points. The first point is whether the livelihoods are resilient when exposed to external shocks and stress (Nunan, 2015). According to Wilson (2016), resilience is twofold. The focus in *social resilience* is on social, political, and economic processes that reflect imbalances in power and scale. In this understanding of the term it is central to investigate the circumstances that individuals and social groups adapt to change (Wilson, 2016). *Community resilience* is a subset of social resilience and is by Adger (2000) defined as "the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change" (Adger, 2000, p. 347 in Wilson, 2016, p. 4). The second point is that livelihoods are sustainable if they do not depend upon external support. The third point is when people manage to maintain a long-term productivity of the natural resources. And the fourth is when people's livelihoods do not affect the livelihoods of other people (Nunan, 2015).

SLF is often used in projects where the opportunities of people are studied, and what improvement that can be implemented for achieving a sustainable livelihood. The implementation can happen on individual, household, community or occupational levels. The framework does particularly emphasize the importance of the transformation of structures and

processes in policy, legislation, organizations and institutions may have in enabling or constraining the use of assets in the use of livelihood strategies (Nunan, 2015).

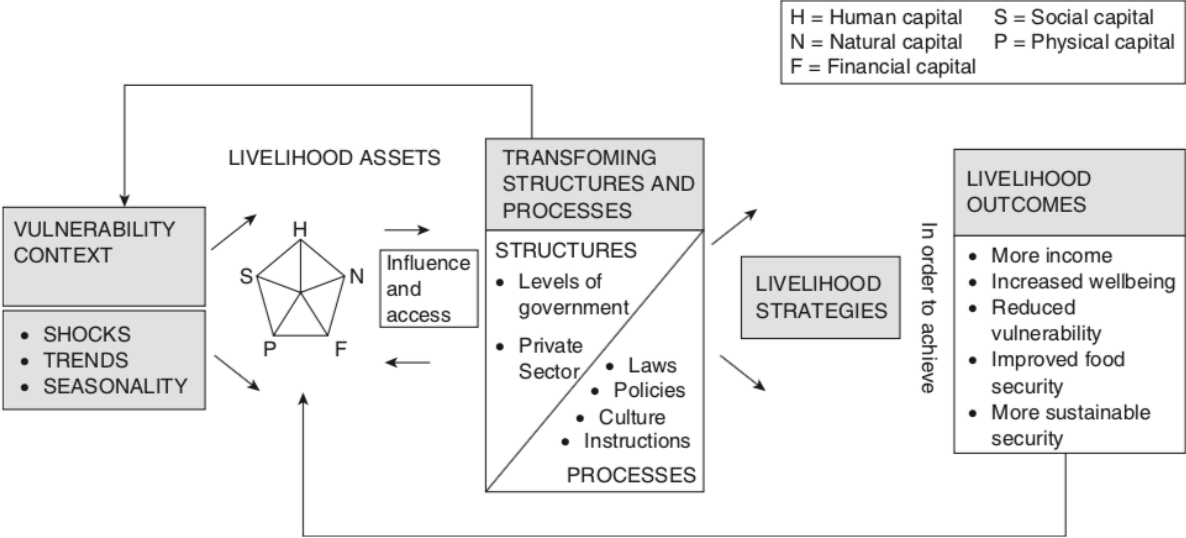


Figure 4 DFID’s Sustainable Livelihoods framework.

Source: Nunan (2015, p. 109).

Figure 4, “DFID’s Sustainable Livelihoods framework”, in Nunan (2015), have five components: the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Vulnerability is by Adger (2006) defined as “being constituted by components that include exposure and sensitivity to perturbations or external stresses, and the capacity to adapt” (Adger, 2006, p. 270 in Nunan (2015) p. 111). The sources that affects people’s vulnerability are many and includes social, environmental, and economic factors. In SLF, vulnerability is considered to be shocks, trends and seasonality. Shocks can be climate related or conflict related, trends are meant as fluctuations in factors such as natural resources, population density and economy, and seasonality are variations in factors dependent on the course of a year such as access to resources (Nunan, 2015).

As represented by the arrows from vulnerability to livelihood assets in figure 4, the sources of vulnerability can affect people’s access to livelihood assets. The livelihood assets are divided into five capitals; natural, physical, social, financial and human. Although they are represented separately in a pentagon, they are all interconnected and dynamic as they may change in size and importance over time (Nunan, 2015). Natural capital represents the natural resource base that people rely on in their lives, physical capital is assets that exists because of economic production processes, for example infrastructure. Social capital is factors such as family and social networks. Financial capital is the capital base that is based on the purchase of production

or consumption goods, and human capital is people's skills, knowledge, health and physical ability (Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015).

Livelihood assets gives meaning to people's lives and it can be used as a source of power. People's access to livelihood assets are affected by the structures and processes that controls whether people can use a resource or not. The structures and processes are influenced by organizations, institutions as gender, power and social relations, policies and legislation. Structures and processes affects which livelihood strategies people can implement in order to achieve the desired livelihood outcomes, such as increased income and wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, and improved food security (Nunan, 2015).

3.6 Application of theory and framework

Political ecology is relevant to this thesis because of its focus on human relations, such as power relations between different stakeholders, genders, and within questions about the environment. The Maasai in NCA are living within a conservation area where conservation of the environment is important. Since the Maasai were relocated from Serengeti National Park to NCA in the 1950s, these environmental resources have been important in the livelihoods and wellbeing of the Maasai residents and their livestock.

Human relations are affecting the Maasai's access to these resources because rules and regulations determines what they are allowed to do within the area. Different dominant narratives regarding environmental degradation, population growth, and livestock exist. These narratives affect the decision-making processes and the livelihood and wellbeing of the Maasai.

To investigate how tourism affects the socioeconomic situation of the Maasai in NCA, I have used the sustainable livelihoods framework. By using SLF one can find out how the structures and processes are affecting the vulnerability and the livelihood assets of the Maasai, and how these determines the livelihood strategies and the outcomes.

In this thesis I focus on the cultural bomas as a livelihood strategy to achieve desired livelihood outcomes, such as increased income and wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and sustainable security (see figure 4). I use theories of political ecology, gender, livelihood and wellbeing to understand which structures and processes are affecting the employments in the cultural bomas, how their involvement in the tourism industry has affected their lives, and what is needed to further improve their situation.

4 Methods

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explain the field work process, the data collection methods, data management and analysis process, and the ethical considerations. The data collection methods include the interview process, how I have used travel reviews to get an understanding of the experiences of the tourists visiting the cultural bomas and documentary studies to supplement the material from the interviews and travel reviews. In the latter part of the chapter I go through the data management and analysis, before I discuss the ethical considerations related to this project.

4.2 The field work process

In September 2018, I and three other master students left Trondheim airport Værnes to start our travel towards Tanzania to do field work for our master theses. We were going to stay in Tanzania to implement our field work for six weeks. Our first destination was Arusha, the third-largest city in Tanzania (Briggs & McIntyre, 2017), where we were going to meet with our supervisors. Appendix A show the time schedule of our time in Tanzania. We did not have very specific plans before we left, and some elements were a bit uncertain. It is therefore to some degree a coincidence that the schedule looks as it does.

The first days we used to introduce our self to people at the Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) office in Arusha, got to know the area, met people that our supervisors know and who could be important and helpful in conducting our field work, and getting practical necessities done. The next three weeks we used waiting in Arusha for our residential permits and research permits. We were not allowed to enter NCA without the permits. The weeks we spent waiting I used to improve my interview guide and reading relevant literature about the area and the Maasai in NCA.

After the three weeks in Arusha it was finally time to travel to Karatu, a small place about one-hour drive from NCA. We got an amazing driver from TAWIRI who followed us the whole time as we implemented our field work. When arriving the office of NCAA, we were met by officers from the different departments that were relevant for our different theses. In addition to the introduction meeting, an officer held a two to three hours long presentation for us where we got to know about the NCA's history and current situation within wildlife management, natural resources management, tourism, and the conditions of the Maasai in the area. After this informative meeting we got a toured guide by another officer at the lodges close to the office of the NCAA.

The first day in a cultural boma was on Sunday 23rd of September when we went to Seneto cultural boma. There we spent three days interviewing people before we went on to Seronera in Serengeti National Park. There we were one week because one in our group was going to implement her field work in the Mara region. After the one week in Seronera we went back and continued with our field work in NCA. This time in Irkeepusi cultural boma, where we spent three days interviewing people who works there.

Since we were dependent on translators for the interviews, we did not conduct any interviews on Sunday as most of the workers at the office of NCAA has the day off. Sunday was therefore used to read literature and visit one of the lodges in the afternoon. Every afternoon we went to a lodge since two in our group were conducting their work there. Monday 8th of October we went back to Arusha because one in our group had a meeting with an important informant. The last day of our field work we used to say goodbye to our contacts at TAWIRI.

4.3 Data collection methods

4.3.1 Interviews

I chose to use qualitative methods, more specific interviews in generating data about how tourism influences the socioeconomic situation of the Maasai in NCA. By using interview as method, it is possible to get an insight in people's thoughts and meanings. It becomes more a conversation rather than just asking questions. In this section I explain how I conducted the interviews, justify the choices I made, and discuss some key issues of the process.

I conducted the interviews in two different cultural bomas in NCA, Seneto and Irkeepusi. Because the whole group had to share one car I went together with Martine, who also was interviewing Maasai to investigate their views of the landscape and nature in NCA. Because we went there together, we made some of the decisions together. We chose to interview the same people because our interviews were not predicted to last very long time. Since we also had only one car and limited time in the cultural bomas, we wanted to save time. A disadvantage by doing it together is that the people who are being interviewed may get a bit confused because of the change of topic during the interview. But it seemed to be the best solution as the topics were not very different from each other and people found them both interesting. Another positive outcome is that we got the opportunity to ask relevant questions related to one others topic that perhaps the other did not think about in advance. That way we had the possibility to get new insight in our topics and new perspectives.

During the interviews I used a semi-structured interview guide (appendix B). By using a semi-structured interview guide rather than a structured or an unstructured guide I got some prepared questions to rely on during the interviews and were more likely to avoid situations where I did not know what to ask about. At the same time, I got to supplement with questions during the interviews. This were both questions to clear misunderstandings and to follow up on interesting statements and histories of the informants. Using a semi-structured interview guide also allowed me to exclude questions during the interviews and to adjust the questions after to whom I spoke with. For example, when interviewing older people or leaders, I included questions regarding the history about the cultural boma and the area in the interviews. Since the people in the cultural boma have many different roles and duties I also adapted the questions to the informant's role in the boma. There were several questions I removed after conducting some interviews as they were difficult to understand. Some of the questions did not fit into the context as I had first thought it would, and other questions people refused to answer. This happened when I asked questions about politics.

In all interviews in both Seneto cultural boma and Irkeepusi cultural boma leaders and tour guides of the boma chose the interview subjects for us. We only had to explain to them what we needed. That included variation in gender, age and roles among the informants. The positive of doing it this way is that the leaders and tour guides knows the people better than us and can better explain to them why we want to talk to them and that they do not have to be afraid of us. Another point is that the people working in the bomas often are occupied with work or other duties and the possibility for them to take a break in their work is larger when a leader of the boma ask them, rather than if we were to ask them. When one of the leaders ask them, it can appear as safer to say yes as they know they have the approval of the leaders to take a break from their responsibilities to talk with us. The negative of doing it this way is that we cannot be absolutely certain that they want to talk to us of free will or if it is because the leader say that they have to talk with us. However, we asked the participants before we started the interviews if they wanted to participate. Although all researchers try to avoid ethical issues like the one in this situation, one can never be absolutely certain that the process is totally free of ethical errors.

The interviews in Seneto cultural boma were conducted through a period of three days. The first day we visited the cultural boma for about five hours. We got a guided tour by one of our translators and a local tour guide working in the boma to see the dance performance and inside of one of the huts.

All the interviews were arranged in the boma's kindergarten except the first one who we held outside sitting in the grass. The kindergarten was a good location for interviewing people as it is located outside of the fence that is surrounding the cultural boma's huts and exhibition area and away from the parking lot for tourists' vehicles. In that way, it was few disturbances except from goats, sheep, and flies.

In total I conducted three interviews that day. The length of each interview varied dependent on the length of the answers and how many questions I found relevant to ask. Most of the interviews lasted for about 40 minutes. The second and third day we only had two to four hours in the cultural boma. There were some adverse circumstances that causes that we had shorter time to interview people in Seneto cultural boma than we first hoped for. First, someone in our group were going to do their field work at some of the lodges in the area. Their work relied on talking with tourists to get information for their theses. Since the tourists often had limited time on their safari drives, the best option to talk to them were at the lodges in the afternoon before dinner. Considering the hour we used driving from Karatu to NCA, the time we used waiting for a translator, and the fact that all in the group had to share the car, and we needed to be at the lodges in the evening, we got two to four hours in Seneto cultural boma.

Second, we had some issues regarding the translators. Because most of the Maasai working in the cultural bomas do not speak English, we were dependent on having a translator with us during the interviews. During the meeting with NCAA we were promised help to find a translator from the Department of Community Development. Since this meeting with NCAA was on a Friday, and the office is closed on weekends as well as the fact that we had limited time to conduct the interviews, we chose to contact another man on Saturday to ask if he could help us find and introduce us to a cultural boma.

The man we contacted works as a Pastoral Council member and speaks well English as well as Maa. Through him we got help to find Seneto cultural boma, and to get access to it. Through him I got a lot of relevant information on how the Maasai societies are organized and we were given a guided tour in the cultural boma for us to get an understanding of what they show the tourists when they are visiting them. Although he was a very nice man, a good translator and helpful to our research it was difficult to communicate on how we wanted the interviews to be organized as he took a bit too much control himself. A decisive contributor to the issue was that we were unexperienced interviewers and we found it difficult to take control over the situation our self. Because of this and the fact that NCAA had promised to find us a translator we did not make a new agreement for the next day.

When arriving at the NCAA office the next day, we had some issues finding a translator. No one wanted to come with us because they had other work to do. After some time, the head officer of the department told a man from the office to come with us. During the interviews it was clear that he did not want to be there as he was typing on his phone most of the time. This affected the interviews, both the answers and the questions. Because I got a feeling of bothering him I asked fewer questions than I wanted to, and to only four people. It also seemed as if he translated into incomplete sentences.

Despite these adverse circumstances, I got some useable information. Since we did not have many other options, we made an agreement with the same man for the next day. As we arrived at the NCAA office the next day he was not there. Another man in the office called him and it became clear that he would not come with us to Seneto cultural boma that day anyway. After spending some time at the office, the helpful man who had helped us get contact with the translator found a lady from the Department of Community Development who offered to come with us to be our translator. She was an incredible skilled and professional translator. Because of her, I conducted four quality conversations. Another positive outcome from the conversations was that it seemed that since the translator was female the women working in the boma tended to open up a bit more. It may also be that they just were more open because she paid more tension to what they had to say.

The first seven interviews were conducted with other people present in the same room. This may have affected the interview situation negatively as it most likely has influenced people's answers and resulted in some background noise. Especially the men were disturbed by each other as many kept interrupting each other to add interesting information to each other's answers. A positive outcome of having several informants in the same room is that some of them added things to the conversation without interrupting the person at focus. The presence of other people and the background noise resulted in that people and I got a bit stressed and may have affected the interviews negatively as the questions became shorter and fewer. When we realised the negative factors by having several people in the same room as the interviews were conducted and we had gained some more interview experience and confidence, we manage to express that we only wanted one person in the room at the same time during the interviews. This resulted in a much better interview environment, as the interview subject got to speak freely without being interrupted and he/she got to do other duties they have while waiting for their interview to begin.

Table 2 Informants in Seneto cultural boma.

Fictive name	Age	Role in the cultural boma
Jackson	35	Dancer.
Liam	28	Leader of the dance performance, responsible for the young men, and tour guide. The one who are responsible to organize people's different activities and parts when tourists are visiting the cultural boma.
Noah	35	Dancer, he shows the tourists how they live and make fire, and how the life of the Maasai were before.
Aiden	60	Since he is an elder his role is to take care for the people working in the boma and secure that everything is safe, and everyone is doing well.
Caden	40	Dancer.
Sophia	42	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.
Olivia	Elder	Sells beaded handicrafts.
Emma	Elder	Sells beaded handicrafts.
Ava	25	Makes and sell beaded handicrafts.
Isabella	47	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.
Aria	50	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.

Table 2 is a presentation of the people I interviewed in Seneto cultural boma. I have chosen to give them fictive names based on the name statistics of new born in Great Britain of 2018, to make it easier to refer to them in the text (Baby center, 2018). The table shows their fictive name, age, and what their role in the cultural boma is. In the selection of participants, I have tried to take diversity in consideration. Gender wise, there are five men and six women, and the age gap is between 28 and 60 in the men, and between 25 and elder in the women. In addition to these criteria, the people I talked to have different roles in the cultural boma, some of them dance, others dance and work as tour guides or leaders, while the women sell beaded handicrafts and others make and sell.

After one week in Seronera, Serengeti National Park we got back to NCA to continue with our field work there. At the NCAA office we were introduced to a new translator from the Department of Community Development. Since there were not many days until we would go back to Norway, I chose to go to another cultural boma at the opposite side of the Ngorongoro Crater. The reason to why I made this decision was because I wanted to investigate if there are similarities and differences between the cultural bomas in NCA and the meanings and perspectives of the people who are working there. A disadvantage by doing it this way is that if I had chosen to go back to Seneto cultural boma to continue the interviews there instead, it could have given me a deeper understanding of their situation. In retro perspective, I am satisfied with the decision I made since people working in Irkeepusi cultural boma turned out to have different perspectives than people working in Seneto cultural boma when it comes to the organization of the cultural boma, cooperation with other bomas in the area, distribution of the revenues generated, and how they want to develop their cultural boma in the future.

In Irkeepusi cultural boma the interviews were conducted during a period of three days. The interviews were conducted in the kindergarten of the boma, similar to the interviews in Seneto cultural boma. The first day I interviewed two men and two women. The second day I interviewed one man and one woman, and the third day I interviewed three men and one woman.

Similar to the interview process in Seneto cultural boma we also met some challenges related to transport and the use of translators. The first day after the visit in Seronera we went back to the NCAA office hoping that someone had the time to be our translator. After some time at the office, one man at the Department of Community Development offered to be our translator. He helped us getting access to the cultural boma as he explained to the leaders of the boma who we were and the purpose of our visit. The translator was very helpful and professional in his approach to the Maasai and towards us. Since we had limited time left in NCA, and the fact that we did not know anyone in Irkeepusi, it was essential that our translator helped us. The drive from the NCAA office to Irkeepusi cultural boma lasted for about one hour. We were therefore arriving the boma in the midday, and therefore we did not have many hours to interview people.

After conducting some interviews, it became clear that despite of the translator's and ours attempt in explaining who we were and about the topics of our projects, many of those we were interviewing thought that we came from the government. This resulted in that the informants were saying what they thought we would hear as some of them were afraid to say the "wrong" things. As we explained to them again why we were there and about our intentions, they began

to really trust us and open up towards us. Their distrust in us based on the belief that we came from the government was very visible in the answers and the conversations as a whole. This situation shows the strength by using interview as method as we were able to get aware of the issue face to face with the informant and got the opportunity to clear the misunderstandings before we continued with the interviews to prevent further negative affection on the conversation. The translator did a good job and the Maasai were interested in talking with me, so I got many quality interviews during the few hours we were there.

Table 3 Informants in Irkeepusi cultural boma.

Fictive name	Age	Role in the cultural boma
Grayson	38	Public relation officer, who welcome the visitors and tells them about the Maasai society and take part in the dance performance.
Lucas	59	A local leader. He is an elder, and he has therefore responsibility to lead the others in the cultural boma.
Mason	23	Dancer and tour guide.
Oliver	32	Dancer, tour guide, and teacher in the kindergarten.
Elijah	26	Dancer.
Logan	30	Dancer and tour guide.
Riley	No age	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.
Amelia	40	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.
Mia	Elder	Sells beaded handicrafts.
Layla	Between 52 and 55	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.

The second day our car got motor problems and needed to be fixed before we could drive to NCA. As a consequence, we did not arrive at the NCAA office before one o'clock. At the office we had to wait two hours before we could drive to Irkeepusi cultural boma because the translators were having lunch. Happily, the same translator as the day before had time to come with us. Because of all the adverse circumstances and the one-hour drive from NCAA office to

the cultural boma, we did not arrive before four o'clock. As the others in the group were going to the lodges, I only managed to conduct two interviews that day. The interviews were on the other hand very interesting and I got a lot of valuable information despite the limited time. The last day in field everything went our way. A very helpful and professional translator agreed to help us although it was Saturday and the NCAA office was closed. Similar to the others he was an employee at the Department of Community Development. After four quality interviews a lot of tourists arrived at the boma and all the people had to work. They estimated that the visit from the tourists would last one to two hours. Since we had to go back to the lodges this afternoon as well, we did not have time to wait.

Despite some adverse circumstances I had many interesting conversations with the people working in Irkeepusi cultural boma. In all, I interviewed ten people. Similar as in Seneto cultural boma I tried to have a diversity among the informants. I talked with six men and four women. The age diversity among the men is not the best as most of the informants are in their twenties and thirties. But the diversity in the roles of the participants are satisfying. I got insight in many different perspectives and opinions of the people working in the cultural boma. Table 3 present the people I interviewed in Irkeepusi cultural boma, their fictive names based on the name statistics of Great Britain in 2018 (Baby center, 2018), age, and role in the cultural boma.

4.3.4 Travel reviews

According to Banyai and Glover (2012) implementing a content analysis of travel blogs may reveal useful information valuable in the development of a place or a product. Blogs and reviews can tell something about "tourists' interpretations of tourism products and experiences, and to express tourists' impressions, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings, all that may otherwise not be revealed in a more constrained research environment such as personal interviews" (Banyai & Glover, 2012, p. 268). In investigating and understanding tourists' experiences of the cultural bomas, I used travel reviews from TripAdvisor. I read all the reviews and organized the information in Microsoft Excel to be able to analyse it and use it in the text. There was a total of 348 reviews from people all over the world. I have chosen to keep the writers anonymous in my thesis, although many of them have published their name in their reviews.

4.3.5 Documentary studies

In supplementing the data material from interviews, I have used documents. I started reading literature and other documents about six months before I went into field in NCA. This was to get to know the topic better before starting my own data generation, but also to get an overview of the existing literature related to the socioeconomic conditions of Maasai in NCA and if there

were some literature which linked these conditions to tourism. I have used Google Scholar and NTNU's digital library, Oria, to find articles and books. In the search I used different combinations of the words; socioeconomic conditions and theory, tourism, Maasai, NCA, NCAA, history, politics, livelihoods, households, education, and cultural bomas. Some of the documents I have found through the reference list of other texts I have read. The use of documentary studies as a method gave me an understanding of the political and historical development of Tanzania and the Maasai, which is important in giving a context to the thesis.

4.4 Data management and analysis

The analysis and interpretations of the data material started during the interviews, as I took notes of follow-up questions and thoughts. In addition to note-taking, I used a recorder during the interview. Audio recording is considered as the mechanical phase of the interview method (Dunn, 2016). According to Dunn (2016) it is an advantage to combine recording of the interview and note-taking based on the fact that with an audio recorder the whole conversation can be listened to later and new details may be revealed, but the audio recorder may not include important information of visible components. By taking notes it is easier to remember these visible details in retrospect. Recording the interview also allowed me to spend more time to organize the questions between the answers to make sure to avoid repetitions of questions that the participant answered on in another question or to evade questions that did not fit in the setting. This contributes to a natural flow of conversation (Dunn, 2016). The disadvantages with audio recording are that it sometimes affects the answers in that the informants are holding back information because they get the impression that the interview is very formal, or they get afraid that someone else is listening to the recordings subsequently and recognize their voice. Taking good notes is also important in the case if something happen to the recordings, then the notes can help to remember the interviews (Dunn, 2016).

Because I recorded the interviews, the first I did in processing the data material was transcribing all the interviews to be able to continue with further analysis. The transcription process was a time demanding process, but I got really familiar with the material as I heard it all over again several times. In the transcription process I first used numbers on the informants to maintain their anonymity. When I started the writing process, I found it difficult to only use numbers in referring to the participants and I therefore chose to give them fictive names to make them more human but at the same time respect their anonymity. When someone interrupted the informant, I wrote what happened, who interrupted, and what was said in parentheses in the transcription, to remember the situation and if there was something interesting that was told by the person

who interrupted. I organised the transcription by using the number of the informant and the related recording number as a title, then general information about gender, age, household size, and main source of income. Then I added the question I asked before I wrote the informant's answer.

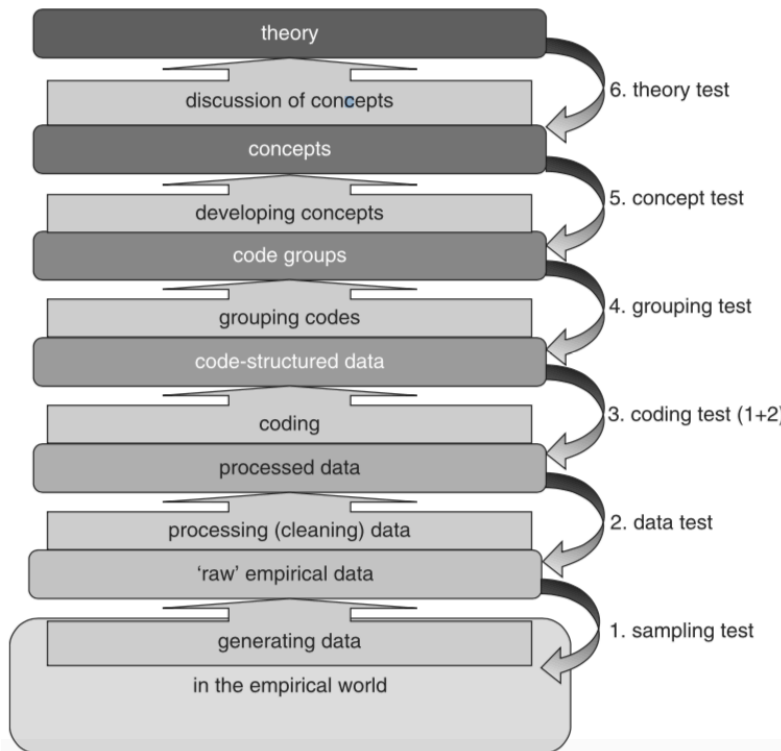


Figure 5 Stepwise-deductive inductive method.

Source: Tjora (2019, p. 4).

To analyse the data material, I used a stepwise-deductive inductive method. That means that I have worked with the data material conducted by using interviews from raw material into developing concepts and theories by using different stages (Tjora, 2019). The model starts by collecting empirical data and to generate for raw data. Then work with the empirical raw data through induction to become data ready to analyse. After this step the abduction process starts by coding the material. I did this by organize the answers by using Microsoft Excel. First, I noted the most interesting information from the answers before I gave them numbers to separate them from each other and the number of the question to recognize which question the answer was related to. Then, I sorted the different answers into different categories, which I used to structure the thesis. By using the codes, I therefore developed new concepts and models that through use of theory and discussion has perhaps developed new theories. This is a dynamic process and I have had to go back to other previous steps several times during the process. In figure 5, the process of stepwise-deductive inductive method is shown.

4.5 Ethical considerations

In doing research it is important to act ethically throughout the whole process, from the moment the research topics are chosen to after publication of the written text, to not harm anyone in anyway. To secure that all projects are ethical before starting a field work processes that involves people, the project has to be approved by Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Attributes that have to be declared before entering the field is the legality, justice and transparency of the project to secure that people who gives their consent to participate get all relevant information about the project before they take the decision. Other aspects are that the data material from the interviews are only being used to the purpose of the specific project that were introduced to the participants, and that the data material is being stored in a secure way, not available to others, and deleted at the end of the project.

Before the interviews the participants were informed about the topic of the project. They were asked if they were comfortable with the situation and if it was okay to use the audio recorder. I wrote an information letter by using a standardized template from NSD where they could sign to give their informed consent (appendix C). As most of the informants do not speak English, and I do not know Maa or Swahili, as well as many do not know how to write I chose to get their informed consent orally. Through getting their consent orally, there was not necessary for the informants to reveal their name. Since some of the questions I asked could be personal I did not want them to be afraid that someone may recognize them and respond negatively. In particular this applies to questions regarding their relationship with NCAA, drivers and tour operators as they possess more power than the informants do.

During the interview and the analysing process, I numbered them from 1 to 21. When using the information in the thesis I found it difficult to only use the numbers. I therefore chose to give them fictive names to maintain the human in the text. The result was that it became easier to write their stories, but at the same time they were kept anonymous. The situation where it became difficult to keep the informant's anonymity, where when those participating in the first interviews were sitting in the same room as each other waiting while someone else was being interviewed. They therefore got to hear each other's answers. This situation may have resulted in people holding back information because they were afraid that someone would use what they said against them later. The translators may also limit the total anonymity of the informants, especially as most of them works for NCAA. I trust the translators and I do not think they will use the information to do any harm as most of them seemed interested in the wellbeing of the people.

Conducting research, it is also important to be aware of my own power in the research situations. It is important to be critical reflexive throughout the whole process. This means that the researcher needs to think and be reflexive towards him- or herself as a researcher and of the research process (Dowling, 2016). A situation when being critical reflexive resulted in a positive progression in this project was when we realized that interviewing people when several others were present was contributing negative to the interview environment, and that we after some interviews got confident enough and became aware of our power as researchers to take more control over the situation.

According to Dowling (2016) power intersect the research at different levels. My power as a researcher influences the whole process. For example, in the way I analyse and interpret the data material from the interviews. Knowledge is a form of power, directly through policy and indirectly through the stories the researcher tells about the informants' actions, words, and understanding of the world. Both directly and indirectly power has the potential to change the way people are perceived and thought about (Dowling, 2016). Another situation where the difference in power was visible, was that many of the Maasai I talked to do not speak English and many do not have education. Therefore, I had to be carefully in how I asked the questions to be sure that the translator understood them correctly. At the same time, it is important to respect that even though many of them do not have education, many are engaged in their local communities and possesses knowledge worth learning from.

Interviews, and qualitative methods in general, are characterized by a subjectivity component. Subjectivity means that personal opinions and characteristics are part of a research, as a result of social interaction. Intersubjectivity is another important factor to take into consideration in understanding the research process (Dowling, 2016). According to Dowling (2016) intersubjectivity "refers to the meanings and interpretation of the world created, confirmed, or disconfirmed as a result of interactions (language and actions) with other people within specific context" (Dowling, 2016, p. 39). It means that the personal opinions and characteristics of the researcher affects the formation of the project and the result, based on social dialogues and the fact that conversations never occur in a social vacuum. The way the informants looks at me and the way I look at them, and the way we interact with each other is partially determined by societal norms (Dowling, 2016). My political point of view, my interests, and my previous experiences have influenced this project as it has been part in the creation of the research questions, the main story line, which topics I find relevant to include in the thesis, and how I have chosen to tell the story of the informants. Being aware of this and be critical reflexive in

questions related to subjectivity and intersubjectivity is the most effective way to limit too much personal influence of the product (Dowling, 2016).

5 Community composition and the livelihood of the Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the Maasai working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. First, I explain the households of the Maasai. Then I describe the cultural bomas in general, before describing the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi. Thereafter, I illustrate the cooperation between the different cultural bomas and the beaded handicraft merchants in NCA and areas close to NCA. I also explain the relationship between NCAA and the Maasai. I end the chapter by explaining the importance of cultivation and exploring the complexity of the Maasai traditional lifestyle. The chapter is mainly based on the interviews conducted in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas as well as presentations given by NCAA staff, but I have supplemented with information from documents.

5.2 Households

It is important to understand the nature of households of the Maasai when investigating their socioeconomic conditions, livelihoods and wellbeing to get an understanding of the power relations between different members. It is within the households the difference in responsibilities and activities between the different genders and the different age groups are most visible. The diversification of livelihood strategies, such as employment within the tourism industry, induces changes in the household structure and can affect their socioeconomic conditions as it may challenge the traditional gender and age diversification in responsibility and activities (Loos & Zeller, 2015).

Even though there are similarities in households within communities and cultures, there are also many variations between the households. UN defines households as

a group of persons who make common provision of food, shelter and other essentials for living, is a fundamental socio-economic unit in human societies. Households are the centres of demographic, social and economic processes. (United Nations, 2017, p. i)

According to Coast (2002) this definition does not fit in a Maasai context as the provision of food consists of multiple food-sharing practises. Unlike households of western countries, Maasai households often consists of several small houses in a circular cluster. Coast (2002) explain that the number of houses within a household reflects three factors: household wealth,

local policies affecting how people can build, and the level of household transhumance which is people's seasonal migration patterns (Coast, 2002).

According to my translator who also is a member of the Pastoral Council, the households are organized in this way because many Maasais are practicing polygamy. In case where one man has several wives, each wife has her own house for herself and her children which she is responsible to build and maintain. The man is the head of the household and is allowed to choose from one day to another in which house and with which wife he wants to stay with. The houses are organized in a specific order regarding when the woman married the man as explained by my translator;

you know, according to the side of the hands. The first wife lives on the right side, the second at left. The third, right. The fourth, left. Therefor they think it is better to have it two sides, than having one.

He continues to tell that the perfect number of wives is four. This is because Maasai men think that they will be more perfect if they have many wives. It is expected in the Maasai society that a man has at least two wives.

According to my findings, presented in table 4, only three out of eleven men interviewed are married to two or more women. One factor which may affect the numbers is the age of the informants. Most of the men working in the cultural bomas are in their 20s and 30s and have perhaps not yet married a second wife because of their low age. "Jackson", a dancer in Seneto cultural boma, said "I like many wives, but not yet. Because we are polygamy you know". It is difficult to give exact numbers on how many wives the husbands of the women working in the cultural boma have, because as presented in table 5 only data on the household size of three women exist; "Riley", "Amelia", and "Mia". "Riley" and "Amelia" who both are sellers of beaded handicrafts in Irkeepusi cultural boma, lives in a household with three other women. They have all their own houses where they live with their children. Their husband gets to move between the houses as it suits him. "Mia", an elder woman only shares her husband with one other woman.

As presented in table 5, the women I interviewed explain that they have more children than the men say they do. A reason to this difference may be related to the fact that the average age of the women working in the cultural boma are higher than the average age of the men. According to Woodhouse and McCabe (2018) big families in Maasai societies traditionally were needed

for labour and was an indicator for wealth. Before, men were expected to have as many as ten wives. Today this has, according to Woodhouse and McCabe (2018) changed, and it is considered to be normal for a man to have two wives. One reason to this change is that having several wives often results in many children per man, which is by some considered to be resource demanding (Woodhouse & McCabe, 2018).

Table 4 The number of wives and children the men working in the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi have.

Fictive name and age	Number of wives	Number of children
Jackson, 35	One wife.	Two children.
Liam, 28	One wife.	One child.
Noah, 35	One wife.	Two children.
Aiden, 60	Two wives.	Ten children.
Caden, 40	Two wives.	Six children.
Grayson, 38	One wife.	Three children.
Lucas, 59	Two wives.	Twelve children.
Mason, 23	No wife.	No children.
Oliver, 32	One wife.	Two children.
Elijah, 26	One wife.	Two children.
Logan, 30	One wife.	Four children.

Through the conversations I had with the people working in the cultural bomas of Irkeepusi and Seneto, it can seem that polygamic relationships is gradually being replaced by a more monogamic structure (see also Coast, 2002). In contrast to the elder men, all the younger men working in the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi, except from the dancer and tour guide “Mason” from Irkeepusi who is not married (see table 5), described their household as consisting of he himself, one wife and their children. The difference between the younger and elder men may indicate a change in the organization of the households. This transition may have many reasons, including the influence by western culture in the interaction with tourists

and researchers, the increased possibilities of getting education, and improved economic foundation based on their work in the cultural boma and donations from various stakeholders.

Table 5 The number of wives the husbands of the women working in the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi have and how many children each woman has.

Fictive name and age	Number of wives her husband is married to	Number of children she has
Sophia, 42		Five children.
Olivia, elder		Four children.
Emma, elder		Six children.
Ava, 25		Three children.
Isabella, 47		Five children.
Aria, 50		Six children.
Riley, no age	Four wives.	Five children.
Amelia, 40	Four wives.	Seven children.
Mia, elder	Two wives.	Seven children.
Layla, between 52 and 55		Four children.

Traditionally, the materials used to construct the walls of the houses are wooden sticks, dung, and mud, and the roofs are built of straws and grass. According to “Jackson” these materials are used because of its insulation capacity against cold and hot weather. During warm weather periods the construction method prevents overheating of the huts, and opposite in cold weather periods, it keeps good heat from the fire inside the huts. Because of the boma’s location at high altitude and the possibilities of fog, the temperature can be as low as eight degrees Celsius, and it is important to have constructions that are able to keep the houses warm. The houses have a small hole where light can get in and smoke from the fire can get out.

Today, when driving through NCA, one can observe variations between the ordinary villages, both in how the buildings are organized, and which construction materials they have used. Common for all the villages is that the houses are larger than the traditional ones. Most of the

villages still consists of houses made of wooden sticks, dung, mud, and straws, but there are some villages that have changed their construction methods. Instead of using wood, dung, mud, and straws, people use tinplate sheets in building their houses. The houses are also rectangular instead of the traditional circular shape. According to the translator and PC member, and the NCAA officer, the new way of constructing houses with tinplate sheets is considered a problem based on the policies of NCAA and the government. People living in NCA are not allowed to import tinplate sheets into the conservation area but are supposed to maintain a traditional method of construction.

Despite the prohibition against “modern” building materials there are several evidences that the rules are being defied. My translator explained to me that the reason to the prohibition is that the government and tourism authorities want to maintain the area’s authenticity based on tourists’ expectations of the landscape and the area in general when they come to visit NCA (see also Melubo and Lovelock, 2019). The NCAA officer who held the presentation for us said that “conservation in Ngorongoro is done to promote tourism”. According to The United Republic of Tanzania (2010) General management plan 2006-2016 it is in the interests of residents, including the Maasai, NCAA and visitors to maintain scenic and environmental quality. They say that “in village meetings, residents raised concerns about the visual and environmental impacts of the growing number of non-traditional structures in the NCA” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010, p. 44). This in order to preserve the “quality” of the landscape, at the same time as the Maasai want to have the option of upgrading their traditional homes (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010).

5.3 The cultural boma experience

The cultural bomas in NCA basically consists of small traditional huts build of dung, mud, straw and grass placed in a circle. The area located in the middle, between the small huts, is for exhibition of beaded handicrafts. Both the huts and the exhibition area are encircled by a fence made of wooden logs. This is to protect the buildings and people from wild animals during the evening and night. The kindergarten is located outside the fence.

Visiting Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas I got to observe the cultural bomas during quiet periods as well as in active periods when tourists were visiting them. As the tourists arrive in their safari jeeps the whole cultural boma becomes alive. People are rushing around, getting dressed, and finding the station that they are responsible for. The sound in the cultural boma goes from loud goat and sheep bleat and children’s laughter to loud talking and laughter of both

children and adults. The whole area smells of goat and sheep, dust, and smoke from the fire that they have made to keep flies away.

The village chief welcomes the tourists as they get out of their cars. The younger men and women start to form a semicircle. They wear their colourful *shukas* often made of fabric with square patterns, and the women adorn themselves in their nicest beaded handicrafts. The men begin the performance with their famous high jumping and powerful shouts. The women accompany by singing and making small jumps at the same time as they move their shoulders back and forth, so the sound of the beads in the handicrafts hit each other and becomes part of the song as a sort of instrument.



Figure 6 Maasai dressed in traditional clothing, shukas.

Source: Haakon Lein.

After the performance the tourists are taken around on a guided tour within the cultural boma by one of the tour guides. The tour starts by showing them the small traditional huts where they get to hear about the historical development of the Maasai people and their culture, way of life, and what they do in trying to achieve a good life. After visiting the huts, the tourists are shown the area where the beaded handicrafts are exhibited and sold. It is the tour guides who lead the negotiation processes with the tourists on behalf of the women. The main reason to why it is organized this way is because of the language barriers as many women working in the cultural bomas do not speak English. Thereafter, the tour guide takes them to the cultural boma's

kindergarten where children show tourists some of their skills. In the back of the class room there is a donation box, where tourists may donate some money for the development of the kindergarten and other needs of those working in the cultural boma and their community. The kindergarten is the last stop on the visit before the tourists are led back to their cars. This session is similar in both cultural bomas.



Figure 7 An example of how the traditional bomas are constructed.

Source: Haakon Lein.

“Emma” explained that in the time before the cultural bomas were founded, they used to stand by the road selling their beaded handicrafts to the tourist. The construction of the cultural bomas has resulted in a more organized business strategy for the Maasai to benefit from tourism. According to a NCAA officer, tourists often found it uncomfortable when the Maasai were standing by the road and approaching them as they stopped their cars. Many felt that Maasai had an aggressive method in selling their products and felt forced to pay for beaded handicraft and for taking photos of Maasai wearing *shukas*.

When the cultural bomas were constructed with support from NCAA, Maasai could sell their products in the cultural bomas instead of from the roadside and tourists could choose themselves whether or not to visit the bomas to gain an insight in their culture, buy beaded handicrafts and take photos.

Today, the cultural bomas are considered to be workplaces rather than homes. The cultural bomas are often situated close to Maasai villages, and each boma is connected to specific villages. “Aria”, from Seneto, explained that the cultural bomas

is a village thing. Because we have so many cultural bomas so, the cultural bomas are per villages. So, this cultural boma we can see is connected to some villages, and they can come here and work and be part of the rotation. Other villages have their own cultural bomas somewhere else. It depends on how they organise themselves.

These villages form communities where people depend up on each other to achieve wellbeing and sustain livelihood.

There are different routines between the cultural bomas on how people get selected to work there, but according to the people working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas it is mainly the poorest people coming from different villages that get the opportunity to work there in order to increase their income. Most of the people working in the cultural bomas have working contracts for two years at time. The employment contract is to secure people’s rights during their working period and ensure a rotation of people from the villages so that as many as possible get the opportunity to benefit from tourism.

Even though it is a rotation of people because of the two-year contract there are still challenges related to develop and find methods to include all people to benefit from the opportunities that tourism presents.

According to “Aiden”, who works in Seneto cultural boma, establishing additional new cultural bomas can benefit the communities because then more people get the opportunity to be employed and benefit from the tourism to improve their socioeconomic situation. He explained that they are “thinking of having another cultural boma”. Another solution to be able to offer more jobs to people is to attract more tourists to visit the cultural bomas. “Aiden” continues; “closer to the main road so it [the cultural boma] will be visible to the tourists”. According to “Aiden” moving existing cultural bomas and establishing new bomas closer to the main roads is a good solution to become more visible to the tourists driving into the Ngorongoro Crater or on their way through NCA to Serengeti National Park.

Even though most of the people working in the cultural bomas have a labour contract, there are still differences between the genders. Only two out of eleven male informants working in the

cultural bomas have labour contracts. In contrast, nine out of ten female informants working in the cultural bomas have contracts. There are several factors that affect these numbers. The translator and PC member explained that

they have the people who always move after two years, but we have the people who do not get payed anything, but they are here because they will do business of selling their own stuff. Therefore, they come daily, but they go back during the evening.

“Jackson” is one of them who comes to the cultural boma in the morning to sell beaded handicraft and go back home in the evening. He does not get paid by the cultural boma to work there, but the only income he gets from working there is through the sale of the beaded handicraft. The translator and PC member explained;

They have the people who always move after two years, but we have the people who they don't get payed anything, but they are here because they will do business of selling their own stuff. Therefore, they come daily, but they go back during the evening.

Most women explained that they live in the cultural boma during their whole working period of two years, while many men say they go home in the evening and come back in the morning. “Sophia” was one of them who explained that she lives in the cultural boma during her whole period of the two-year contract. She said that “I stay here for two years. After that I will go back home again”. “Riley” is in the same situation. She will live in Irkeepusi cultural boma until her employment contract expires in one year. In contrast, most of the men only work in the cultural bomas and go home at the end of the working day. “Lucas” explained the working situation in the boma as “this is just a place for work, but I go home to sleep. I do have a room here, so I can choose”. “Oliver” is in the same situation as “Lucas”. He said; “I just come here in the morning and in the evening, I go back home again”.

Because of the different employment contracts, the structure and organization of the bomas may often appear complicated and can be difficult to understand at first. Reading the travel reviews of the tourists who have visited the cultural bomas, they are often unsecure on the structure and organisation of the boma (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).

A factor that can explain why more men than women work without a contract, is that more men than women speak English. The men are therefore considered as more valuable to the cultural

boma on long term basis because they can easily communicate with the tourists. “Lucas” explained that;

other fails to go for education to colleges and universities. Those who fail to pass exam in form 4 they come back to home and the community. The one who fail to go further with his education go back to his community and stay as a leader. He will translate to the tourists, but other go further with education and get a job all over the world and the country.

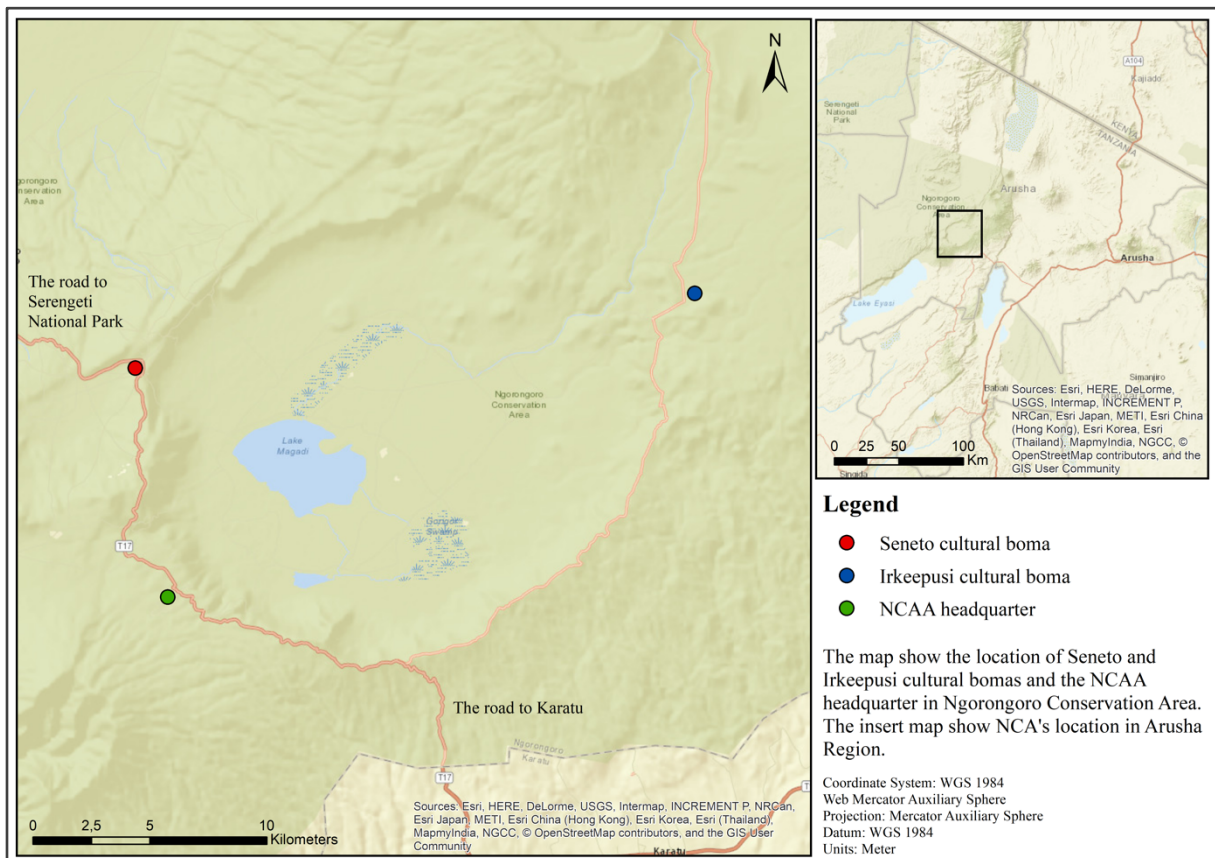


Figure 8 The location of Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas and the NCAA headquarter in Ngorongoro Conservation Area.

Map made by: Author. Source of basemap: World street map, ArcMap, Esri.

Both cultural bomas are organized in the same way, with a village leader, young men performing, and women selling beaded handicraft. The elder men and some elder women are free to come and work in the cultural boma whenever they prefer to, as their role in the cultural boma is to supervise that everything is going well. “Aiden” explain that;

because I am an elder, I don't participate in the dancing, but my main role is to watch over the people in the boma and secure that everything is safe and well.

If everything is just going ok. So, sometimes I do not even stay here. I go home and comes like this regularly.

The men are responsible for the dance performance. Some men do also have additional tasks as showing tourists around and teaching in the kindergarten. “Oliver” is one of the men that has additional responsibilities and who speaks well English. He works in Irkeepusi cultural boma as a dancer, tour guide, and a teacher in the kindergarten. His main task in the boma is to dance and perform for the tourists as they arrive, but with his educational level, standard seven, he is also qualified to teach the youngest children who lives in the cultural boma in the period their mothers work there

5.3.1 Seneto cultural boma

Seneto cultural boma was according to “Emma”, an older woman who sells beaded handicraft in the boma, constructed in 1996 and is located in the Malanja depression west of the Ngorongoro Crater. “Aiden”, an elder Maasai, described Seneto cultural boma as small, with only 16 men and 24 women working there earlier. He is not sure of how many people are working there today, but there have been some modifications since the establishment of the boma.

According to “Sophia” the people who get the opportunity to work in Seneto cultural boma are chosen by the chairperson of their home village. The chairperson from each connected village sit together and choose the people to come and work for each two-year period.

According to the translator and the PC member, tourists have the opportunity to choose between different packages. The packages contain different guided tours and decides what the tourists may see and experience within the boma. The most common package most of the tourists chooses is the one where Maasai will perform their dance in the beginning, followed by a guided tour within the boma, then a visit to the kindergarten where they can be audience for a short lesson, and in the end of their visit they have the opportunity to buy beaded handicrafts.

Another package includes all the same elements as the first package but does also include shooting blood from a cow or slaughter a goat. To see how the Maasai are shooting blood from an animal, tourists have to pay approximately 90 – 130 USD (200,000 – 300,000 TZS, 1 USD=2,305 TZS). The third package include the opportunity for people on honeymoon to get their marriage blessed by an eminent spiritual elder of the cultural boma. The price of the third package is uncertain, though it is more expensive than the first and second package.



Figure 9 A sketch of Seneto cultural boma.

Source: Author.

5.3.2 Irkeepusi cultural boma

Irkeepusi cultural boma was according to the local leader in Irkeepusi, “Lucas”, established in 1998, and is located on the opposite side of the Ngorongoro crater than Seneto cultural boma, north-east on the road to Olmoti crater and Empakaai crater. The cultural boma is located close to the village of Irkeepusi where several of those working in the boma come from.

“Lucas” and “Oliver”, dancer, tour guide and teacher in Irkeepusi, explain that Irkeepusi cultural boma is established and operated with support from NCAA. “Lucas” mentioned that “the money to construct [the cultural boma] come from NCAA”, which is confirmed by “Oliver” who says that “the formation of the boma is introduced by NCAA and the function of the bomas is to enable to run some society projects”.

Similar to Seneto cultural boma, Irkeepusi cultural boma consist of small huts of dung, mud, and grass/straw forming a circle with an exhibition area of beaded handicraft located in the middle. The huts are similar to those in Seneto cultural boma. They are very small and dark inside with only a fire and a little hole in the wall as a source of light. Along walls there are

some benches made of wooden logs and rawhide where people can sit or sleep on. The huts and the exhibition area are surrounded by a fence made of wooden logs and grass/straw. The kindergarten is located outside the fence, but in contrast to the kindergarten in Seneto cultural boma, the one in Irkeepusi cultural boma is about twice the size and is made of masonry and concrete instead of traditional building materials like dung and mud.

In Irkeepusi cultural boma the selection of the people who get the opportunity to work in there is implemented through an application and interview process. “Riley” explained the process as;

we send an application letter to the village office and then they will call you to come and then they look at the letter to see the CV, and if we have a good human relation to go stay here. To not disturb our customers when we come to the boma. So, we get selected by the village officer if he fits. Everyone has to send their application. Then they will watch where we come from for this boma. They could say: This is very complicated; he uses a harsh language. He is not allowed to go to this boma.

According to “Mia”, an older woman from Irkeepusi, the village officer is chosen by the national government.

5.4 The cooperation between the cultural bomas of Ngorongoro Conservation Area and nearby areas

Cooperation between people working in the different cultural bomas of NCA and nearby areas is to be found at several levels; individual, village, and at a macrolevel with people from cultural bomas outside NCA. People working in Seneto cultural boma explained that they mostly cooperate at an individual level. “Isabella” an interviewee from Seneto said;

we do cooperate, but it is mostly on individual level. It is when one is within this cultural boma, and the other one is within the other cultural boma they can cooperate. Maybe making the bracelets together and if someone knows how to make, they can help them to make the bracelets. But it is on an individual level.

“Aria” is another woman that cooperates with other women in other cultural bomas. She also explained that there is cooperation on an individual level. If she has a friend in another cultural boma she can send some of the beaded handicraft she has made to her. Her friend will then sell the handicraft to the tourists visiting that cultural boma and the money will be sent back to her. Women buy beads and beaded handicrafts from each other to sell in their boma.

Irkeepusi cultural boma also cooperate with other cultural bomas. One of the leaders in Irkeepusi cultural boma, “Grayson”, explained that there is knowledge sharing between the workers in the different bomas. This is mainly for the women to learn how to make the beaded handicrafts, but there are three meetings arranged each year where they talk about the tourists, the beaded handicrafts, and how they in a best possible way can advise people. “Amelia” explained;

we have a meeting with others. From the area close to Mto wa Mbu near Manyara National Park. From there to here we have a meeting with all the bomas. All the sellers go to the meeting and try to figure out a price for the products.

According to “Riley” they send tourists to other cultural bomas if they request products that they do not have in Irkeepusi. Others say they do not cooperate with other cultural bomas. “Mia” is an elder Maasai woman who do not cooperate with others. Because she is an elder, she does not work on a labour contract and chooses her selves when she wants to come to the boma to sell her beaded handicrafts.

“Oliver” explained that there are monthly meetings between the cultural bomas where representatives from the bomas come together to discuss challenges, objectives, and opportunities. According to “Logan” it is the Tourism Commissioner, who is the chief of all the locations in NCA that organizes the cooperation between the cultural bomas through conferences with the companies which bring tourists to visit the Maasai. “Layla” explained that the distance between the cultural bomas prevents meetings other than the general meetings. She said;

we have a cooperation with other cultural bomas, but it depends. It is only when it is time for a meeting because there is a great distance between the bomas. So, we meet when we have a general meeting. But, besides that it is difficult for us to meet because it is very far.

According to “Riley”, NCAA buys some beads for them to make handicrafts. In addition to such supports, “Layla”, “Mia” and “Riley” who works in Irkeepusi cultural boma go to Karatu, a nearby centre south east of NCA, to buy the beads needed to make the beaded handicrafts. “Sophia”, who works in Seneto cultural boma goes to Arusha to buy the beads she needs to produce the handicrafts, while “Isabella”, who also works in Seneto, goes to a place called Nikiba. When someone goes to Karatu they often buy beads, which they will make handicrafts

of to sell themselves in the boma or resell it to others who do not have the opportunity to go to Karatu because of the challenges in infrastructure and limited possibilities to move around in the area.

The translator and PC member explained that people living in NCA are not allowed to own a car or to drive within the conservation area. The reasons for these restrictions, he stated, include the responsibility NCAA has to preserve the nature and landscape, to limit the number of animals killed by cars, and to minimize the road wear in general.

Up to present date, the Maasai are dependent on people passing in their cars to get around in NCA and out of the area to visit surrounding cities. These people are often the drivers from the tour operators that have driven tourists to nearby lodges and therefore have an empty car and space for new passengers. The absence of transport mechanisms limits the possibilities of the people working in the cultural bomas to cooperate with people from other cultural bomas. As explained by people working in Irkeepusi cultural boma, this is solved by organizing local meetings at a regular basis between representatives of the cultural bomas. At the meetings, opportunities, issues and development possibilities are discussed. This is to secure that tourists' expectations are being taken seriously and to attract more tourists to the bomas in the future.

5.5 The relationship between Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority and the Maasai

The relationship between NCAA and the Maasai working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas appears important. Most people working in the cultural bomas expresses to be grateful for the work NCAA does for facilitating development of the cultural bomas and their support in ensuring education for the children, food and water supplies, infrastructure, and different society projects for all Maasai living in NCA. "Emma", an older woman working in Seneto cultural boma, appreciates the work NCAA does making sure that the area stays attractive to the tourists. She said;

they [NCAA] have been doing a good job by ensuring security in the area and also by allowing visitors to come and stay and do tourist safaris. And then they go back. Because it is when they come, I can benefit. If there is no infrastructure, if there is no peace in the area there is nobody that can come to this area. Yes, the conservation has done something. Though not much, but a bit.

Living in a multiple use area, the Maasai are dependent on NCAA at several levels for both economic support, health care services, education and food supplies. NCAA is divided into

many departments where some have responsibility for topics related to nature, and others have responsibility for topics within social issues. One department of NCAA, Community Development Department, works specifically with community development and towards improving the wellbeing and livelihood of the Maasai living in NCA.

The Maasai's voice in the communication with NCAA is represented through representatives in PC, who are Maasai people from villages within NCA. The PC has both internal meetings and meetings with NCAA to discuss issues and opportunities for development. This also includes conversations about the cultural bomas. "Grayson" explained the importance of communication and PC's role as

we get income totally through PC. We get money, a percentage. So, whenever tourists get into Ngorongoro Conservation Area we get more funds because the PC get a percentage, they send children to go to school, we get a number of cows for the local community. Maybe for people that have no cows, they will be bought from the PC. So, that's the advantages of the tourism.

"Liam", "Olivia", "Ava", "Lucas", "Riley", "Mason", "Oliver", and "Elijah" all points out that one of the most positive outcomes from living in NCA is the support NCAA gives through PC. The support is based on the gate fees and contributes among other things to provide education for all children that want to attend school.

Another important contribution of NCAA that some mentioned is the preservation of the nature and the resource base. Historically, Maasai have been dependent on the nature directly through harvesting resources to use in medicine and for house construction, and food indirectly through their livestock. "Amelia", who works in Irkeepusi cultural boma, states that "the environment contributes to their life in a positive matter because when the environment is conserved, we will stay in nature and the tourists wants to visit our area". She gets support from "Lucas" who said;

it [the conservation] is good because of the migration. We are under rule of the NCAA so that it is not allowed for people to come and live here so it reduces the population. And that we like, because people enjoy nature a lot.

Despite all the positive outcomes from the work of NCAA, there are some disagreements between the different stakeholders on how to manage the area to take care of the interests of people, wildlife, and tourism. According to an officer working for NCAA, one of the most important discussions today is how to solve issues related to the large population growth. He

explained that the population of NCA has grown from 8000 to more than 80,000 just within few decades. According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) about 90,000 Maasai live in NCA today (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

Much indicate that there is imbalance in power between NCAA and the Maasai. The Maasai are dependent on NCAA on many levels for their wellbeing and to be able to achieve or maintain a sustainable livelihood. NCAA express concern regarding to how a growing population are affecting the nature and landscape within the conservation area. The officers are concerned that population growth, increase in livestock population, and the Maasai's wish to modernize will affect the wildlife, and as a result affect the number of tourists because of land degradation and changes in landscape and nature.

The NCAA officer explained that the large increase in human activities on the same resource base has resulted in changes in the landscape. An important contributing factor to this change is the increase in the numbers of cows, sheep, and goats. NCAA consider the situation as critical since they mean that an increased number of domestic animals lead to destruction of vegetation, which wildlife depends on. According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) the Maasai living in NCA have fewer livestock compared with other Maasai living in rural Tanzania. They also explain that the livestock population is growing relatively slow or not at all compared to the population growth (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

The NCAA officer explained their strategy to use education to prevent further population growth. Both the organization and the Maasai do agree on the fact that when people succeed with their education, they are more likely to establish themselves in the cities rather than coming back to NCA. As "Lucas" states; "the educated ones want to go to the city and find other job". The NCAA officer said that the Maasai should move out of the NCA to be able to modernize and get nice houses. Further he explained that people who get higher education do not want to move back to their home villages in NCA to live traditional lives. The people who get education and move to the cities still have their families in NCA. According to "Oliver" they will always come back in the holidays to visit their families. The strategy of NCAA seems to work to some extent, but people have their roots in the area and will always return.

5.6 The importance of cultivation

Research shows that the conservation policies have affected the lives of Maasai by setting restrictions on land use (Galvin et al., 2002). According to "Olivia", an interviewee working in Seneto cultural boma, it is important for her to be allowed to own a farm and be able to cultivate.

The prohibition against cultivation in NCAA has resulted in an unsecure economy, dependence on others for food supplies, and a general decline in welfare (Galvin et al., 2002). Traditionally, the Maasai rely on their livestock for food and other necessities. Population growth and restrictions has made it more difficult to only rely on livestock because there are more people to feed on about the same numbers of domestic animals. Thus, people are dependent on finding other sources of income and food.

According to “Mason”, their communication with the tourists has taught them other methods of cooking. He said; “previous Maasai would drink blood and eat meat. But nowadays they know how to cook in other ways”. In the past, when the population pressure was not as extensive as current, people would cope with food security issues by increasing their livestock numbers and selling more livestock at the markets to be able to buy corn and other grain products (McCabe, Leslie, & DeLuca, 2010). According to McCabe et al. (2010) many rural communities in the world, has solved a decrease in food supply by diversifying their economies and to find other strategies to sustain their livelihood and wellbeing.

Cultivation of crops to secure food for a growing population in conservation areas resulted in an increasing concern within the group of conservationists as it is documented a reduction in the numbers of wildlife as cultivation increase (Boone, Galvin, Thornton, Swift, & Coughenour, 2006). According to Boone et al. (2006), cultivation was allowed in NCA in the period between the establishment of the conservation area in 1959 and until 1975. The consequence of allowing cultivation was increased disruption of wildlife pastures areas. Because of these consequences, the Tanzanian government banned this type of land use management in NCA in 1975 (Boone et al., 2006). The prohibition of cultivation led to a deterioration in the wellbeing and the livelihood of the Maasai because of shortage in food supplies. In 1992, the situation for the people were very critical and led to a temporary permit to limited cultivation (Boone et al., 2006). This in turn resulted in dramatic improvement of people’s wellbeing as the crops cultivated by the households contributed to about 16 percent of their total diet, especially important for nutrition in children. It reduced poverty related to overselling livestock to purchase grain, and people’s possibility to be in control over their livelihood and wellbeing were improved (Boone et al., 2006; McCabe et al., 2010). In 2009, cultivation became banned again (Galvin et al., 2015).

The study by Boone et al. (2006) shows that tourists often have a positive attitude towards cultivation if it is directly associated with households and is small scaled. The same study shows that there was a small decline in species like zebras and antelopes registered during the period

cultivation was allowed, but cultivation's interference with wildlife was less than first feared (Boone et al., 2006). Some of those working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas expressed that their wellbeing has decreased since the banning of cultivation. "Olivia" and "Logan" among others explained that before the prohibition it was easier to achieve and maintain a good life as they had more power over the resources they needed.

Today, Maasai living in NCA are dependent on buying food, like corn, from NCAA to manage their lives. The need for supplement to livestock will only continue to increase if the population growth continues at the same rate as the last thirty years. Boone et al. (2006) explain that

if the NCA experiment is to continue to inform multiple-use land management throughout East Africa, the mix of land uses should remain fairly representative of traditional uses. Cultivation improves diets and likely increases human population growth, further stressing ecosystem services, but denying cultivation to slow growth cannot form a socially acceptable foundation for policy. Maasai in NCA have cultivated for decades, and small-scale agriculture has traditionally been part of African pastoralism where ever such cultivation is. (Boone et al., 2006, p. 824).

The challenges associated with cultivation is an example of how powerful the decisions of NCAA and the Tanzanian government are. These decisions, as well as the powerful economic situation of tourism have the possibility to affect poor rural people's livelihood and wellbeing.

5.7 What is really a Maasai traditional life style?

There are many different perceptions of the lives of the Maasai in Eastern Africa. McCabe et al. (2010) points out two dominant perceptions that people from the outside have when they think of the Maasai. One dominant image people have is the one with young men as warriors and herders living in the pristine wilderness, where they have to cope with dangers from nature and wildlife at a daily basis. The other dominant image is that Maasai families often are poor or are close to have to live in refugee or famine camps. These are narratives often communicated by different NGOs, governments and tourism companies to make clients increase the willingness to donations (McCabe et al., 2010).

At the same time as many Maasai people want development and modernization, several express that they are afraid that they will "lose" their traditional culture. "Layla" explained that she is worried about the changes in their culture towards a more western culture. She, as well as

several others I talked to, are afraid that tourism will result in a “westernization” of their culture and lives. “Layla” said;

the tourists respect the society in order to get what they want, but in culture aspects there are changes because the community wants to appear as the tourists. To wear clothes like them. For example, the children don't want to wear traditional clothes So, there are cultural changes. Once the tourists come, the society want to cook like them. But once they come to the boma, we respect and behave in order to offer the tourists what they want to see. Like dancing and the beaded handicraft.

“Jackson” addresses his concerns and said that “we don't want to break with our culture. We want to keep it like this. It is very important for us”. “Oliver”, the dancer, tour guide and teacher working in Irkeepusi cultural boma, mentioned an important factor to why they are concerned about the change. He explained that the tourists enjoy and want to see the Maasai traditional way of life. If they change to much, he is afraid they will lose their foundation and basis of the business, and as a consequence their income.

The number of tourists visiting the cultural bomas have increased the recent years and most of the people working in the bomas who I spoke with want to preserve their culture to continue the positive growth in the business. “Grayson” explained that one of the reasons to why the number has increased is because of tourists that have been visiting them once before want to come back with their friends on a later occasion because they enjoy seeing how the Maasai lives. He said;

it [the number of tourists] has increased. Because of the... You know, we perpetuate and keep our culture so, whenever people come the first time, they come the second time because of the culture. So, we keep the culture on and perpetuate it, so everyone needs to see the dance, to see the spears, Maasai shukas and also long hair.

5.8 Summary

The Maasai households are traditionally organized as a cluster of several small houses that forms a circle. Each wife has her own house for herself and her children, which she is responsible to build and maintain. The houses are organized in a specific order based on when a woman marries a man, i.e. wife number one, two, three or four. According to Coast (2002) the houses within a cultural boma reflects three factors: household wealth, local policies

affecting how people are allowed to build, and level of household transhumance, people's seasonal migration patterns, because permanent housing results in people using other construction materials than when they move around (Coast, 2002). Today, a new modern way of constructing houses are being introduced in NCA. In some villages the people have started to use tinplate sheets as construction material.

The cultural bomas in NCA are based on how the traditional residential units of households were before. Seneto cultural boma was established in 1996 and Irkeepusi cultural boma in 1998. Before the establishment of the cultural bomas they used to stand by the roads to sell their products. Since this was not a good solution for neither the Maasai or the tourists, because of security reasons, the establishment of the cultural bomas has allowed the Maasai to benefit from the tourism in a much more secure and organized way.

There are different routines between the cultural bomas on how people get selected to work there, but it is mainly the poorest people in the different villages that are chosen to get the opportunity to earn some extra income. In Seneto cultural boma it is the village leaders of the villages connected to Seneto cultural boma who decides who can come and work in the boma. In Irkeepusi cultural boma the village officer evaluates an application and the behaviour of the person to decide if he/she can work in the cultural boma.

Cooperation between people working in the different cultural bomas of NCA and nearby areas is to be found at individual, village, and macrolevel. Most of the cooperation is between women who sell beaded handicrafts, but there are also arranged some meetings to discuss opportunities and issues between the different cultural bomas. Because of the large distances and limitations in infrastructure in the area, it is difficult for the people in the cultural bomas to have daily contact with each other.

The relationship between the Maasai and NCAA is important because of the support the Maasai get from NCAA. Despite the good relationship, there are some disagreements between the Maasai and NCAA. The conservation policies affect the lives of the Maasai in many ways, and the prohibition of cultivation has led to insecurity in the matter of food supply. People are therefore dependent on food supply from NCAA.

Even though most people I interviewed enjoy working in the cultural bomas, many of the Maasai are afraid that the tourism will lead in a degradation of their traditional culture.

6 The importance of tourism in achieving a sustainable livelihood for the Maasai, and tourists' experiences from visiting a Cultural Boma in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I have a look at how tourism affects the lives of the Maasai living in NCA. I start by explaining the role of the women in the cultural boma, people's educational possibilities, and then the economic significance of tourism. Thereafter, I explain how tourism has influenced people's livelihood assets by using DFID's SLF model. I then present the tourists' impressions of the cultural bomas, and end with some suggestions from the tourists and the Maasai on how to develop the cultural boma in the future to attract even more tourists.

6.2 Women's position in the cultural boma and how tourism affects their livelihood

As mentioned in sub-section 3.4.1, gender relations and social differentiation form an institution that is critical to take into consideration in many analyses of poverty-environment relationships as it is related to the distribution of power within a society (Nunan, 2015). In this thesis I have chosen to dedicate a section to the women working in the cultural bomas.

As long as we were in the cultural bomas the Maasai women were dressed in their beautiful *shukas* and impressive beaded handicrafts. All women have large, white beaded earrings, a circular, hard plated beaded necklace, many beaded bracelets, and some of them have headwear with beads. Their main role in the boma is to sell beaded handicraft, take care of the children, and maintain constructions like fences and buildings.

It is important for the women to get the opportunity to sell their beaded handicrafts in the cultural boma. The income generated through the sale goes directly to each woman and her family. Most of the women I interviewed use the income they get through their work to secure food and clothes for their children, health care services, to send their children to school, and buy cows, sheep, and goats.

It is difficult to determine the age of Maasai women because they have a special counting method. According to one of my translators, Maasai women count their age based on what they have experienced and accomplished in their lives, such as marriage and motherhood. Another of my translators explained that "age is counted by season or by the number of children. They often count age from the age of the firstborn". This is also mentioned in the research by Hughes

(2006). According to her, the age-set structure of the society is the most important organizational principle and creates an environment with egalitarianism values, sharing and respects (Hughes, 2006). Egalitarianism mean that people are threated equal, get equal access to resources, or have equal status within the society (Arneson, 2013). According to Hughes (2006) women and girls have their own parallel system beside the men’s and is not included in the same age-set structure. When women get married they will follow their husband’s age-set (Hughes, 2006). As a result, the age data for the women in my fieldwork can differentiate from how old they are if their age is converted into how age is calculated in many western countries. Many of the women started to laugh when I asked about their age, but they tried to explain it to the translators who converted it into western age counting.



Figure 10 Maasai women dressed in shukas and beaded handicrafts.

Source: Haakon Lein.

In the cultural bomas, the women working there are of all ages including 25 and above. Children who comes to the cultural bomas with their mothers will attend kindergarten in the boma. Most of the women I talked to like working in the cultural bomas and expressed that they want to continue to work there after their contract ends after two years. The possibility to sell their beaded handicraft to generate their own income is of great value to the women and to their children’s wellbeing and livelihood. One important opportunity Maasai women get through working in the cultural bomas is to buy food and clothes for their children. Most of the women mentioned that their increased ability to take care of the children is one of the most positive outcomes from working in the cultural boma. “Amelia” explained that “when the tourists come

to the boma, I will sell my beaded handicrafts and get money. Then I will go and buy food and clothes for my children”. People’s increased ability to buy food and clothes from NCAA through their employment in the cultural boma is important in preventing malnutrition in children and working towards a reduction of diseases. According to Melubo and Carr (2019), the employment in the cultural bomas empowers the women economically and helps to challenge the existing patriarchal culture.



Figure 11 Beaded handicrafts from Seneto cultural boma.

Source: Author.

Even though women’s socioeconomic situation seem to be improved by working in the cultural bomas, there are still challenges and factors that can be addressed. None of the women I talked to and who are working in the cultural bomas have formal education. “Mia” proudly explained that the only education she has is informal, which means knowledge acquired through experiences in life. In her case she highlights her close relationship with the environment and how she has learned to make use of the resources in her surroundings.

Often male tour guides communicate with the tourists in the sale of beaded handicrafts instead of the women themselves since many of the women do not speak English. The optimal situation would be if the women knew how to talk with the tourists themselves to secure that they get the price they want for the beaded handicrafts and to be sure that they get all the money the tourists pays for the items. In my fieldwork I tried to ask some questions regarding this issue, but it was

difficult to get clear answers. “Jackson”, who is working as a dancer and a tour guide in Seneto cultural boma, explained to me that he helps the women in the communication with the tourists. He said;

women make jewellerys, some men make. And then I also sell because I speak English, so I help them. Not everybody like this. They do not speak, but I sell, and give money to them. I am not carrying it on hand. We pay and then give it to women hand.

“Riley”, who works in Irkeepusi cultural boma, explained that she uses to talk with the tourists herself when they come to buy some beaded handicrafts. The challenges of ensuring education for all is something NCAA and PC are working on, and they have an aim to reduce the difference between the genders. Most of the women’s children do have the opportunity to attend school today because of the better private financial capability from employment in the cultural boma is giving them, as well as the support they get from NCAA and PC.

6.3 Maasai’s educational possibilities

Education is considered to be one of the most important tools for people in achieving sustainable livelihood and wellbeing. According to United Nations (UN) the reasons to lack of formal education are the lack of trained teachers and good teaching conditions, and equity issues related to opportunities provided to rural children (United Nations, no date-a). Access to quality education to all children can contribute to break the cycle of poverty, to reduce inequalities and empower women (United Nations, no date-b).

Most of the people I talked to in Seneto cultural boma and Irkeepusi cultural boma stated that one of their main priorities was education for their children, especially among the women. “Lucas” explained that

Most of the children goes to school. Supported or sponsored by the NCAA. If you pass standard seven you go to form 1. The NCAA support everything. From school fee, transport fee, pocket money the student gets. It is the responsibility of the parent to say if the children want to go to the school or not.

“Riley” told that education is sponsored by PC. According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) the PC has supported the education for around 4,886 Maasai in the period 1994 – 2016.

Even though NCAA and PC support children's schooling, the parents themselves must pay for clothes, materials and transport related to education as the support is not enough. "Isabella" explained that

it [the income from tourism] is not enough. The schools are not so near so, there is a lot of costs connected to taking them to the school. Traveling. Because some of the pocket money and also the only income from here is not enough. So, we use to add for us self or for those who has not enough income, they ask for help, but there are some procedures to do that.

Similarly, several women I interviewed, explained that without the money they earn from selling beaded handicrafts they would not be able to send their children to school and the future of the children would be uncertain. According to "Riley" who works in Irkeepusi cultural boma, the income from selling beaded handicraft and the cultural boma contributes to the education of the children. This is because, as she continues to explain, the revenues generated from tourist fees and sale of beaded handicrafts;

helps in every project. Like, water, cattle, school, even the students who fails to complete school and PC fails to take care of them. Because PC have a number of students for the year they want to take to school. If you start this year, they have a budget for this year, let us say 100. Then it is one that fails to complete the school, the cultural boma takes him to the school.

The tourism industry has therefore an important role in achieving education for all the children and secure different work possibilities in the future. Ensuring education to all within the communities enables social mobilisation and the possibility to secure a sustainable livelihood and wellbeing.

"Aiden" roughly explained the education system as "we have standard one up to standard seven. After that you can go to secondary education form one to form four. And then we have some secondary education again, from third to six. And from there we go to university". To get a more holistic picture of the education system I have supplemented his explanation with information from Asante sana for education (2014) and Scholaro (2018). Appendix D gives an overview of the educational course in Tanzania. According to Asante sana for education (2014) and Scholaro (2018), children's education starts with two years at pre-primary before they move on to primary school where they stay for seven years, standard one to seven. If they pass standard seven, they continue to lower secondary school, i.e. form one to form four. From there

they go on up to higher secondary school, i.e. form five to form six. If the student fails to pass form four or form six they have the opportunity to continue with vocational education. Students who passes higher secondary education can continue with a bachelor's degree, then a master's degree, and up to a PhD (Asante sana for education, 2014; Scholaro, 2018).

Table 6 Men's educational level among those working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas.

Fictive name	Age	Educational level	Children's educational level
Jackson	35	Form four.	
Liam	28	Standard seven.	
Noah	35	Form four.	
Aiden	60	Standard seven.	The children who are old enough attend school.
Caden	40	No education.	Children attend school.
Grayson	38	Form four.	His children attend kindergarten and school.
Lucas	59	Standard seven.	One of his children is in form four, and one has completed form four.
Mason	23	Wildlife certificate.	
Oliver	32	Standard seven.	
Elijah	26	Form four.	His children are in kindergarten.
Logan	30	Wildlife certificate.	

According to Scholaro (2018), education in Tanzania is in theory free up to age 15, but many parents cannot afford to send their children to school because of the expenses related to uniforms, school materials, and examination fees, or if the children have many responsibilities at home. Because of the expenses and the fact that many children must travel great distances or attend boarding schools to get higher education few children get the opportunity to go further than form four, especially the girls (Scholaro, 2018).

This also applies to the Maasai living in NCA. As seen in the tables 6 and 7, the educational level between men and women varies a lot. This may have several explanations, but one factor may be that the households are often large and families which do not have a sufficient income often have to choose which of the children to send to school. In such cases the boys are perhaps often favoured because girls have more responsibilities at home. At the same time, we see that

most of the men I interviewed only have education at the level of standard seven or form four. This may also result in a continuous poor economic circle within those families. According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) the percentage of illiteracy within the Maasai communities are high. 74.1 percent of women and 51.3 percent of men cannot read or write.

Table 7 Women’s educational level among those working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas.

Gender	Age	Educational level	Children’s educational level
Sophia	42	No education.	Her children attend school.
Olivia	Elder	No education.	Her children attend school.
Emma	Elder	No education.	Her children attend school.
Ava	25	No education.	Her children attend school.
Isabella	47	No education.	
Aria	50	No education.	Her children attend school.
Riley	No age	No education.	One child has completed teacher college, another is in form four, and others in standard seven.
Amelia	40	No education.	Two of her children have completed form four. Her other children do not attend school.
Mia	Elder	No education.	Her oldest child is in standard seven.
Layla	52-55	No education.	Her firstborn son is studying to get a certificate in Dar-es-Salaam. The others are in primary school.

As mentioned, it is people from the families living in poverty which are prioritized to work in the cultural boma. Therefore, the numbers in the tables is only partly representative for the whole community. As mentioned in the section 5.3 many of those who can come and work in the boma without the two-year contract are people who have not passed all exams in school. Because of their English skills, communicative abilities, and their knowledge of how to sell products with a better profit, they become employed in the cultural bomas as tour guides or leaders. This is a successful way to take care of those who are not able to take higher education,

to secure their wellbeing and their possibility to achieve a sustainable livelihood. A challenge is to include both men and women who do not pass their exams or attend school at all. As it is today, only men are working as tour guides or leaders in the cultural bomas. Girls who do not finish their exams or who come from families that do not have the economy to send them to school, work at home unless they are fortunate to get a two-year contract in one of the cultural bomas.

Many of the people working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas agree that education is something they have to prioritize in order to achieve a sustainable livelihood. “Lucas” said that “we want our children to be happy, and good life, good health, we want to send our children to school. When I say that I want my children to be happy I mean good health, food, shelter/house, and education”. “Mason” agrees with “Lucas”, and stated that if they get education it means that they will have a good life. According to “Oliver” education for the Maasai people in NCA is very important because of the large difference in the numbers of educated people in rural and urban areas. He said;

in this Maasai environment it is important with education. Because if you compare rural and urban areas it is difference in the education levels. In rural areas there are a lot of the population that do not have education. So, a sustainable livelihood to a Maasai is having education and the environment for the community to have education.

Some women agree with “Lucas” and “Mason”. “Amelia” also consider education for her children as something of the most important in order to be able to have a good life. She said “I want my children to be happy. Education and health. When I say that I want my children to be happy I mean food and a good health”.

Still, there are many who do not get an education, especially girls and women, and therefore need other opportunities to achieve a sustainable livelihood and wellbeing. This is why the cultural bomas are important. It provides work to many of the poorest people in the community and an opportunity to save money to support the education of their children.

6.4 The economic significance of tourism and the cultural bomas

There is no doubt that income from working in the cultural bomas contributes to positive development of people’s livelihood and wellbeing, but according to Snyder and Sulle (2011) the financial potential by being involved in the tourism industry is greater than what the Maasai benefits from it. The reason is that many businesses are owned by foreign private enterprises,

and much of the money therefore getting exported out of the country and letting the local population left with most of the cost as being forced out of their land, degradation of the natural resources, and being tourists objects (Snyder & Sulle, 2011).

Table 8 shows the revenues in TZS generated by NCAA from the tourism industry and how much of the money that are being distributed to PC (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019) the total revenues generated by NCAA in 2016/2017 was approximately 45 million USD (104,080,561,695 TZS, 1 USD=2,305 TZS). 2.59 percent of that was distributed to the PC. That constitutes one million USD (2,700,000,000 TZS, 1 USD=2,305 TZS). If the amount of revenues which PC got in 2016/17 was divided to all 90,000 Maasai living in the area, each person would get 13 USD (30,000 TZS, 1 USD=2,314 TZS). The money they get from PC should cover education for the children, health care services, food, clothes, water, veterinary services, among other.

Findings of a study by Melubo and Lovelock (2019) shows that the Maasai report an unequal sharing of social services such as education, water, and veterinary services (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

Table 8 Revenues generated by NCAA and the percentage of revenues PC gets from NCAA.

Year	Revenue generated (TZS)	Amount to PC (TZS)	%
2006/07	23,654,477,418	703,336,140	2.97
2007/08	37,932,745,667	1,250,000,000	3.30
2008/09	34,707,691,761	1,250,000,000	3.60
2009/10	37,547,163,307	1,250,000,000	3.33
2010/11	50,015,976,586	1,250,000,000	2.50
2011/12	58,892,893,675	1,250,000,000	2.12
2012/13	60,457,222,560	1,400,000,000	2.32
2013/14	61,335,252,286	2,000,000,000	3.26
2014/15	60,231,470,328	2,753,000,000	4.57
2015/16	70,690,401,176	2,680,000,000	3.79
2016/17	104,080,561,695	2,700,000,000	2.59

Source: Melubo and Lovelock (2019 p. 208).

According to “Isabella” the support from NCAA through PC is not enough to cover all their needs related to education for her children. The small amount of support they get increases the importance of being allowed to work in the cultural bomas to be able to cover their own and their family’s basic needs. “Layla” said that she uses the income from the boma to “the children in school and to buy needs for my home. Education and human basics. Like food and clothes”. But, as “Ava” answers on the question whether her income has increased or not: “it has increased, but poverty is still a problem because we have not enough bomas”.

The Maasai also have another more traditional way to measure their wealth and values. According to the United Republic of Tanzania (2010), the Maasai measure their wealth by using the unit of tropical livestock units (TLUs) per capita (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). In Maasai communities, livestock is highly valued. People’s status is often based on the number of domestic animals. A household with several wives, many children, and a high number in livestock have higher status. Most of the informants explained that livestock is an important factor in being able to achieve a good life. “Jackson”, the dancer from Seneto cultural boma, said; “we love tourism, but livestock will be the most important because it is the only factor [source of income] the pastoralist can control by himself”. The domestic animals are an important resource as it contributes with milk, meat, and nutritious blood. “Noah”, a dancer in Seneto cultural boma, said “to have a good life, a Maasai needs cows, a lot of cows. That is all the Maasai need to have a good life. And goat and sheep“.

Table 9 Human population, livestock and TLU in NCA.

Year	Human pop.	Cattle	Small stock	TLU	TLU/pers.
1954	10,633				
1960		161,034	100,689	133,061	*12.51
1962		142,230	83,120	116,536	
1963		116,870	66,320	95,420	
1964		132,490	82,980	109,500	
1966	7,387	94,580	68,590	79,758	10.80
1970	5,435	64,766	41,866	53,749	9.89
1974	12,665	123,609	157,568	115,785	9.14
1977	16,705	110,584	244,831	121,241	7.26
1978	17,982	107,838	186,985	109,430	6.09
1980	14,645	118,358	144,675	109,813	7.50
1984		109,724	100,948	96,162	
1987	22,637	137,398	137,389	122,282	5.40
1988	26,743	122,513	152,240	114,090	4.30
1993	37,352	77,243	148,288	80,824	2.16
1994	42,508	115,468	193,294	115,997	2.73
1998**	52,000	120,000	195,000	119,500	2.30
2009***	64,842	136,500	193,056	131,099	2.02

*The 1954 human population estimate was used for the 1960 TLU per person calculation.

** This is an estimation based on a graph in McCabe (2003).

*** This figure is based on the most recent census.

Source: Galvin et al. (2015, p. 490)

The minimum TLUs per capita for a household that is totally dependent on livestock to maintain their livelihood is eight (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). Table 9 shows that in 1966 the average TLUs per capita among Maasai in NCA were 10.80. In 1987 TLUs per capita had declined to 5.40 and was continuing to decline and reach a level at 2.02 in 2009 (Galvin et al., 2015). The decline in TLUs per capita has resulted in the necessity for the Maasai to diversify their economy (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010).

Despite the decline in TLUs per capita, most of the people answered that their main source of income is livestock. That may be an indicator that the Maasai are not winners in sense of financial benefits in the tourism industry. Only two out of 21 answered that tourism alone is their main source of income and four explained that tourism and livestock together is their main source of income, and livestock is the main source of income in 14 out of 21 people.

The situation of value measurement in Maasai communities can be considered as having two parallel dimensions. One is where they depend on getting income in form of money to be able to buy their everyday needs, as well as products and materials for constructions within the cultural boma or making their beaded handicraft. The other involves trading and buying livestock to be able to achieve status and a good position in the community. The cultural bomas have an important part in people's lives and their ability to accomplish stability in their lives, wellbeing and a sustainable livelihood. The income generated from working in the bomas is used to ensure education, clothes and food for the children of those working there and gives them the possibility to increase the size of their livestock. This contributes in making the people more sustainable towards variations in seasonality, price fluctuations, and access to food.

The cultural bomas are important to Maasai's economy, both directly and indirectly through income to each family and education possibilities which can result in social mobilization and increased income. "Olivia" explained that she likes to work in the cultural boma. She did however mention some issues related to there not being enough income. She said;

the number of tourists has increased, but sometimes there are some impacts or challenges. Because we have many children so, whenever we get an amount of income then we have to feed the children. Instead of... If you have many children... Let us say if we want to construct a house so you cannot invest in construct a new house while you have many children which you are not sure how to go to school, how to get food. So, first we have to give them then we can construct a house.

Entrance fees from tourists visiting the bomas are mostly equally distributed among those working in the boma. Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas have different practises in how the revenues are being distributed. In Seneto cultural boma, the fees are collected by the boma's tour guides and leaders from the tour operator's drivers when they arrive the boma. The money is further saved and distributed among the employees once a month. People can also contact the leaders or the elders to ask for money if they need some extra for basic needs. When people ask for extra money the leaders and elders will call for a meeting to discuss the situation and based on the arguments conduct a voting. "Isabella" who sell beaded handicrafts in Seneto cultural said;

the money is collected for a month and then it is used to make some renovation of the cultural boma. Buying food for those staying here. Paying their mostly. Like, they are paying us monthly 20 000 per person. So, the money is collected, and then after a month of collection we use it to do those things. Like pay those who are staying here, buy food for us, and other stuff.

The translator and PC member explained;

they only have two kinds of income. Therefor the entrance fee. They are not allowed to use the money. Our leader or government come here, and people will present their needs to them. Then we can discuss and vote if he or she should get the money. It is like a bank account. Together, the whole group. They have the right to use what they need. They can present the amount of what they need to the meeting and then there is a vote, and then we authorise to them, so they can go and take out money. But the selling. They sell and get their own cash there and then they will use it. Therefor when the government we don't interfere with selling and the income, or the selling revenue because it is up to them.

Similarly, in Irkeepusi tour guides and leaders collect the money from the tour drivers when they arrive, and they distribute it to those working in the boma once a month. The difference is that the money collected is shared equally between four different groups; women, dancers, elders and leaders, and food for those working in the boma. People within these groups share the money equally between all the members of that specific group. Women and the few men selling beaded handicraft are allowed to keep what they earn, and do not have to share their income with others working in the boma. "Grayson", one of the leaders in Irkeepusi explained

that “we do pay a certain amount a day. Divided into three or four groups. We have village, warrior/dancers, women and leaders. That’s part of a salary”.

It is difficult to determine the exact price the tourists pay to enter the cultural bomas because the answers varied a lot between the informants. An interesting discovery is that almost all men answered that tourists payed a higher price than the women I asked. Broadly, the tendency in the material retrieved through the interviews show that almost all men said that they have an income of 50 USD per car. In addition, almost all women said that they get 10 USD. To the question about how much tourists pay to enter the cultural boma, “Layla” explained that “I don’t know. It is the people who welcome the tourists, the boma officers and the tour guides that knows. We are just there to sell the shangas and the beaded handicrafts”.

“Grayson” explained that in August 762 cars visited Irkeepusi cultural boma. That is an average of 25 cars each day. In September, when the low season begins, 292 cars visited them, which is an average of 10 cars each day. So, it is a significant fluctuation in the number of visitors between the high season and the low season. If each car pays 50 USD, as the men said they do, the monthly income in the high season is 38,100 USD. In the low season the income is 14,600 USD. If each car pays 10 USD, as the women said they do, the income in the high season is 7620 USD. In the low season the income is 2920 USD.

Another question where there is difference in the answers between men and women is whether there are some agreements between the cultural bomas, and tour operators and drivers to get the tourists to choose their boma instead of another. Most of the women answered that they did not know of any agreements with the drivers and tour operators. But there are some differences between Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. In Seneto, “Isabella” explained that there are some agreements between the cultural boma and some specific tour operators and drivers. She said that “yes, there are some sort of arrangements. So, it is some arrangement between the officers in the village and drivers. Even if they don’t pay them so much, at least some percent”. She does not know all the details, but the drivers are getting an amount of money to bring the tourists to their cultural boma.

In Seneto cultural boma almost all men were aware of these agreements, but they told that the drivers do not receive money to bring tourists to their boma. The agreements are only based on friendship. The arguments are if the drivers and the tourists chose to visit Seneto cultural boma the tourists will be taken very good care of and given the best experience. So, the payment for choosing Seneto over other cultural bomas are satisfied customers who are more likely to give

the tour operators good reputation and the drivers generous tips. In the study by Snyder and Sulle (2011) they explain that most of the entrance fees tourists pay to enter the cultural bomas ends up with the tour operators. The drivers were the one who got the most out of the situation as many drivers would stop driving tourists to their cultural boma if they did not get what they demanded (Snyder & Sulle, 2011).

This is also the case in Irkeepusi cultural boma. The people working in the boma that speaks good English often visit Sopa Lodge and the camp site located close to the boma to advertise their boma and communicate with the drivers. “Grayson” explained;

we have a communication with them, because everyone need profit. So, each boma need to have higher profit than other. So, we go to the Sopa lodge and talk with the drivers. Then we go to the campsite to talk with the drivers. We have some customers.

On question about the drivers get some money to visit their boma instead of another one he continues “no, we just talk with them as a friend”. According to “Grayson”, Irkeepusi cultural boma has close contact with the tour operators Thomson, Micato and Eastern suns. Similar as the trend in Seneto cultural boma, most women do not know of any agreements with the drivers and tour operators. This may reflect how the cultural bomas are organized, where it is the leaders and tour guides who possess the power to decide with whom the cultural boma are going to cooperate with, and how the boma is going to be structured and operated. Despite the variations in the answers between the genders regarding the economic revenues generated from tourism, all were very certain that there are many positive economic outcomes of tourism.

6.5 The importance of tourism to achieve or maintain a sustainable livelihood for Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Answers to a question about what people consider as a sustainable livelihood and what they need to have a good life and wellbeing among those working in the cultural bomas varied, but there were some factors that seemed more important to people than others. It was people’s need to have livestock and education. Through the analyses of the data material, I found that eight people out of 21 answered that livestock is important for them to have a good life, and fourteen out of 21 answered education. Other factors people need to be able to achieve a sustainable livelihood and wellbeing are money, having a job, good health, own a car, food, shelter, gold, income from tourist related activities, cultivation to be allowed again, and that they continue to have permit to live in NCA.

By using the SLF as a framework for the project and through data management and analysis I have been able to get an understanding of the status of the capital assets for the people working in the cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi.

As mentioned in section 3.5 human capital is skills, knowledge, health and physical ability to implement livelihood strategies (Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015). Many people in the cultural bomas do not have education, but they do have a lot of informal knowledge and ideas about how to use the cultural boma as a strategy to improve their livelihoods.

The natural capital is the natural resource base that people rely on in their life ((Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015). NCA has enormous amount of natural resources. But since the area is a conservation area, people do not have access to it all. Examples is the prohibition against taking livestock into the crater, as well as arable land they are not allowed to cultivate. “Caden”, a dancer in Seneto cultural boma, said that “to some extent it is, but from the conservation perspective it is the collision of taking our cows to the Ngorongoro Crater has affected me, because that it something we used to do. So, that is a collision”. So, the natural resources are present, but people do not have access to enough of it to be able to cover all their needs. Therefore, they are dependent on various support from the NCAA.

Financial capital represents people’s capital base such as cash, savings and other economic assets (Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015). The cultural boma has contributed to improve the financial status among most of the people working there. Most of those I interviewed said that their income has increased. But at the same time, the financial capital could have been better. There are still uncertainties regarding fluctuations in income between high and low season. And it is difficult to say whether the income from entrance fees is one hundred percent equally distributed between those working in the cultural boma. It is also uncertain if everyone gets the financial support they need from NCAA and PC to be able to achieve a sustainable livelihood.

The physical capital is assets that exists because of economic production processes, such as infrastructure (Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015). The roads within the park are in poor condition and the people working in the cultural bomas have to walk between their home villages and the bomas when they want to go home. There is also poor access to water and power within the bomas. Because many do not have cell phones it is difficult for the people to communicate with others and to get news updates.

The social capital includes all the social relations such as different types of networks, families, and associations (Ellis, 2000; Nunan, 2015). The Maasai families occur as strong, with many

children and a supportive environment where people are there for each other. This contributes to an increase in people's social capital assets. Another factor that strengthens the social capital of those working in the cultural bomas is the cooperation they have within and between the cultural bomas in the exchange of materials, products and knowledge. According to Melubo and Carr (2019) the network between the different communities enables the Maasai to face challenges as "loss of land tenure, forced settlement, under-representation in politics, poor social services and cultural disparagement" (Melubo & Carr, 2019, p. 221).

The framework is a good tool in mapping the livelihood assets of people, but there are some limitations. One of the issues is that all the capitals are interconnected with each other, and some attributes are consequently difficult to place within one capital. Livestock is one such attribute because the animals are important to the Maasai people in many ways. The livestock is an important natural capital in the way that they can be argued to be a natural creature and the Maasai depend on them for milk, blood and meat. At the same time, it has an important value in social relations because a man and his family may get higher status within the community if they have many livestock. Livestock also has an important part in financial matters as they can be used in trade and sale. Therefore, all the capitals must be seen in context.

The Maasai people in NCA have some positive and negative trends in their livelihood assets. The tourism industry and the natural resources in the area opens a lot of possibilities to score high in all of the capitals, but since they live within a conservation area they are prevented from extracting all resources they need to achieve the highest possible outcome in livelihood assets. At the same time, it is not certain that the same high number of tourists would visit the area if it was not conserved because the nature and landscape could have been different. If the number of tourists declines it is not sure if it would be a market for the cultural bomas to exist.

6.6 Tourists' experiences of the cultural bomas

According to Melubo and Carr (2019), the cultural bomas are one of the top priorities of tourists visiting Tanzania. And even if the tourism has led to empowerment in the Maasai, some thoughts based on colonialist ideas are still present in many situations where tourists are explaining the Maasai (Melubo & Carr, 2019). As they arrive at the NCA, many tourists expect to see Maasai wearing *shukas*, living in small traditional huts and herding their livestock when they visit the Maasai (McCabe et al., 2010).

When doing fieldwork in NCA, part of the plan was to interview tourists visiting the cultural bomas. This proved to be difficult as they were welcomed and showed around as they arrived

the boma and were guided straight to their cars by the tour guides when they were done with the tour. I still find it important to include tourists' experiences of the cultural bomas to get an insight in positive aspects of the bomas and what areas that have potential of improvement. This may contribute to the future development of the cultural bomas to be able to attract more tourists. As explained in sub-section 4.3.2, I have used TripAdvisor to get the opinions of people who have visited cultural bomas. In all, I have analysed 348 reviews. Since I have used TripAdvisor the information presented in this section is from all the cultural bomas in NCA and not only Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. It is not optimal, but it still gives a good insight in how tourists find their visit in the cultural bomas.



Figure 12 Tourists' experience with cultural bomas in NCA.

Source: TripAdvisor (2015-2019).

The experiences of the tourists are very different and there is large variation in the answers on how their visit to the cultural boma were. Most people are very positive in their review of the bomas. The Maasai are often described as a proud, welcoming, and wonderful people. Almost all the tourists are grateful to be allowed to ask questions and learn about Maasai traditional culture and way of life. The traditional huts of wood, mud, and dung are fascinating to the tourists and many express that they are concerned when they see the conditions the people are living within. After the visit many of the tourists feels more grateful for their modern lives, with technology, easy access to water and health care, education possibilities, infrastructure, and modern building constructions. Some of the reviewers describe their visit as the highlight of their journey (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).

Figure 12 show the travel rating of 348 people using TripAdvisor to write a review of their visit in a cultural boma in NCA. As the figure show, approximately 75 percent finds their visit very good or excellent (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019). By reading all the reviews, it is reasonable to assume that there are some uncertainties in the data material concerning the correspondence between the written review and the score they have given. Another issue regarding the outcome of the reviews are that some people who have given feedback actually have not visited a cultural boma, only seen them from a distance. They do however explain that they have experienced some contact with Maasai, as children from nearby villages have approach their jeeps to ask for food. NCAA does not approve this type of actions and some tourists have noticed that the children run when they see NCAA cars. This makes a negative impression on the tourists because they feel sorry for the children (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019). Since the deviations only apply to very few reviews, I have chosen to continue to use the result portrayed in the figure to investigate tourists' experiences with the cultural bomas.

Even though most of the tourists visiting the cultural boma enjoyed their visit, many mentioned some negative experiences. As figure 12 show, there are about 25 percent that find their visit average, poor or terrible (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019). That mean that there are still potential for improvement and development of the cultural bomas to attract more visitors and generate more income for the people to improve their livelihoods. One negative comment from some of the tourists writing these reviews is that they got a feeling of being in a museum because it was not authentic enough. When people hear stories about the Maasai they believe they live in the bomas and that they are going to visit the homes of the Maasai (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019). According to McCabe et al. (2010) there is little correlation in how some organizations and governments portrays the Maasai and what the reality is. And some tourists may end up disappointed.

Another reviewer explained that his/her visit was more about getting money than showing their culture. The leaders and the men were experienced as dominating and many commented that they wished the women to be more active. Many were worried about the women being exploited.

There was a great variation in the reviews related to how much they had to pay to enter the cultural boma. Some of them explain that they had to pay 15 USD each, but most of the reviewers payed 50 USD per car. Two of the reviewers mentioned that they paid 100 USD to enter. According to some of the reviews, the cultural bomas get some compensation from the

tour operators and the drivers have some sort of agreements with specific bomas (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).



Figure 13 A Maasai woman showing a tourist the beaded handicrafts.

Source: Haakon Lein.

The point of their visit that most people mentioned as negative in their reviews was the part of the visit where they were taken to have a look at the beaded handicrafts. Some of the writers go so far as to call this part robbery. This was also mentioned in the reviews by those who have rated very good or excellent, but they often tended to consider it as a positive donation, even though they had some negative feelings attached to it. In many cases people described this situation as very uncomfortable and that they got a feeling of being taken advantage of as the beaded handicrafts were forced up on them. The entry price of the beaded handicrafts was in some cases as much as 100 USD. Many explained that it was almost expected of them to buy something, and if they did not, the tour guides often change mood into giving short answers. As a result, some felt that the entrance fee was too high comparing to what they got for the money. Some tourists also were disappointed that the beaded handicrafts seemed to be mass

produced. Most of the beaded handicrafts purchased in the cultural bomas, are found in other markets, and often to a much lower entry price (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).

Despite the fact that many of the reviewers did not enjoy the experience of purchasing the beaded handicrafts, several focused more on the positive outcomes of the trade. In some reviews people mentioned the positive of buying the beaded handicrafts as it contributes to development within the local communities. They were aware that the income the Maasai get through working in the bomas contributes to secure education for the children, and makes it possible for them to buy food, water, clothes, and health care services. So, some think it is worth the price (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).

6.7 Future development of the cultural bomas to meet the expectations of the tourists

The Maasai working in the cultural bomas are very engaged in the future development of the cultural bomas. “Amelia”, “Riley” “Mia”, “Emma” and “Oliver” want to advertise their cultural bomas online so that tourists can see the cultural boma before they arrive in the area. In that way they hope to attract more customers in order to increase the profit.

According to “Aiden” there is a need for more cultural bomas in the area to be able to handle the increased number of tourists and to enable more people to work and take part in the benefits of tourism. Others emphasises the importance of develop the dance and beaded handicrafts to accommodate the taste of the tourists. Although most of the informants want to develop the cultural bomas in some way, they agree that they want to maintain their culture as it is. According to “Olivia” it is also important to continue welcoming the tourists and show them respect, security and kindness.

“Aria”, who sells beaded handicrafts in Seneto cultural boma, wants to move the boma closer to water. She said;

we don't think that much of development in the big aspect, but we think that if it is possible, we would like to move the cultural boma to a place closer to water, because we have difficulties having water here. We walk very far to get water. So, if it would be possible, I want to move it to somewhere where it is easier access to water.

She is not alone in wanting to develop the infrastructure. “Emma” and “Lucas” address the need for better roads so that the tourists can arrive the cultural bomas comfortable and make the drive

less exhausting. Like “Aria”, “Emma”, an older woman working in Seneto cultural boma, is concerned about the difficulties related to the issues of water access. Therefore, she wants to develop better solutions to enable them to have water directly or close to the cultural boma. In that way she can use the time and energy she spends on getting water, to work in the cultural boma.

“Noah”, “Lucas” and “Liam” want to continue to develop the relationship and cooperation with NCAA. “Liam” said that “the only way we can develop the... or increase the income for these villages is if the government come and see our packages. And that our packages will be divided and included within the NCAA packages”.

To increase the profit, “Grayson” a leader from Irkeepusi cultural boma want to establish a Village Community Bank. He said;

I want to develop. For example, since September I talk to the people about Village Community Bank. So, I talked to them. And we had a meeting. Also, we need maybe to register our community bank to the council. Then it will be known to the council. Then we are going to look for loan. So, that's would be a future profit. So, whenever we talk with the village or the people contribute an amount, 5000 a week. At the end of the year we are going to see what we putted there and certain profit, because we give some people extra loan. Then you return with a profit.

In the travel reviews, some of the tourists were discussing possible development strategies to improve the quality of the visit in the cultural bomas and the lives of those working there. Some explained that they hoped that the Maasai could be allowed to live in new houses with water, electricity and some comfort. Others wanted to learn more about how they used to live in the past and that the Maasai could explain in more detail about their culture (TripAdvisor, 2015-2019).

6.8 Summary

The main task of the women in the cultural bomas is to sell beaded handicrafts. The income from the sale goes directly to the women who sells it and her family. Most of the women use the income they get through their work to secure food and clothes for their children, health care services, the opportunity to send their children to school, and buy cows, sheep, and goats.

Even though people's socioeconomic situation seem to be improved by working in the cultural bomas, there are still challenges and factors that can be addressed. One challenge is to develop and find methods in order to include all people to benefit from the great potential that tourism represents. As it is today there is a rotation of people every two years to work in the cultural boma. The aim with the method of rotation is to achieve a distribution of the revenues between all people of the community. But there are some uncertainties on how people's livelihood will be affected when the contract ends.

Most people, especially the women I talked to in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas stated that one of their main priorities was education for their children. Even though NCAA and PC support the education, parents often have to pay for clothes, materials and transport related to education because the support is not enough to cover all expenses. Through enabling people to earn extra money, the tourism industry has an important role in securing education for all children and secure different work opportunities in the future. Ensuring education to all within the communities enables social mobilisation and the possibility to secure a sustainable livelihood and wellbeing.

The entrance fees from tourists visiting the cultural boma are mostly equally distributed among the employees, but there are some differences in how this is implemented in the different cultural bomas. In Seneto cultural boma money is collected by the boma's tour guides and leaders from the tour operator's drivers when they arrive the boma. It is saved and distributed among the employees once a month. If someone need extra money to be able to cover all their expenses, they can contact the leaders or the elders to ask for money. When people ask for more money the leaders and elders will call for a meeting to discuss the situation and based on the arguments conduct a voting.

In Irkeepusi cultural boma tour guides and leaders collect the money from the drivers when they arrive, and they distribute it to those working in the boma once a month. The difference is that the money collected are being shared equally between four different groups; women, dancers, elders and leaders, and food for those working in the boma. People within these groups share the money equally between all the members of that specific group.

There was great variation in the answers on the questions about whether the drivers and tour guides receive any money to take the tourists to their cultural boma instead of the others. The men reported a higher price than what the women did.

Despite people's involvement in the cultural bomas, many of the informants answered that livestock is their main source of income. Achieving a sustainable livelihood and a good life is complex and it demands several strategies. People need livestock, education, money, having a job, good health, own a car, food, shelter, income from tourist related activities, cultivation to be allowed again, and continuing to have permit to live in NCA.

The Maasai in NCA have some positive and negative trends in their livelihood assets. The tourism industry and the natural resources in the area opens many opportunities to score high in all of the capitals. But since they live within a conservation area, they are prevented from extracting all resources they need to achieve all the outcomes they need and want in order to have a good life.

Many tourists describe the Maasai as a proud, welcoming, and wonderful people. Some of the negative experiences they had was that the cultural boma appears as a museum, being too expensive and many felt that they were being forced to buy overpriced and mass-produced beaded handicrafts.

To develop the cultural boma in the future, many of the people working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas want to advertise the bomas online for reaching out to a larger audience. Other suggestions for further development are to move the bomas closer to water, improvement of infrastructure, better location, and establishment of new cultural bomas.

7 Discussion and conclusions

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I start by discussing the findings and the theory. Thereafter I give a conclusion of the thesis. In the end I address some of the limitations with the thesis and based on those shortcomings I give some suggestions to what can be studied in more detail in the future.

7.2 Discussion

In many rural communities, livelihoods diversification is essential for people in order to achieve wellbeing. Ellis (2000) explain that it is for many people in developing countries difficult to only rely on farming activities for survival. Because of the conservation policies and the attempt of the government, NCAA, international organizations and tourism businesses to limit population growth in livestock within NCA, it is impossible for the Maasai to cultivate or to survive on their livestock. NCAA support some food, but many explained that it is not enough. Tourism and the work in the cultural bomas do therefore provide an important opportunity for the Maasai to diversify their activities in order to improve their economy and maintain or enhance their wellbeing.

Stott and Sullivan (2000) explain that the focus in political ecology is on different narratives and how they were formed related to the environment. This includes identification of the power relations that contributes to the formation and the maintenance of the narratives, and the consequences the narratives have for economic and social development (Nunan, 2015). Therefore, political ecology is relevant to take into consideration in the question about the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai in NCA. This is because of the important position the environment and the natural resources have in their lives and the fact that these are restricted through laws and regulations determined by powerful stakeholders such as the government, NCAA, international organizations, and private actors in the tourism industry.

Neumann (2005) explain that central questions within political ecology addresses how conflicts over human rights, social justice and poverty is linked to the politics of environmental conservation and degradation. In the case of the Maasai in NCA, many people have shortage in basic needs such as food, water and health care services, and are dependent on support from powerful organizations such as NCAA and different NGOs. According to Neumann (2005), much of the development in developing countries are influenced by struggles between local communities, the state and capitalist enterprises over livelihoods, how the control over access to land and resources are organized, how local knowledge about management practises is

recognized and valued, and the different perspectives people have on the environment (Neumann, 2005).

NCAA does sometimes direct issues related to land degradation on the Maasai. According to the presentation by the NCAA officer, the large population growth in NCA by residential Maasai has resulted in an increase in livestock population and overexploitation of the resources. These ideas and beliefs are supported by other NGOs and international organizations and represent a dominant narrative. This narrative has similarities with Hardin's theory "tragedy of the commons" and ideas of neo-Malthusianism. It is believed by many, that all Maasai families will try to maximize their income and status within the community by increasing the numbers of livestock. Because of the population growth they argue that also the livestock population will grow. As a consequence, the growth in the number of domestic animals will lead to land degradation. According to the organizations and NCAA, this will result in a decline in wildlife as their resource base is being damaged. This again is presumed to result in a decline in the number of tourists visiting the area as a consequence of changes in landscape and fewer opportunities to see wildlife.

Hardin's theory is by many argued to be based on an open access regime, where anyone can use the resources as they want, because there are no rules and regulations. The NCA is however an example of state property regime. That means it is the government, or in this case NCAA who are given the authority by the government, that set the rules of who are allowed to access the resources, when and how.

The dominant narrative of pastoralism and other dominant narratives do not necessarily need to represent the facts. However, the outcomes of the rules and regulations determined on the basis of the narratives, can have large consequences for people's lives. According to Nunan (2015), blaming pastoralist for land degradation can result in access restrictions in some areas. The NCAA officer did not directly say that they wanted the Maasai to move out of NCA during his presentation to us, but he explained that NCAA hope the Maasai will move out of the area when they get education and to modernize after interacting with the tourists.

According to McCabe (1997) and Melubo and Lovelock (2019), the livestock population has not grown in size similar to the population, but has in general fluctuated around a mean. As a result, the numbers of livestock per Maasai has decreased not increased such the dominant narrative argues. The Maasai themselves explain that the livestock do not interfere with wildlife and that domestic and wild animals, lives side by side in harmony.

The local knowledge of the Maasai in how to manage and take care of the resources seem to be undermined by the more powerful stakeholders within the area. According to Melubo and Lovelock (2019), one of the most central ideas of multiple land-use management is that local residents get more motivated to manage the resources responsibly and sustainably if they are included in the management and income generating work. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the NCAA should involve the local people in the management of the area in order to prevent environmental degradation, not work for a resettlement of the people.

Despite the enormous income generated by NCAA and the cultural bomas from the tourism industry each year, some of the informants mentioned that poverty still is a problem in the Maasai communities in NCA. In research by Melubo and Lovelock (2019) they explain that in the period 2016/2017 NCAA got a total income of about 45 million USD based on entrance fees tourists pays to enter NCA. Of that, only 2.59 percent, about one million USD, goes to the PC to be used in the Maasai communities. At the same time the income from the cultural bomas in the high season is according to the men 38,100 USD per month, and 14,600 USD according to the women. The Brundtland Commission stated in their report “Our common future” from 1987, that poverty is a cause to environmental degradation. In order to reduce the degradation, policy makers have to reduce poverty. Poverty can be solved through promoting economic development (Neumann, 2005). This point of view is supported by Blaikie (1985) who explain that environmental degradation can be considered to be a result, cause, and symptom of underdevelopment. He mean that an increased involvement of peasants in market and system of wage labour often leads to an exacerbation of poverty and degradation (Blaikie, 1985).

According to those I interviewed in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas their income has increased as a result of their employment in the boma. But still many within the Maasai communities, lives in poverty and cannot afford to cover their most basic needs. It is to assume that the revenues, both the financial support from NCAA through PC and the income in the cultural bomas, are not as equally distributed as many claims. Within the cultural bomas, it is reasonable to think that the women earn less than the men because of the difference in the answers to the questions related to income. This is also something the tourists expressed their concerns about in the travel reviews. The difference in income between men and women can indicate an unequal distribution in power between those working in the cultural bomas. Boserup explain in her work “Women’s role in economic development” how policies and processes have been biased against the women (Nazneen et al., 2011). Since men possess most of the leading positions in the cultural bomas and many of them speaks English it is, according to Boserup’s

theory, many who think it is the men that should get the benefits. Often this is at the expense of women's opportunities.

There is great potential for all Maasai residents to benefit from the tourism based on the amount of revenues generated from the industry each year. The unequal distribution mirrors the power relations within the area, where large organizations and private actors in the tourism industry have the power to influence the laws and regulations to benefit them and who are the largest financial beneficiaries. This is often at the expense of the Maasai who have to bear the costs of limited livestock numbers, dependence on support from NCAA and NGOs to cover their basic needs, and economic exploitation.

7.3 Conclusions

The tourism industry is an important part of the economy in Tanzania and has contributed to a rapid financial growth. As a result of the great development potential, tourism is considered as one of the most important drivers to socioeconomic progress (UNWTO, no date). In Tanzania, the total income from tourism and travel in 2017 was 4.6 bn USD which is about 9.0 percent of total GNP, and there are 1,092,500 people employed in the sector (World travel and tourism council, 2018). In NCA the total number of tourists visiting the area in the period of 2016/17 was 601,215 and the revenues generated from the industry by NCAA was about 45 million USD. About one million USD out of that money was allocated to PC to be used on community development within the Maasai community (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019).

The history and the politics at macro and micro level have affected how the lives of the Maasai have become as it is today. Historical forced resettlement and the fact that they are living in a conservation area has affected their lives. People with different interests regarding the management of the area continuously try to affect the rules and regulations in their favour. Often it is the powerful organizations and the private actors that manage to implement their policies in favour of themselves and tourists. The different arguments are often based on narratives which through historical, political and financial processes have become dominant. Examples are the narratives of pastoralism and land degradation.

In trying to get an understanding of the power relations and how they influence the environmental management political ecology is used as a theoretical foundation. Power relations can also be seen at a smaller level within the cultural bomas and households. Therefore, theories of gender, livelihoods and wellbeing have been used.

To investigate how tourism affects the socioeconomic conditions, I have used interview as method. The interviews were conducted in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas. In total I interviewed 21 Maasai people, eleven men and ten women. In addition to the interviews I used information from a presentation given by one of the NCAA officers. To get an understanding of the experiences of the tourists after their visit in the cultural bomas I used travel reviews. Document analysis were conducted as a supplement to the interviews and the travel reviews.

There is great potential for development of the socioeconomic conditions and the livelihood of the Maasai based on the large revenues generated from the tourism industry in NCA. The cultural bomas were established with support from NCAA. Today, the Maasai are still dependent on support from NCAA through the PC in being able to cover their basic needs. Many explain that the support is not enough. Therefore, being allowed to come to the bomas for work means a lot for the people. In the selection process it is usually the poorest people from each village connected to the cultural bomas that are chosen by village leaders to come and work there on a two-year contract. There are however some exceptions. The men that have not being able to complete their education and speaks good English are allowed to work as leaders or tour guides within the cultural boma without a contract. This also applies to the elders, who often have responsibility to maintain the peace and order in the cultural boma and is allowed to come and go as they prefer.

Tourists who have visited a cultural boma in NCA describe their visit as warm, welcoming and knowledgeable, but the prices are being criticized, especially the prices of the beaded handicrafts and the harsh negotiation process in advance of the trade. Despite that some of the tourists are critical, others are aware of the positive contribution their trade has to the local communities.

The fees from tourists entering the cultural bomas are in theory equally shared among those working there. Women who are selling beaded handicrafts are allowed to keep the income for themselves. The income they get through working in the cultural bomas, they use paying for education for their children, to buy livestock, food and clothes for their children, health care services, and construction materials for their houses. There are some indicative evidences that the revenues generated in the cultural bomas are not shared as equally as many like to think they are. There were considerable variations in the answers between men and women, and the tourists and the women on how much the tourists pays to enter the boma.

Even though there are a lot of money in the tourism industry of NCA, only a small part of it benefits the Maasai, especially the women. The money has contributed to improvement in their livelihoods and wellbeing, but it is not enough to bring them out of poverty. The winners of the industry appear to be the tourists themselves, private companies involved in the industry, NCAA, conservationists and the government. The losers are definitely the Maasai who get the smallest part of the financial benefits and the social participation through decision processes which will affect their lives, as well as the increasing concern of forced resettlement and loss of livestock and natural resources related to climatic changes.

In the future, people working in Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas want to start advertising the bomas in order to attract more tourists. Some also want to establish more bomas to be able to employ more people so they can get a chance to increase their income and livelihood. It is also a need for better infrastructure such as roads and water supply closer to the bomas in order to increase the security and wellbeing of both the tourists and the Maasai.

7.4 Limitations and further studies

One of the limitations in the study is the sampling size. With more time and experience I would have interviewed more people and had some longer interviews with key informants. Another point is that I would have used some time in the beginning of the field work in NCA to get an overview of the different people's roles to be able to select participants with different roles, as members of the Pastoral Council, people who are working in the NCAA Department of Community Development, village leaders within the cultural bomas, and women and men working in the boma with different responsibilities. If I had used more time in the cultural bomas it would have led to a strengthening in the trust relationship between the informants and me. This would perhaps also have resulted in me gaining more confidence to give clear instructions of the structure of the interview settings from the beginning.

I recommend further detailed studies on the topic of how tourism affects the socioeconomic conditions of the Maasai living in NCA, with particular focus on the situation of the women. Further, I recommend studies on how more local people can take an even greater part in the tourism industry to be able to benefit more from the tourism, to secure education for all, health care services, food, clothes, livestock, and especially how to improve the infrastructure as water supply within the cultural bomas to prevent dehydration among human and livestock.

It would also be an interesting project to develop the cultural bomas through a collaboration between the Maasai, PC, tourists, NGOs, specialists on enterprise development, and NCAA.

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Appendix A – Time schedule of the field work

Table 10 Time schedule of the field work from 03.09.18 in week 36, to 10.10.18 in week 41.

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday

	Arrived in Arusha.		Field work in Seneto cultural boma and at one of the lodges in NCA.
	Waiting for residential permit and research permit in Arusha.		Seronera, Serengeti National Park.
	Arrived in Karatu.		Field work in Irkeepusi cultural boma and at one of the lodges in NCA.
	Introduction meeting at the NCAA office		Visited the TAWIRI office to tell about the field work and said goodbye.
	Field work at one of the lodges in NCA.		Went back to Norway.

Appendix B – Interview guide

Interview guide – Maasai

(Letters in red represent questions only to be asked to Maasai leaders and elder people).

1. General questions

Questions to get to know the informant. Gender, age, household size, his/her role in the community and main source of income.

2. History

2.1 Origin and history of the community/village.

2.1.1 How has the community/village changed due to the different conservation strategies?

2.1.2 Have you noticed a change in number of tourists and tourists buying beaded handicraft and visiting cultural bomas?

2.1.3 Has the community changed due to change in number of tourists? If so, in what way?

2.1.4 Do you face some difficulties as a result of the change in number of tourists?

Main part – tourism's influence on Maasai's livelihood

3. General questions about tourism's influence of the people

3.1 Tourism.

3.1.1 What do you think about tourism? Positive and negative aspects.

3.1.2 Do you feel that tourists respect your way of life and your privacy?

3.2 Beaded handicraft.

3.2.1 Could you tell me about the beaded handicraft business?

3.2.2 Do you have a role in the business? If so, what is your role?

3.2.3 Did you start to produce the beaded handicraft with the introduction of the tourism, or did you produce them before?

3.2.4 For how long have you been a part of the sale of the beaded handicraft?

3.2.5 Do you know for how long the business has existed?

3.2.6 Has the business changed in size during the last ten years? What do you think is the reason for that?

3.3 Cultural boma.

- 3.3.1 Could you tell me about the cultural boma?
- 3.3.2 Do you have a role in the business? If so, what is your role?
- 3.3.3 When did you start to perform in the cultural boma?
- 3.3.4 Do you know for how long these performances have existed?
- 3.3.5 Do you feel that the performances reflect your culture and way of life?

4. Livelihood

4.1 Sustainable livelihood.

- 4.1.1 What is a sustainable livelihood to you?
- 4.1.2 What are your strategies to maintain and/or improve your livelihood?
- 4.1.3 Is tourism a part of those strategies? If yes, how important do you consider it to be in comparison to other strategies?
- 4.1.4 How does conservation influence your livelihood?

4.2 Tourism income and livelihood.

- 4.2.1 In what way has tourism and introduction to cash economy changed your way of life?
- 4.2.2 How does tourism income contribute to your livelihood?
- 4.2.3 Has the livelihood in the village changed in some ways? Health, technology, new ways of doing things?
- 4.2.4 Do you think that the possible positive outcomes of tourism are limited by the conservation of the area?

4.3 Tourism's influence on the community.

- 4.3.1 In what way do you feel that the production and sale of beaded handicraft products and the performances in the cultural bomas have influenced the community?
- 4.3.2 Has your personal income increased?
- 4.3.3 Do you know if the economy of the village has improved? If so, do you think that the community's livelihood has improved as well? If so, in what way?
- 4.3.4 Have you experienced conflicts within the businesses, or between the businesses and the tourists?

5. Social and human capital

5.1 Education.

- 5.1.1 How many in the village has attended school? At what level?
- 5.1.2 How many working in the beaded handicraft business has been to school? At what level?
- 5.1.3 How many performing in the cultural bomas has been to school? At what level?
- 5.1.4 Have you attended school? If so, at which level?
- 5.1.5 Do you have some sort of work training or experience from other types of work that is relevant for the beaded handicraft business or the cultural bomas?

5.2 Organisation of the beaded handicraft and cultural boma.

- 5.2.1 How do people get selected to perform in the cultural bomas?
- 5.2.2 Who decides who can perform in the cultural bomas?
- 5.2.3 Do you work with selling beaded handicrafts fulltime throughout the year or is it a seasonal work?
- 5.2.4 Do you work in the cultural boma fulltime throughout the year or is it a seasonal work?

5.3 Competition and cooperation.

- 5.3.1 How is the competition between the different actors selling beaded handicraft products and cultural boma experiences?
- 5.3.2 Do you cooperate with other beaded handicraft businesses or cultural bomas in some way?

5.4 Tourist's perception of the products.

- 5.4.1 How do you think tourists experience your products?

6. Financial capital

6.1 Economic advantages and disadvantages.

- 6.1.1 As you see it, are there any economic advantages and disadvantages with tourism?
- 6.1.2 How do you and your family benefit from tourism?

6.2 Revenues within the beaded handicraft business.

- 6.2.1 How are the revenues distributed among the actors in the beaded handicraft business?
- 6.2.2 How do you use the revenues generated from tourist fees and sale of products?

- 6.2.3 Do you sell your products to other businesses and/or markets?
- 6.2.4 Who produce the beaded handicrafts you sell in the cultural bomas?
- 6.2.5 What type of material do you use to make the beaded handicraft? Are those imported or local?
- 6.2.6 Has the conservation influenced the access to the materials needed to produce/buy the beaded handicraft in some way?

6.3 Revenues within the cultural boma.

- 6.3.1 How are the revenues distributed among the actors in the cultural boma?
- 6.3.2 Are there only local Maasais that perform in the cultural bomas, or are there also others?

6.4 The distribution of income received from tourists among the different stakeholders in the beaded handicraft and cultural boma businesses.

- 6.4.1 Do you know how much each tourist pay to visit your village?
- 6.4.2 What percentage of the fee which tourists pay to visit your cultural boma goes to those performing?
- 6.4.3 How much of the revenue collected within the cultural bomas goes to the individuals who perform there?
- 6.4.4 How is the income from the beaded handicraft distributed between those involved? (Materials, production, sale).
- 6.4.5 How is the economic distribution between the different actors involved in beaded handicraft and cultural bomas? Companies, drivers, villagers.
- 6.4.6 Do you have some arrangement with any tour operators?
- 6.4.7 Does the village have some kind of agreement with some drivers? If so, how is this organised?
- 6.4.8 Do you know how much the drivers earn by bringing tourists to your boma?

7. Future.

- 7.1 What do you want to do in the future?
- 7.2 Do you want to develop the business further in some way?
- 7.3 Are there factors that prevent development of the businesses and your livelihood?

Appendix C – Consent form

Do you want to participate in the research project “The winners and losers of the tourism industry in Ngorongoro Conservation Area: a socioeconomic perspective of the of the two Maasai cultural bomas of Seneto and Irkeepusi”?

I dearly ask you if you want to participate in the research project “The winners and losers in the tourism industry in Ngorongoro Conservation Area: A socio-economic perspective of the Maasai handicraft and cultural boma businesses?”. The main purpose of the project is to study how the Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area benefit from the tourism, with focus on the handicraft and cultural boma businesses.

The purpose of the project

The project is a master thesis at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in cooperation with the EU-funded project African Bio Services. I want to study how the Maasai are affected by the conservation and if they benefit from the large tourism industry in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. The research question is “The socio-economic distribution in the Maasai handicraft and cultural boma businesses.

How is the social structure and the economic distribution within the Maasai handicraft and cultural boma businesses, what do tourist think of the quality of the sale and product, and how may they develop the businesses in the future to meet the tourist’s expectations?”

Who is responsible for the project?

NTNU is responsible for the project. My supervisor is Haakon Lein, professor in the Department of Geography at NTNU.

Participation

I would appreciate your contribution to the project. I have interest to talk to you because of your role connected to the handicraft and/or cultural boma businesses.

What does it mean to participate?

I will conduct an interview based on a semi-structured interview guide. That means I have some pre-defined questions, but at the same time I will be able to ask you some follow up questions.

The interview will be anonymous and use of audio recorder will be on your terms. Each interview will last about 30-60 minutes.

Informed consent

As a participant in the project you will be able to withdraw your contribution at any time during the process, without any consequences. Your name will only be part of this consent. All your answers will be anonymous during the whole process. You have the right to request access to, make corrections, delete and make limitations to all material concerning you, as well as the right to data portability, which means you have the right to get access to, store, move, copy and transfer personal data applicable to you. If you have any objections you have the right to appeal to the Norwegian Datatilsynet at any time throughout the process.

Your privacy – how your contributions will be used and stored

Your contributions will, without any exception, only be used in this master thesis. The information you give us will be treated confidentially and in accordance with private policy. It will only be available for me, my supervisor at NTNU, Haakon Lein and my co-supervisor Teklehaymanot Weldemichel, a PhD student in the Department of Geography at NTNU.

All the material in the project will be coded from the beginning, and your name will not be written down in any paper. Your contribution to the project will under no circumstances be traced back to you.

We process all the information you give us with your consent.

On behalf of NTNU, Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) has evaluated this project to be in accordance with the regulations of privacy.

If any questions, please do not hesitate to contact

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Sincerely

Therese Antonsen, master student at the Department of Geography, NTNU

Declaration of consent

I have received and understood the information given about the project “The winners and losers in the tourism industry in Ngorongoro Conservation Area: A socio-economic perspective of the Maasai handicraft and cultural boma businesses” and been given the possibility to ask questions.

I agree to participate in an interview

I agree to that the information given in the interview can be processed until the end of the project 15 May 2019.

Signature

Appendix D – The education system in Tanzania

Table 11 Structure of the education system in Tanzania.

Education	School/ Level	Grade	Age	Years	Explanation
Primary	Pre- Primary			2	
Primary	Primary	Standard 1 to 7	7 to 13	7	Last for seven years. From the standard four students have to pass national exams to continue to the next level. All students must pass the examination for a primary school certificate to be able to continue to the secondary level.
Secondary	Lower Secondary	8 to 12 Form 1 to 4	15 to 17	4	At this level parents often have to pay fees for their children to attend the school. This means that poor families cannot afford to send their children to school at this level. Students need to pass an examination to continue to the next level. Completing the level is awarded with the Certificate of Secondary Education.
Secondary	Upper secondary	Form 5 to 6	18 to 20	2	At this level parents often have to pay fees for their children to attend the school and the children often have to attend boarding schools far away from home. This means that poor families cannot afford to send their children to school at this level. Students need to pass an examination to continue to the next level. Completing the level is awarded with the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education.

Vocational	Certificate			2	Students who fail form four or six may go onto a vocational education. This grade provides students with education and work training at state or private colleges. Student can choose between different topics as entrepreneurship development, gender issues in the workplace, the war against child labour, or wildlife management.
Vocational	Full Technician Certificate			1	Students who fail form four or six may go onto a vocational education. This grade provides students with education and work training at state or private colleges. Student can choose between different topics as entrepreneurship development, gender issues in the workplace, the war against child labour, or wildlife management.
Tertiary	Bachelor's			3	Education at higher level at an institution under the control of ministry of higher education. Students which pass the exams at the upper secondary level may get a loan from the government to go to the university.
Tertiary	Master's			1	Education at higher level at an institution under the control of ministry of higher education.
Tertiary	Doctorate			3	PhD at higher level at an institution under the control of ministry of higher education.

Source: Asante sana for education (2014) and Scholaro (2018).

Appendix E – Presentation of the participants in the study

Table 12 Presentation of the people participating in the study.

#	Fictive name, age, boma of employment and household size	Main source of income	Role in the cultural boma	Tourism's importance for the community	Future
1	Jackson, 35, Seneto, one wife, and two boys.	Livestock	Attend the dance performance.	Income has increased.	Want to keep their culture but want to develop in sense of enable education for all people.
2	Liam, 28, Seneto, one wife, and one child.	Livestock. Because livestock is the only thing pastoralists can control themselves.	Leader of the dance performance, responsible for the young men, and tour guide. The one who are responsible to organize people's different activities and parts when tourists are visiting the cultural boma.	Income has increased. Can afford education.	Government need to visit the boma and see what they can offer. The packages need to be divided and included within the NCAA packages. More cooperation between the stakeholders. Have to develop the marketing of the boma.
3	Noah, 35, Seneto, one	Tourism and livestock (cows)	Dancer, he shows the tourists how they live and make	Get experience from the tourists. Income has increased a bit. It	Want to continue to work in the cultural boma. He wants development to secure

	wife, and two children.	most important)	fire, and how the life of the Maasai were before.	enables them to buy more cows.	that people get what they need. To do that they need good cooperation with NCAA. To attract more tourists, they need to develop the dance, but not so much that it loses its traditionally roots.
4	Sophia, Seneto, 42, five children.	Livestock	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.	Enables education.	Want to continue to work in the boma.
5	Olivia, elder, Seneto, four children.	Livestock	Sells beaded handicrafts.	Income increased. Can now afford to buy food for the children and send them at school.	Want to maintain peace in the business and show the tourists that they are a welcoming, peaceful, and kind people. Respect the tourists and make them feel safe.
6	Emma, elder, Seneto, six children.	Livestock	Sells beaded handicrafts.	Income to buy livestock and do construction and renovation of the boma. Afford to send the children to school, buy clothes, and use health care services.	Develop the roads so the tourists can drive comfortable to the cultural boma. It is also a need for infrastructure within the boma, as water supply. Develop a web page for the boma.
7	Ava, 25, Seneto, three children.	Livestock.	Produces and sells beaded handicrafts.	Personal income has increased, but poverty is still a problem because there are not enough bomas. The income is	Continue to maintain it as the way it is.

				just enough to feed the family.	
8	Isabella, 47 Seneto, five children.	Sale of beaded handicraft.	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.	Personal income increased. Use the income to take care of their children and pay for their education. Able to buy more cows because of the income.	Market based development. Change the design of the bracelets and other things they make into a better version.
9	Aiden, 60, Seneto, two wives and ten children.	Livestock.	Since he is an elder his role is to take care for the people working in the boma and secure that everything is safe, and everyone is doing well.	Tourism is the main source of income in the community. Tourism has improved most people's living standard because of the two-year rotation of people working in the boma. Through working in the boma they get money to buy food and to some extent take their children to school. Back in the days when he worked in the boma he was able to send his son to school.	They are thinking of building a new cultural boma closer to the main road to be more visible to the tourists.
10	Aria, 50, Seneto, six children.	Tourism.	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.	Income to take care of the children and buy cows and goats. Because of the two-year contract most people in the community can	Want to move the boma closer to water, because where they are today there are limited water resources, and therefore

				benefit from tourism. Income has increase so she is able to send her son to school.	they must walk very far to get water.
11	Caden, 40, Seneto, two wives and six children.	Cultural boma and livestock.	Dancer.	His income has increased a bit but not much compared to other activities. If he became a leader one day the income from the tourism would be enough to achieve a sustainable life because they are paid salary each month, but for individuals the income does not help much. The income for those on two-year contracts has increased, but not so much for the others.	Want to continue to work there because it is better than just stay at home where he does not have anything to do.
12	Grayson, 38, Irkeepusi, one wife and three children.	Livestock.	Public relation officer, who welcome the visitors and tells them about the Maasai society and take part in the dance performance.	Many Maasai are employed in the campsites in NCA to protect the tourists at night. They use the income from that job to buy cows, sheep and goats. They also get a percentage of the entrance fees tourists pay to enter NCA from	Meetings with the other people working in the boma about Village Community Bank. They are going to register their community bank to the council and search for loan. The village or the people can contribute with about 5000 TZS a week into a

				<p>the PC. That money secure education for the children and an opportunity to increase the number of cows. PC also buy cows for those who do not have anyone. The income from the tourism industry has led to more people getting education because more children attend school.</p>	<p>bank account to get some profit. Then they will be able to give people extra loans.</p>
13	<p>Lucas, 59, Irkeepusi, two wives and twelve children.</p>	<p>Livestock.</p>	<p>A local leader. He is an elder, and he has therefore responsibility to lead the others in the cultural boma.</p>	<p>Tourism contributes to a higher living standard. Most of the children attend school because education is sponsored by NCAA. Because of the tourism they have got health care services and veterinarian services. Tourism has also resulted in a change of people's behaviour and Maasai traditions.</p>	<p>NCAA must come and have a look at the boma and provide some roads in order to develop.</p>
14	<p>Riley, no age, Irkeepusi, her husband has four wives, she has five children.</p>	<p>Livestock.</p>	<p>Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.</p>	<p>Income to develop their lives. She uses some of the income to buy livestock. Her children are able to get an education. The boma</p>	<p>To get more visitors the boma must be advertised to a greater extent.</p>

				contributes in every project. Like water, cattle, school, even the students who fails to complete school and the PC fails to take care of them have a future because of the boma.	
15	Amelia, 40, Irkeepusi, her husband has four wives, and she has seven children.	Livestock and income from the boma.	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.	Income increased. She is able to buy food and clothes for her children. When the community get more income, they can construct schools, roads, and health centers.	Want to develop the products to get more money to be able to buy more cattle. To increase the number of visitors the boma need to be advertised.
16	Mason, 23, Irkeepusi, not married, no children.	Livestock.	Work as a dancer and a tour guide.	Knowledge about people from other cultures. This has influenced people's traditional culture. One way it has change is the food. Traditionally Maasai drink blood and eat milk, but now they also cook other types of food. The tourism is positive because of the economic growth, both locally and nationally. Tourists often send some extra money to the	Want to give the visitors a good experience of the Maasai. To continue to do that they will improve the dance and keep their traditional culture.

				communities to send the children to school. The income for people in the community has increased a bit but can be difficult in the low season. Nobody is poor. He buys clothes, goats, and sheep with the money he earns when working in the boma.	
17	Mia, elder, Irkeepusi, her husband has two wives, and she has seven children.	Livestock.	Sells beaded handicrafts.	The income has increased and makes it possible to buy livestock and food for the children.	Advertise to get more visitors.
18	Oliver, 32, Irkeepusi, one wife and two children.	Livestock.	Work as a dancer, tour guide, and teacher in the kindergarten.	Tourism contribute to the opportunity to get a good education. The money from the tourists goes to education and society projects, water supply, and health care services.	Advertise the boma to attract more tourists.
19	Elijah, 26, Irkeepusi, one wife, and two children.	Culture tourism and livestock.	Dancer.	Tourism is the reason to why people getting education and get knowledge of how to speak with other people.	Want to develop to be able to be competitive against the other bomas.

20	Logan, 30, Irkeepusi, one wife, and four children.	Livestock.	Work as a dancer and a tour guide.	The culture has changed. People has started to wear other types of clothes. It is positive that the income has increased.	Develop to take responsibility for future generations. One way is to build up thrust from people we meet.
21	Layla, between 52 and 55, Irkeepusi, one husband, and four children.	Cows to sell.	Makes and sells beaded handicrafts.	Able to run their lives because of tourism. The tourism provides money to buy food and send the children to school. Because of the tourism industry they have health care services and opportunity to run society projects.	Just want the tourists continue to come, so they are able to run their lives and different society projects.

