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Nature views and landscape values in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Master's thesis in Master in Geography

Supervisor: Haakon Lein

May 2019



The Ngorongoro Crater/Martine J.S. Aure

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Abstract (English)

There are several stakeholders within the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), each with individual nature views and landscape values. Tourists, the local Maasai people and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority have different perceptions of what “nature” is and which elements in the landscape make the NCA valuable. Which views and values are prioritized in the conservation management depend on the power of each stakeholder.

The aim of this thesis has been to uncover different nature views and landscape values of the stakeholders in the NCA, and whose views and values are prioritized in the conservation management. These questions have been answered with data produced through a series of qualitative interviews with tourists, Maasai people and informants from the NCAA. Short interviews with tour guides and lodge managers have supplemented the data. In addition to interviewing, document analysis of official NCAA documents has been used.

The data shows that the tourist informants and the NCAA have a view that nature should ideally be “unbridled” by human activity. Tourists also perceive nature as a “circle of life”. The Maasai informants view nature as a provider of resources, and they emphasize that nature is changing, both through climate change and development. Elements that were perceived as valuable in the landscape included the wildlife, the Maasai culture, the uniqueness of the area, the climate and the natural resources in the area, and the Ngorongoro Crater itself. The dominant narrative appears to be the views of the tourists and the NCAA that nature should be “unbridled” by human activity, as this leads to the destruction of nature. The economic advantage of tourism is an important reason why the tourist’s views are prioritized. The NCAA also have more power than the Maasai in negotiations, which leads to their views and values being prioritized in the conservation management.

Sammendrag (norsk)

Verneområdet Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) består av flere interessenter, alle med sine egne natursyn og landskapsverdier. Turister, det lokale masaifolket og forvaltningsmyndighetene Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority har ulike forestillinger om hva «natur» innebærer og hvilke landskapselementer som gjør NCA verdifullt. Hvilke syn og verdier som prioriteres i forvaltningen av området er avhengig av maktposisjonen til hver interessent.

Målet med denne oppgaven er å presentere de ulike natursynene og landskapsverdiene til interessentene i NCA og hvem sine syn som blir prioritert i verneforvaltningen. Disse problemstillingene blir besvart gjennom bruk av data fra en rekke kvalitative intervjuer med turister, masaiere og informanter fra NCAA. Korte intervjuer med turguidere og hotellbestyrere har supplert datamaterialet. I tillegg til intervju, har dokumentanalyse av offisielle NCAA-dokumenter blitt brukt.

Datamaterialet viser at turistinformantene og NCAA mener at naturen ideelt sett skal forbli «urørt» av menneskelig aktivitet. Turistene ser også på naturen som en «sirkel av liv». Masaiinformantene ser på naturen som en giver av ressurser, og de legger vekt på at naturen er i endring, både med tanke på klimaendringer og samfunnsutvikling. Elementene som ble sett på som verdifulle i landskapet inkluderer dyrelivet, masaikulturen, områdets særegenhet, klimaet og naturressursene samt Ngorongoro-krateret. Det dominante narrative er NCAA og turistene sitt syn på at naturen bør forbli «urørt» av menneskelig aktivitet, siden dette er fører til ødeleggelse av naturen. De økonomiske fordelene turismen fører til er en viktig grunn til hvorfor turistenes syn blir prioritert. NCAA har også mer makt enn masaiene i forhandlinger, noe som fører til at deres syn og verdier blir prioritert i forvaltningen av området.

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Table of contents

Abstract (English)	<i>i</i>
Sammendrag (norsk)	<i>iii</i>
Acknowledgments	<i>v</i>
List of figures	<i>x</i>
List of tables	<i>x</i>
List of Boxes	<i>x</i>
Abbreviations	<i>xi</i>
1 Introduction	<i>1</i>
1.1 Motivation and background of thesis	<i>1</i>
1.2 Research questions	<i>2</i>
1.3 Data	<i>2</i>
1.4 Structure of thesis	<i>2</i>
2 Background	<i>5</i>
2.1 Introduction	<i>5</i>
2.2 Geography of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area	<i>5</i>
2.3 History of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area	<i>7</i>
2.4 The Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA)	<i>8</i>
2.5 The Maasai	<i>10</i>
2.6 Tourism in the NCA	<i>11</i>
2.7 Summary	<i>11</i>
3 Theoretical framework	<i>13</i>
3.1 Introduction	<i>13</i>
3.2 Literature review	<i>13</i>
3.3 Political ecology	<i>14</i>
3.4 Nature views	<i>15</i>
3.4.1 External nature	<i>16</i>
3.4.2 Intrinsic nature	<i>17</i>
3.4.3 Universal nature	<i>17</i>
3.4.4 Super-ordinate nature	<i>17</i>
3.5 Landscape values	<i>18</i>
3.5.1 What is landscape?	<i>18</i>
3.5.2 Economic values	<i>18</i>
3.5.3 Non-economic amenity values	<i>19</i>
3.5.4 Security values	<i>20</i>

3.5.5 Negative values	20
3.6 Value conflicts	21
3.6.1 Collaboration and stakeholders	22
3.7 Summary	23
4 Method	25
4.1 Introduction	25
4.2 Research design	25
4.3 Fieldwork	26
4.4 Interviews	26
4.4.1 Maasai informants	28
4.4.2 Tourist informants	31
4.4.3 NCAA informants	34
4.4.4 Tour guides and lodge managers	35
4.5 Document analysis	35
4.6 Data analysis	36
4.7 Ethical concerns	36
4.7.1 Informed consent, anonymity and harm	37
4.7.2 Subjectivity and intersubjectivity	38
4.8 Summary	40
5 Nature views in the NCA	41
5.1 Introduction	41
5.2 Nature as unbridled beauty	41
5.3 Nature as the circle of life	44
5.4 Nature as the Motherland	46
5.5 Change of nature	46
5.6 Discussion	49
5.6.1 The stakeholders' nature views	49
5.6.2 The dominant narrative	55
5.7 Summary	56
6 Landscape values in the NCA	57
6.1. Introduction	57
6.2 Wildlife	57
6.3 Culture	62
6.4 Uniqueness	66
6.5 Climate and natural resources	67
6.6 The Ngorongoro Crater	68
6.7 Discussion	70

6.7.1 The valuable elements _____	70
6.7.2 Value conflicts in the NCA _____	76
6.8 Summary _____	80
7 Conclusions and further research _____	83
7.1 Implications for further research _____	84
8 References _____	87
Appendix 1: Interview guide for Maasai informants _____	91
Appendix 2: Interview guide for tourists _____	92
Appendix 3: Interview guide for NCAA officials _____	93
Appendix 4: Interview guide for tour guides and lodge managers _____	94
Appendix 5: Informants _____	95
Appendix 6: Informed consent form for Maasai informants _____	97
Appendix 7: Informed consent form for tourists _____	99
Appendix 8: Informed consent forms for NCAA officials _____	101
Appendix 9: Informed consent forms for tour guides and lodge managers _____	103

List of figures

Figure 1: The Ngorongoro Crater and the salt lake Magadi, as seen from Serena Safari Lodge. (Author, 2018).	3
Figure 2: Location of the NCA, as well as the National Parks and Game Reserves within Tanzania. (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, p. 23).....	5
Figure 3: The NCAA logo. (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010).	9
Figure 4: Locations of Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas within the NCA. (Author, 2019)	28
Figure 5: The landscape surrounding the Maasai boma Seneto. (Author, 2018).....	30
Figure 6: Location of the lodges where interviews were conducted. (Author, 2019).....	32
Figure 7: Forest landscape as seen from Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018)	33
Figure 8: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge. (Author, 2018)	33
Figure 9: Elephants near a pool of water in the Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge. (Author, 2018)	58
Figure 10: Herds of animals (presumably wildebeest) in the Ngorongoro Crater as seen from the Crater View viewpoint. (Author, 2018)	59
Figure 11: Waterbuck grazing in front of Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018).....	60
Figure 12: African buffalo in front of Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018)	61
Figure 13: Maasai livestock grazing next to a herd of zebras. (Author, 2018).	65
Figure 14: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from the Crater View viewpoint. (Author, 2018)	69
Figure 15: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Serena Safari Lodge. (Author, 2018).....	70

List of tables

Table 1: The categories of nature. adapted from Castree (2014).	17
Table 2: The typology of landscape values, adapted from Jones (2009).	21
Table 3: Narratives of nature compared to the nature views from Castree (2014).	50
Table 4: Valuable elements in the NCA, using the landscape values from Jones (2009).	71

List of Boxes

Box 1: Calderas	6
Box 2: Seasons in the Ngorongoro Crater	68

Abbreviations

GMP = General Management Plan 2006–2016 (Revised January 2010)

MNRT = Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism

NCA = Ngorongoro Conservation Area

NCAA = Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority

NPC = Ngorongoro Pastoralist Council

NTNU = Norwegian University of Science and Technology

PA = Protected area

SNP = Serengeti National Park

TAWIRI = Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institute

UNESCO = United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USD = US Dollar

1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation and background of thesis

Protected areas (PAs) make up about 25% of the land in Tanzania. As of today, these areas consist of 16 national parks, 28 game reserves, 44 game controlled areas and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) (Bank of Tanzania, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, & National Bureau of Statistics, 2018, p. xi).

Tourism is an important part of the Tanzanian economy. In 2017, 1.322 million international tourists visited Tanzania, and earnings from tourism reached 2.250.3 million USD (Bank of Tanzania et al., 2018, p. vii). Tourism to PAs in Tanzania constitutes a significant part of the country's tourism industry, and wildlife tourism is the most common activity for tourists (Bank of Tanzania et al., 2018, p. xi). Tourism in the NCA resulted in 45 million USD in 2016/2017 through lodge concessions and entrance fees (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019, p. 201).

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area is a multiple land-use area on the south-east border of Serengeti National Park (SNP), where people and wildlife live side by side. The area is known for its abundance of wildlife, archaeological sites, the scenic Ngorongoro Crater, and the Maasai people (Charnley, 2005, p. 75). These features make the NCA a popular tourist destination for safari tourists from all over the world. The tourists who travel to the NCA are often interested in the natural aspect of the area, and wildlife is the main motivation of many tourists. However, the concept of nature cannot simply be defined as plants and animals. The meaning of nature changes depending on who is observing the nature (Castree, 2014). The same can be said about landscape and landscape values. Different people will see different values in the landscape depending on their interests in the area (Jones, 2009).

In PAs there will also be several different stakeholders who all have their own interests, views and values. If these are incompatible, it can result in conflicts between the stakeholders (Jones, 2009). This could be the case in the NCA, where the Maasai people, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) and the tourists are all relevant stakeholders who may have different perceptions on what nature is, and what makes the landscape valuable.

In my bachelor thesis I wrote about how the Norwegian hydropower company *Taffjord Kraft*, and *Ålesund-Sunnmøre Turistforening* – a local sub-division of the Norwegian Trekking Association – perceived nature and landscape in the protected area *Taffjord-Reindalen landskapsvernområde* situated in Møre og Romsdal county. In this thesis, the values and

opinions of the local communities around the protected area were not considered. However, the importance of including local views and values in PAs was discussed. In my master thesis I wanted to continue studying the differences in nature views and landscape values between key stakeholder groups in PAs, and to include the local communities as a major stakeholder.

1.2 Research questions

My aim is to find the answers to three main research questions:

1. How do the tourists, the NCAA and the Maasai people perceive nature?
2. Which elements are seen as especially valuable in the landscape of the NCA?
3. Which views and values are most dominant in the conservation management of the area?

This thesis has been written as a part of the EU-funded AfricanBioServices project, which aims to improve our understanding of how climate change, population growth, and land-use change affect biodiversity and human well-being (AfricanBioServices, n.d.). This knowledge is used to find solutions to ensure a sustainable development (AfricanBioServices, n.d.).

1.3 Data

The data used in this thesis have been produced by using a qualitative approach, with interviewing and document analysis as the main methods of data production. Data from interviewing have been produced through interviews with tourists, Maasai people, NCAA officials, tour guides and lodge managers. Analysis of documents relevant to the NCAA, such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area General Management Plan 2006–2016 (Revised January 2010) (GMP), published by the Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and the NCAA, has also been analyzed. The interviews have been conducted during a fieldwork that took place over a three-week period in the NCA and in Seronera, Serengeti, during a six-week stay in Tanzania.

1.4 Structure of thesis

In this chapter the motivation and background of the thesis topic has been presented, as well as the research questions that will be answered through this thesis. In the second chapter the background of the study area will be presented. First, the geographical setting of the NCA will be explained, followed by the history of the establishment of the NCA including the history of the NCAA and the Maasai people in the area. The importance of the tourism industry in the area will also be presented. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework that has been

used in this thesis. First, a review of relevant literature relating to the research topic will be presented, followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework that has been used. This thesis uses a political ecology approach, and the significance of political ecology will be discussed in this chapter. The analysis of the data is based on theoretical concepts established by Noel Castree and Michael Jones. Thus, this chapter includes an overview of the categorization of nature views that has been established by Noel Castree, and the typology of landscape values developed by Michael Jones. The fourth chapter presents and discusses the methods that have been used in this thesis, and how the field work was executed. At the end of the chapter, the ethical considerations that have been made are discussed.

In the fifth chapter the data material concerning nature views is presented, analyzed and discussed using Noel Castree's categorization of nature views. The findings have been categorized into four main narratives, which have been called "nature as unbridled beauty", "nature as the Motherland", "nature as the circle of life" and "change of nature". The sixth chapter presents, analyzes and discusses the data concerning landscape values. The findings in this chapter have been categorized into five main landscape elements, which are "wildlife", "culture", "uniqueness", "natural resources" and "the Ngorongoro Crater". The different landscape values that can be applied to each element are discussed, as is the difference in values between the stakeholders, and the value conflicts that may arise as a result. Finally, in the seventh chapter, the findings and results of the discussions will be summarized, and suggestions of how the findings can be used in further research will be presented.

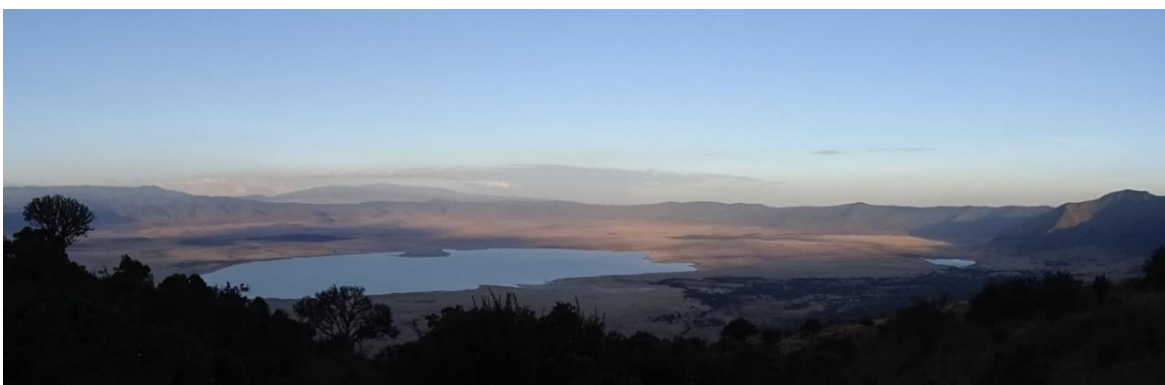


Figure 1: The Ngorongoro Crater and the salt lake Magadi, as seen from Serena Safari Lodge. (Author, 2018).

2 Background

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present an overview of the geography and history of the study area and the stakeholders that are relevant in this thesis. First, I will present the geography of the NCA, describing the physical features of the area. I will then go through the history of the NCA, and explain why the conservation area was established. I will then present the history and the purpose of the NCA. After this, I will present the Maasai people and their position in the NCA. Lastly, the characteristics of tourism in the NCA will be explained.

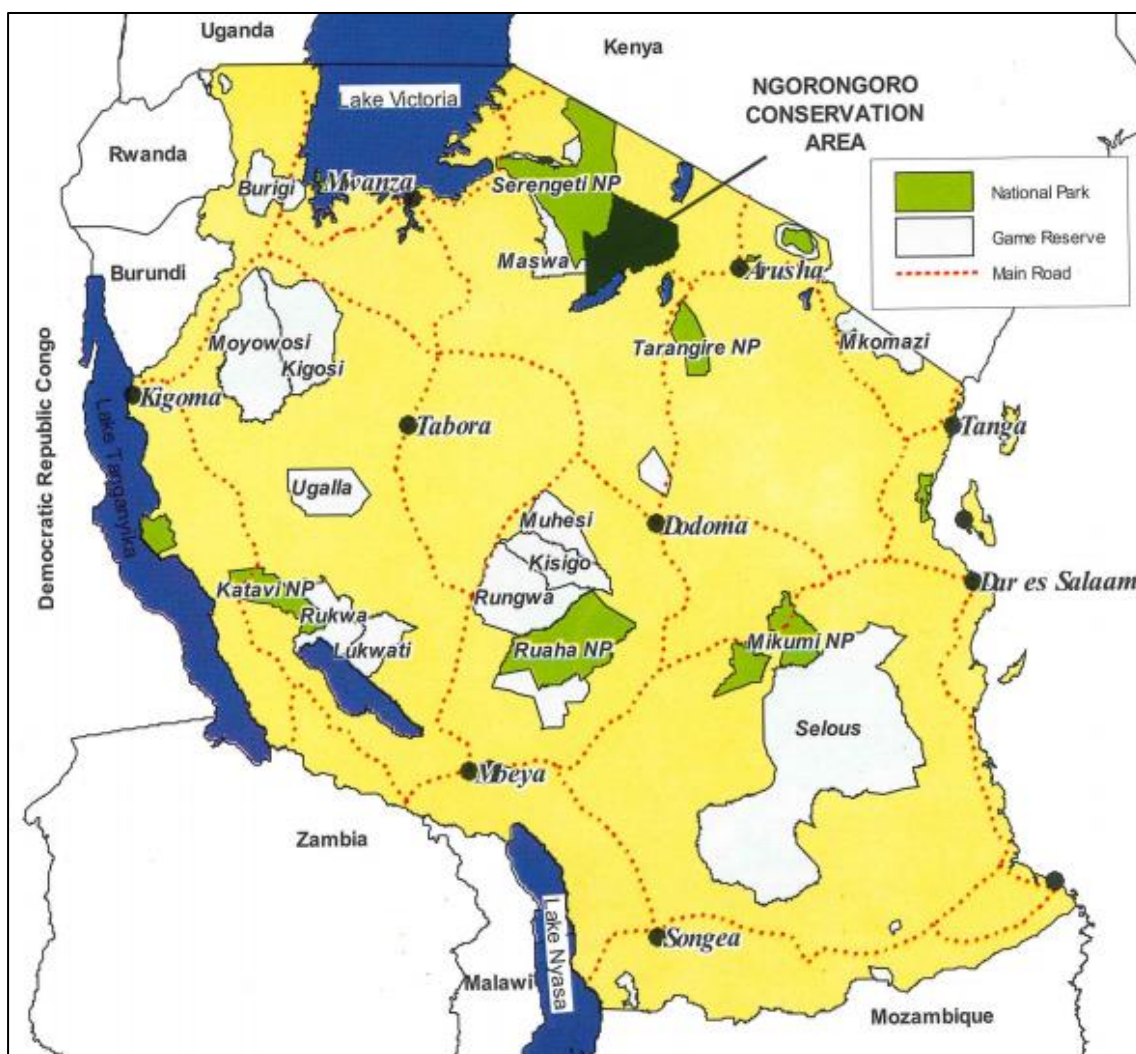


Figure 2: Location of the NCA, as well as the National Parks and Game Reserves within Tanzania. (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, p. 23)

2.2 Geography of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area is located in Northern Tanzania and covers an area of 8.292 km² of land (Charnley, 2005) (see Figure 2). The highest point in the area is at about

2,400 m above sea level (Bartzke et al., 2016). The NCA consists of a variety of landscape types, including savanna, highland plains and forests (World Heritage Convention, n.d.-a). It is also known for its many features, including the archaeological sites Oldupai and Laetoli, which have had a crucial role in the research of human evolution, the great migration of wildebeest, and the volcanic craters Olmoti, Empakaai and Ngorongoro Crater. The Ngorongoro Crater is the most prominent and most visited of these three, and is the largest inactive, unbroken *caldera* (see box 1) in the world that is not completely filled with water (Lawuo, Mbasu, & Mnyawi, 2014).

The NCA is a part of the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem, which is situated at the border of northern Tanzania and southern Kenya. In addition to the NCA, the ecosystem also includes the Serengeti National Park, Masawa Game reserve, Loliondo Game Controlled Area, Ikorongo Game Reserve and Grumeti Game Reserve in Tanzania and the Masai Mara National Reserve in Kenya (Bartzke et al., 2016, p. 6). The climate of the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem is arid/semi-arid (Bartzke et al., 2016, p. 7). The high elevation of the NCA results in a more temperate climate with cooler temperatures than the lower parts of the ecosystem, such as the Serengeti plains. Based on rainfall data averaged over the period 1963–2014, the wet season of the NCA stretches from October to May. The period from November to December is called *the short rains* with rainfall peaking in December. There is a subsequent drier period in January-February. *The long rains* last from January to May. The wet season has its highest peak in April. The dry season stretches from June to September (Bartzke et al., 2016, p. 43).

Box 1: Calderas

A caldera is a volcanic crater that is formed when the center of the volcano collapses. The collapse usually happens after a volcanic eruption if large amounts of magma is quickly expelled from the magma chamber. The foundation of the volcano becomes unstable, and it collapses into the empty magma chamber. The collapse of the Ngorongoro Crater is believed to have happened about 2.5 million years ago (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

2.3 History of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area

The history of conservation management in the Ngorongoro area began in the early 1900s. At this time, Tanzania (then Tanganyika) was under German rule, and the German colonial government had begun drafting a wildlife protection plan to conserve the wildlife of Ngorongoro (Århem, 1985, p. 19). After the German defeat in World War I, the British were given control over the area. The British shared the Germans' interests in wildlife protection, and in 1928 the British declared the Ngorongoro Crater as a Closed Reserve, meaning that hunting and agriculture was prohibited within the area (Århem, 1985, p. 31). The process of establishing SNP began in 1929, when parts of the Serengeti were made into a game reserve under a Game Preservation Ordinance by the British colonial government (Århem, 1985, p. 31). The purpose of the game reserve was mainly for sport hunting at the hands of the British colonial government (Shetler, 2007, p. 203). During the 1930s and -40s the views of the colonial government on the Serengeti landscape shifted to a conservationist view (Shetler, 2007, p. 205) and in 1940, The Serengeti was declared a national park under a new Game Ordinance (Århem, 1985, p. 32). However, the establishment of SNP was not put into effect until 1951 (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). At the time of establishment, SNP included the area that covers today's NCA (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). Maasai people living within the SNP at this time were reassured by the government that the establishment of the national park would not interfere with their rights to live and subsist in the area (Århem, 1985, p. 32). However, during the next years, several restrictions on land-use were put into effect. Hunting and cultivation became prohibited, and the residents could not move livestock and create settlements as they wished (Århem, 1985, p. 32).

In 1959 the NCA was established and separated from SNP through the Ngorongoro Conservation Ordinance (Århem, 1985, p. 33). The purpose of the NCA was to be a multiple land use area where the Maasai people could practice their traditional culture (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). The NCA was established to be a multiple land-use area, meant to combine nature conservation interests with the interests of the local residents, as well as tourists interests and archaeological interests (Århem, 1985, p. 33).

In 1975, the 1959 Conservation Ordinance was replaced by a new ordinance (Århem, 1985, p. 35). Up to this point, small-scale subsistence cultivation had been allowed, but as the new ordinance was put into effect, all forms of cultivation became prohibited in the NCA (Århem, 1985, p. 36). In 1991, the ban was temporarily lifted, and small-scale cultivation using hand-

tools was allowed (Boone, Galvin, Thornton, Swift, & Coughenour, 2006, p. 488). However, the ban was reinstated in 2009 (Galvin, Boone, McCabe, Magennis, & Beeton, 2015, p. 496).

In 1979, The NCA was named a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. The status was grounded in four main criteria: (a) the combination of a unique landscape and concentration of wildlife, (b) the features of the Ngorongoro Crater, (c) the multiple ecosystems as a result of the variations in climate, landforms and altitude, and (d) the wildlife (World Heritage Convention, n.d.-a). In 2010 a fifth criterion was added, and the NCA was recognized as a Cultural Heritage Site because of the human and cultural history of the area. This includes the archaeological evidence of human evolution in the Oldupai Gorge. As a result, the NCA today is recognized as a Mixed Heritage Site of both natural and cultural importance (World Heritage Convention, n.d.-b).

In 1981 the area of Ngorongoro-Serengeti was also given the status as a Biosphere Reserve by the UNESCO. The purpose of UNESCO's Biosphere Reserves is to protect the ecosystem of an area, and includes a buffer zone and transition area where human activity is permitted (UNESCO, n.d.).

2.4 The Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA)

When the NCA was established in 1959, the area was managed by an administration under the chairmanship of a colonial district officer, and by an Advisory Board from 1961 (Århem, 1985, p. 33). In 1963 the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit was established as the main conservation management (Århem, 1985, p. 35). In 1975, as the new Conservation Area Ordinance was implemented, the unit was renamed the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) (Århem, 1985, p. 35). NCAA's task was not only to preserve the natural resources in Ngorongoro, but to safeguard the interests of the Maasai people in the area, namely interests of livestock activities (Århem, 1985, p. 35).

According to the NCAA, its vision is for the NCA to be a:

[...] self-financed World Heritage Site that provides sustainable benefits for NCA indigenous residents, Tanzanians and guarantees protection of natural, cultural and archaeological resources for global community. (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-c).

The NCAA state that its mission is to “conserve the natural and historical resources, while providing optimal social services to residents, staff and visitors” and “to strive to maintain the

status of NCA as a World Heritage Site as well as an eighth wonder of the world” (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-c). The NCAA also strives to achieve its mission and vision while adhering to their core values. They list their core values as:

- Sustainability
- Valuing people; and
- Accountability to stakeholders.

(Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-c)



Figure 3: The NCAA logo. (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010).

The NCAA logo (see Figure 3) depicts two hands holding a circle containing its focus areas of conservation. The four focus areas are wildlife, people and livestock, the landscape, and the forests. The wildlife is represented by the black rhinoceros, the people and livestock are represented by cattle, the landscape is represented by the Ngorongoro Crater, and the forests are represented by trees (see Figure 4) (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-a).

These focus areas highlight what the NCAA find valuable in the landscape of the NCAA, which will be discussed later in this thesis.

2.5 The Maasai

The Maasai people are a semi-nomadic pastoral people whose main source of livelihood is livestock (Århem, 1985, p. 15). Although their main diet consists of milk, meat and blood from livestock, they have been reliant on a supplementary diet of agricultural produce during droughts and dry seasons, either through small-scale cultivation or trading with neighboring agriculturalists (Århem, 1985, p. 15). At the time of the establishment of the NCA, there were about 10.000 Maasai living in the area (Homewood & Rodgers, 2004, p. 211). Today, there are about 90.000 Maasai living within the NCA (Melubo & Lovelock, 2019, p. 200).

As mentioned above, the Maasai people had settlements in the Serengeti before the establishment of the national park. The Maasai people had populated the Serengeti and Ngorongoro areas since the 17th century (Århem, 1985, p. 28). When SNP was established, the people living within the newly established park were forced to move. The people were relocated to the NCA as a compensation for being evicted from the Serengeti, being promised full rights to use the land for subsistence (Århem, 1985, p. 33). However, their right to use the area has become limited, as cultivation has been banned and human activity in the Ngorongoro Crater, which the Maasai pastoralist previously used as grazing and water grounds for their livestock, has been prohibited (McCabe, 2002, p. 71).

Most of the Maasai people in the NCA live in the Maasai villages situated within the area. However, some of the Maasai in the NCA live in *cultural bomas* (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). The cultural bomas are traditional Maasai villages, mainly established to serve tourists who are interested in experiencing Maasai traditions, which can be found in and around the NCA. The bomas can be visited by tourists, and the Maasai sell cultural handicraft, perform traditional songs and dance, and show the tourists traditional customs and activities, including slaughtering goats and making fire with primitive tools.

While the Maasai people were represented in the initial establishment of the NCA, representation of Maasai interests was non-existent in the conservation management between 1961 and 1981 (Århem, 1985, p. 33). Today, the Maasai people in the NCA are represented by the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Council (NPC). The NPC was established in 1994 to include the Maasai communities' in the management of the area (Galvin et al., 2015, p. 488).

According to the NCAA, the vision of the NPC is:

To be a pastoral community living within NCA whose rights to sustainable conservation of the natural resources and the environment are recognized and protected by concerned authorities and given opportunity to conserve and use those resources and benefits accruing from tourism to fight poverty, ignorance and diseases. (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-b).

And the mission of the NPC is:

To initiate and implement development activities that take into consideration different land uses by involving other stakeholders to remove poverty, ignorance and diseases among families living within Ngorongoro Conservation Area. (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-b).

The Maasai people in the NCA are represented through the NPC, and the NPC negotiates with the NCAA on their behalf. However, (Galvin et al., 2015, p. 488) argue that the NPC has had a limited voice in negotiations with the NCAA.

2.6 Tourism in the NCA

Most of the tourists travel to the NCA as a part of a larger tour, and often visit other PAs in the 'northern safari circuit' (Charnley, 2005, p. 78), which includes SNP, Tarangire National Park and Lake Manyara National Park in addition to the NCA. Tourists who travel to the NCA mainly do so to experience the wildlife in the Ngorongoro Crater (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). The area provides possibilities for both nature tourism and ecotourism (Charnley, 2005). Nature tourism can be defined as any tourism where the tourists seek out experiences with nature, typically 'unspoiled' nature (Charnley, 2005, p. 75). While there is no universal definition of ecotourism, it can be described as tourism to natural areas that aims to be sustainable and responsible, and that contributes to the conservation and local communities of the area (Charnley, 2005, p. 75). In addition to nature, culture and cultural experiences is important to ecotourists (Hinch, 1998, p. 120). Ecotourists are typically concerned with the impact they have on the natural areas they travel to, and aim to leave a minimal imprint on the environment. They also typically aim to respect the local cultures, and contribute to the local economy of the area (Charnley, 2005, p. 75).

2.7 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the study area of this thesis, both geographically and historically, as well as some of the most important stakeholders in the NCA: the NCAA, the Maasai people and the tourists. The establishment of the NCA was originally meant to

provide the Maasai people of the Serengeti plains with an area where they were free to practice their own culture and traditions. Since the establishment of the conservation area, the user rights of the Maasai people has been restricted, for instance through the ban of cultivation, ban of livestock grazing in the Ngorongoro Crater and restrictions on building modern structures.

The NCAA was established in 1975 as the main conservation management authority of the NCA following a renewal of the conservation ordinance. Their main task has been to preserve the natural resources of the area, as well as safeguarding the interests of the local peoples of the area, which includes the Maasai. Today, the NCAA strive to maintain the UNESCO status of the NCA. They have four focus areas of conservation: the wildlife, livestock and people, the forest and the landscape, which are represented in their logo.

Tourists who travel to the NCA come mainly for the wildlife, and most of the tourists travel to the NCA as a part of a larger tour to other PAs, including SNP. The tourists can be described as nature tourists, as they are interested in the nature of the NCA, and can potentially be viewed as ecotourists.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The relationship between nature and society has been a common topic in a variety of research, as has the studies on tourists' views and perceptions on nature and landscape. In the following chapter, some of the previous research done on these topics will be presented. This thesis uses a political ecology approach, and the meaning of political ecology and its use in studies on development and conservation will be discussed. The thesis also uses several theoretical concepts of nature views, landscape values and collaboration, which will be presented at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Literature review

An important topic in this thesis relates to the relationship between conservation and development. Adams and Hutton (2007) write about the political ecology in conservation, focusing mainly on the relationship between indigenous peoples and PAs. Cronon (1996) discusses the meanings attributed to the concept of wilderness, and the impact this has had on conservation policies through history. Adams (2013) writes about the history of conservation management. Adams also raises the question of whether wildlife should be conserved in-situ (i.e. in their 'natural habitat', for instance through national parks and conservation areas) or ex-situ (e.g. in zoos).

While the history of conservation and the relationship between local residents and conservation forms the foundation for this thesis, studies that specifically relate to the Maasai in Ngorongoro have also been assessed. The history and current situation of the Maasai people living in NCA has been studied extensively since their eviction from SNP. Århem (1985) wrote about the history of management policies from the creation of the NCA until the 1980s. While Gardner (2016) does not mainly concern the Maasai of the NCA, his work also reflect on the history of the Maasai in Tanzania and the challenges they face today.

In Galvin et al. (2015) the history of the Maasai people in the NCA is explored, including their use of cultivation practices. Boone et al. (2006) has also explored the meaning of cultivation to the Maasai, focusing on the effects of cultivation on the biodiversity of the area, finding that cultivation had little negative impact on the biodiversity in the NCA. Similarly, Homewood and Rodgers (1984) have studied the effects of pastoralism on the NCA, and argued that the Maasai pastoralists do not pose a significant degradation threat to the environment.

Studies on nature views of different stakeholders in PAs has been done in a variety of studies within human geography. The categorization of nature views in this thesis is based on Noel Castree's categorization (e.g. Castree (2001, 2014)). Different nature views have also been explored by Hinch (1998), who has written about the divergent views on nature between tourists and local inhabitants in ecotourism destinations. Packer, Ballantyne, and Hughes (2014) described differences in nature views between tourists from China and Australia.

People's perception of what is valuable in a landscape is another topic that has been covered in a variety of human geography literature. In addition to nature views, different landscape values are the main foundation of the theoretical analysis in this thesis. Michael Jones' typology of landscape values (Jones, 2009) is used as this foundation in the analysis. Other researchers, including Ducarme, Luque, and Courchamp (2013) and Martín-López, Montes, and Benayas (2007), have shown what tourists perceive as valuable during their tours.

The relationship between different stakeholders in PAs is a common theme in collaboration studies. The positions of stakeholders within conservation management, local communities and the tourism industry have been studied by Jamal and Getz (1995) and Jamal and Stronza (2009). Another aspect of collaboration theory is the power relations between stakeholders, which has been studied by Saito and Ruhanen (2017).

3.3 Political ecology

Political ecology is a field of studies that is used to explain environmental or ecological conditions as results of political and social processes (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 149). The state of nature, as well as how nature is understood is one such issue that is influenced by these processes (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 149). Instead of explaining the state and meaning of nature through natural sciences alone, political ecology emphasizes that political and economic factors are just as important (Nunan, 2015, p. 31). According to Gardner (2016, p. 155), researchers with a political ecology approach assume that the environment is as much social and political as it is an ecological issue. The values and views we have on nature and landscape are not simply a product of the environment. Instead, the values and views we impose on nature and landscape make up the environment itself (Gardner, 2016, p. 155). Safari tourism is one example of an area where values and meanings are being embedded in nature, and the views of locals and those of tourists may be different (Gardner, 2016, p. 155).

There is not a single way to define and use political ecology, but there are some common characteristics. Nunan (2015) names four such important characteristics. The first is that

political ecology is not associated with a single academic discipline, but is influenced by ideas and concepts from a wide range of disciplines, including geography, sociology, anthropology and political science (Nunan, 2015, p. 32). Because of this, political ecology is used differently depending on the aim of the study in question. The second is that political ecology is not affiliated with one theory, and that it does not require a specific methodology. Therefore, there is not one way of ‘doing’ political ecology (Nunan, 2015, p. 32). However, studies using a political ecology approach often deal with issues of power relations, poverty and the environment, and may therefore have ties with political geographies, such as Marxist geographies (Nunan, 2015, p. 33). The third is that political ecology is largely concerned with scale, and that the environmental challenges on a local scale can affect, and be affected by local, national and international conditions (Nunan, 2015, p. 32). The fourth characteristic is that knowledge within political ecology is not viewed as being universal or objective, which is a common conception in positivist studies. It is instead viewed as being influenced by social and political contexts and processes (Nunan, 2015, p. 32). Power structures have an influence on what is ‘accepted’ as knowledge. The values and views that are perceived as being ‘accepted knowledge’ depend on the power structures that exist between stakeholders.

How people perceive nature and landscape is highly subjective, and there is not one ‘true’ knowledge that can describe what nature is, and what makes a landscape valuable. Our understanding of nature is a social process (Castree, 2001). However, there will often exist a dominant narrative within environmental issues, which is generally accepted as being true (Nunan, 2015, p. 33). Researchers within political ecology often try to challenge the dominant narratives and offer alternative explanations, emphasizing the importance of knowledges of different stakeholders. By doing this, the researcher can form the complete context of an issue, and thus make an evaluation of whether or not the dominant narrative is an accurate representation of the actual situation.

3.4 Nature views

In political ecology, the concept of nature needs to be understood as the result of a political process (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 149). Castree (2014) and Castree (2001) also argue that our perceptions of nature are largely political. According to Castree (2001), nature must be studied as a socialized phenomenon rather than a static or fixed one. He argues that nature can be approached in other ways, however. The first that is mentioned is the *people and environment approach*, which aims to unify human and physical geographies in the study of nature-society relations (Castree, 2001, p. 2). Nature can also be approached with an

ecocentric perspective. Ecocentrism represents the belief that while humans can be detached from nature, it is also possible to ‘live in harmony’ with nature, and become one with nature (Castree, 2001, p. 5). This is opposed to the anthropocentric approach, which assumes that the environment exists for the benefit of humans (Packer et al., 2014, p. 106).

Both the people and environment approach and the ecocentric approach fail to take the social aspects of nature into account (Castree, 2001). Castree (2001) argue that a social approach is more suitable, as this approach takes the social process of nature into consideration. The social approach to nature-society relations is used to describe different nature views. Castree (2001) identify three main perceptions on nature, these being *universal nature*, an *intrinsic nature* and an *external nature*. However, in more recent literature an additional perception of nature referred to as *super-ordinate nature* has been introduced (e.g. Castree (2014)).

3.4.1 External nature

The idea of an external nature is built on the belief that humans are separate from nature. Nature is something that is different from the human world – it is an *external* entity (Castree, 2014). Human activity disrupts the natural world, causing it to no longer be natural. The idea that nature is something pristine and physically separate from the human world has its roots in the European Enlightenment period (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 154). This is also characterized by a largely binary view of nature, where there is a clear distinction between rurality/urbanity, wilderness/civilization and nature/culture (Castree, 2001, p. 6). Within this view, humans are seen as a destructive force in nature, and nature needs to be protected from us. One way of protecting nature has been to separate human activity and natural areas, for instance through the establishment of protected areas such as national parks (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 155). The fortress conservation model, which many of the early national parks were based on, epitomizes the external view on nature, as it suggests that natural areas need to be kept separate and protected from humans (Hutton, Adams, & Murombedzi, 2005, p. 342). Creating separate zones for humans and nature is another way of protecting natural areas (Castree, 2001, p. 6).

The idea of wilderness is another representation of the external nature view. In the dichotomous nature vs culture and rural vs urban mindset, wilderness has been viewed as the opposite of society (Castree, 2014). With this mindset, wilderness represents nature that remains untouched by the expansion of human society. According to Cronon (1996), “[...] wilderness presents itself as the best antidote to our human selves, a refuge we must somehow recover if we hope to save the planet.” (Cronon, 1996, p. 69). However, Cronon argues that

wilderness is a human creation, and that it exists solely because of humans (Cronon, 1996, p. 69).

3.4.2 Intrinsic nature

An intrinsic nature view entails the view that certain properties, abilities or qualities are inherent in an entity (Castree, 2001, p. 7). We can refer to something as being ‘human nature’ or we can view something as not being natural for humans. It is not natural for humans to fly, for instance. These are inherent characteristics of an entity, and it is their nature to have these characteristics (Castree, 2014, p. 10), and it cannot be changed or altered as it is imprinted in the entity it is implemented in (Castree, 2001, p. 7).

Intrinsic nature views have been used to justify racial biases (Castree, 2001, p. 7).

Environmental determinist scientists of the 1800s and early 1900s argued that certain characteristics of different ethnicities were inherent in their nature. The geographer Ellen Semple believed Northern Europeans to be more efficient and energetic than peoples from the African continent as a direct result of the physical environment they lived in (Semple, 1911). The idea that people of different cultures are naturally different suggests that the intrinsic nature of peoples can vary (Castree, 2014, p. 17).

3.4.3 Universal nature

The idea of a universal nature entails viewing nature as the entire physical world, including humans as well as non-humans (Castree, 2014). Humans are biological entities in the same way as any other organisms are, and we have a position within the natural history of the world (Castree, 2014, p. 10). Thus, all life, humans included, are a part of nature.

3.4.4 Super-ordinate nature

Nature can also be viewed as a force or a power that in some way controls living entities. This could be as physical laws like gravity, or biological phenomena such as DNA-sequences (Castree, 2014, p. 10). All living things have to abide these forces, as they make up the ‘rules’ for our physical world.

Table 1: The categories of nature. adapted from Castree (2014).

Nature view	Explanation
External nature	Nature is something outside of human activity
Intrinsic nature	The nature of something is an inherit quality that it possesses
Universal nature	Everything, including humans, is a part of nature
Super-ordinate nature	External forces and physical laws decide the nature of living things

3.5 Landscape values

3.5.1 What is landscape?

Most people will probably have some idea of what a landscape is. But trying to define exactly what the meaning of the concept is, is a challenge. The concept of landscape can have different meanings depending on context. The word itself is derived from Germanic languages, and probably referred to a legal definition of lands (Jones, 1991, p. 232). In academic research, landscape is often defined as “the sum of our visible surroundings” (Jones, 1991, p. 233), including all natural and human elements. However, this definition leaves out the non-visible aspects of the landscape, which include the observer’s “subjectively experienced aspects” of the landscape (Jones, 1991, p. 234). In geographical research, landscape can be described as both the physical and visible elements and the subjective elements of our surroundings (Jones, 1991, p. 234).

In his article “Analysing landscape values expressed in planning conflicts over change in the landscape” Jones (2009) presents a typology which categorize different types of landscape values. This typology shows how perceptions on what is valuable in a landscape vary, and how values can be affected by the different interests of stakeholders. He identified four main categories. These are *economic values*, *non-economic amenity values*, *security values* and *negative values*. The first three categories have several sub-categories, which will be explained below.

3.5.2 Economic values

According to Jones (2009), economic values are the values in a landscape which will have some sort of economic benefit to the stakeholders in an area. Jones (2009) separates the economic values into three sub-categories:

Subsistence value

The subsistence value of a landscape refers to the ability someone has to survive off of the resources present in said landscape. If someone is able to survive by using the resources available in the landscape, it will have a high subsistence value. This includes access to water, to food such as fruit and berries and to medicinal plants, among other things (Jones, 2009, pp. 195–196).

Market value

The market value of a landscape refers to the possibility of selling aspects of said landscape. To make use of the market value, one can either sell physical products that are made in the

landscape, such as produce, or sell the experience of being in the landscape, which is often the case with tourism. A fertile landscape results in a higher market value for farmers and loggers, and if a landscape is attractive to tourists, it will have a higher market value within the tourism industry (Jones, 2009, p. 196).

Long-term economic value

This value is also known as utilitarian ecological value, and refers to the ability of a landscape to continue to fulfill our needs for future generations, meaning that it is possible to ensure a sustainable development. By sacrificing short-term profit from resources in the landscape, and consider the long-term benefits of sustainable development, the landscape will not only be of economic value to people today, but also for generations to come (Jones, 2009, p. 196).

3.5.3 Non-economic amenity values

Jones (2009) defines the non-economic amenity values as features in the landscape that are appreciated for their potential to increase people's positive experience of the landscape in a non-economic way. These values are separated into four sub-categories:

Ecological value

The ecological values of a landscape may also be referred to as intrinsic ecological value. This value refers to the inherent value of nature in a landscape, which exists independently of humans. The biodiversity in a landscape may be viewed as such an ecological value. However, Jones (2009, p. 196) reflects on the argument that nothing can be a truly intrinsic value, as values always have to be perceived by someone to exist. Something is only valuable because someone believes it is valuable. Jones (2009, p. 196) describes intrinsic ecological value as an opposite of utilitarian ecological value. While the utilitarian ecological value represents what humans can make use of, the intrinsic ecological value represents a value that is present independently of human wants and needs.

Scientific and educational values

The ability of a landscape to be used for educational and research purposes falls within the scientific and educational value (Jones, 2009, p. 196). A landscape might be used to produce knowledge by studying its biology, geology or history. Our ability to learn from the landscape is the foundation of this value.

Aesthetic and recreational values

The aesthetic and recreational values of a landscape can be described as the values of experiences in said landscape. If someone perceives a landscape as beautiful, the aesthetic

value increases (Jones, 2009, p. 196). Hiking, skiing and other activities that we might find pleasure in increases the recreational value (Jones, 2009, p. 196). Tourism is often reliant on the aesthetic value of a landscape, since tourists often are interested in experiencing beautiful scenery (Jones, 2009, p. 195).

Orientational and identity values

Orientational and identity values refer to features in the landscape which may be used as landmarks to guide us through the landscape, and may be significant to certain people's sense of place in the landscape. Some people may feel a stronger connection to a certain place, and features in the landscape may strengthen their sense of belonging to the place (Jones, 2009, p. 197).

3.5.4 Security values

Jones (2009) describes security values as the ability of a landscape to provide protection and to make people within it feel safe from dangers.

Defense values

Defense values in a landscape are features that can be used to defend an area. The defense may consist of physical features in the landscape (Jones, 2009, p. 197). A river can serve as a moat that protects an area from intruders, and a hill or a mountain provides vantage points that make it easier to surveil the area. The defense may also be designed by humans, for instance in cities where surveillance cameras can be used to stop crime and terrorism (Jones, 2009, p. 197).

Demarcation value

Demarcation value refers to features in a landscape that creates borders. Many borders, both between countries, counties, cities, etc., are marked by natural features such as rivers, coastlines, mountains and hills (Jones, 2009, p. 197). Human-made borders, such as fencing or walls, checkpoints and watchtowers also provide demarcation, and may also have a defensive function to keep intruders from entering an area (Jones, 2009, p. 197).

3.5.5 Negative values

Some elements in the landscape may be of negative value. The landscapes are perceived as negative when these elements are preventing other elements from being valuable (Jones, 2009, p. 197). One way of turning negative landscapes into positive ones is to remove the negative elements, such as improving the living conditions in slums (Jones, 2009, p. 197).

Table 2: The typology of landscape values, adapted from Jones (2009).

Values	Sub-values
Economic values	Subsistence value
	Market value
	Long-term ecological value (utilitarian ecological value)
Non-economic amenity values	Ecological value (intrinsic ecological value)
	Scientific and educational values
	Aesthetic and recreational values
	Identity and orientational values
Security values	Defense value
	Demarcation value
Negative values	

3.6 Value conflicts

In his typology, Jones (2009) has shown that there is a wide range of values that can be found in a landscape. When there are different stakeholders within an area, different values might be attributed to the landscape. If the stakeholders have values which are not compatible, value conflicts may arise. For instance, economic values may cause conflicts if stakeholders wish to use different resources for profit. In addition, the market values and aesthetic values of tourism may decrease if a stakeholder wishes to increase values from agriculture and farming (Jones, 2009, p. 195). If the interests of the NCAA and the Maasai require the use of different landscape values, it may result in value conflicts. Decisions on which human activities are and are not allowed within the area can be a cause of conflict if the two stakeholders disagree with what should be allowed.

Jones (2009) names two main ways of dealing with value conflicts. The first approach is the harmony model, which assumes that it is possible to find a middle ground between differing landscape values, ensuring that all stakeholders’ interests are addressed. The aim of this model is to find an outcome with a suitable balance of all relevant values. This should result in an outcome that is beneficial for all stakeholders. The problem with this model is that the success of the outcomes depends on all stakeholders to adhere to the agreements (Jones, 2009, p. 198). Another issue with this model is that it assumes that all values can be compared in a quantifiable manner. However, different values are valued on different scales. While some economic values have a quantifiable value of profit, non-economic values cannot be measured in the same way agreements (Jones, 2009, p. 198). The second approach is the conflict model.

In contrast to the harmony model, the conflict model focuses on the incapability stakeholders. Following this model, value conflicts may result in the mobilization of action groups, for instance through protests (Jones, 2009, p. 199).

3.6.1 Collaboration and stakeholders

Stakeholders within one domain may have different values and views. Whether the outcome is negotiated through the harmony model or through the conflict model, a collaboration effort is necessary to ensure that all stakeholder's interests are considered. Collaboration is the process whereby different stakeholders coming together to address issues and jointly come up with solutions to decide the future of a domain (Jamal & Getz, 1995, p. 187). To ensure a successful collaboration process is that the stakeholders achieve salience (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). To accomplish this, there needs to be an adequate power balance between the stakeholders, the stakeholders must be perceived as legitimate, and all stakeholders need to perceive urgency in the issue that needs to be solved through collaboration (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). If a stakeholder has significant power and legitimacy, but does not perceive an issue as urgent, they might not take part in the collaboration process, which weakens the collaboration (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173).

The collaboration process should allow disadvantaged stakeholders to receive fair treatment (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 174). If value conflicts emerge, established groups have more power than un-established groups. Established groups have more legitimacy in the eyes of other stakeholders, and often have more resources to form action groups (Jones, 2009, p. 199). Thus, vulnerable and poor groups of people may have a weaker position in the management of a PA, but in a collaboration process they should have joint power of decision (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). While the goal of collaboration is to give all stakeholder power in the decision-making processes, and for all relevant stakeholders to have a continuous dialogue, some stakeholders may be more pronounced in the collaboration process than others (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 190). This is largely due to power differences between stakeholders. As mentioned earlier, the power balance between stakeholders need to be 'adequate'. There will inevitably be power differences between stakeholders, and the goal should be to ensure that all stakeholders have enough power to participate in the decision-making (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173).

Saito and Ruhanen (2017) identify four types of power in stakeholder collaboration. The first is that of *coercive power*, which refers to a specific stakeholder's perceived ability to coerce other stakeholders into compliance (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). This type of power is

heavily grounded in fear. If one stakeholder believes that another stakeholder is able and willing to use force against them, the fear of this force being used might cause them to comply, even if it contradicts their own interests. The second is *induced power*, which refers to the ability of a stakeholder to offer material or economic benefits to persuade other stakeholders into compliance (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). It differs from coercive power, as stakeholders are using positive reinforcement instead of threatening behavior to change the mind of other stakeholders. The third is *legitimate power*, which refers to the perceived authority of a stakeholder to make decisions (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). Governmental bodies and organizations with governmental influence may be perceived as having legitimate power, as they represent ‘the law’. In conservation management, stakeholders with legitimate power have the power to decide what is and what isn’t allowed through official management policies, regulations and laws. Other stakeholders have to obey these rules, as they are perceived as being ‘correct’. The fourth is *competent power*, which refers to the perceived competence of a stakeholder in collaboration issues (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). Stakeholders that have relevant knowledge or expertise within a certain field are perceived as having a greater authority to make decisions. Stakeholders with competent power may include those associated with universities and research institutes, but this type of power can be attributed to any stakeholder that is perceived as having relevant knowledge or experience.

3.7 Summary

This thesis uses a political ecology approach, as the aim of the thesis analyze differences in nature views and landscape values between stakeholders, and which of these views and values are considered to be “true knowledge”, or the dominant narrative. The analysis of nature views is based on Noel Castree’s categorization of nature views, which includes four main categories: universal nature, external nature, intrinsic nature and super-ordinate nature. The analysis of landscape values is based on Michael Jones’ typology of landscape values, which include four main categories: economic values, non-economic amenity values, security values and negative values. Each of these categories (except negative values) have several sub-categories. The power dynamics between stakeholders is analyzed through concepts from collaboration theory.

4 Method

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the methods used in the thesis. In the following I will present the research design of this thesis, explaining why I have chosen a qualitative approach. Next, I will briefly describe how the fieldwork was conducted. I will then discuss how interviewing and document analysis have been used as methods. Lastly, I will discuss the ethical considerations that have been made during this thesis, including an evaluation of my own position in the research.

4.2 Research design

This thesis uses a qualitative approach to uncover which views and values the different stakeholders in the NCAA have concerning nature and landscape. Quantitative methods, for instance through the use of questionnaires, have been a common approach in previous research that examines the values of tourists in protected areas (e.g. (Martín-López et al., 2007); Packer et al. (2014)). However, I believe that the social aspect of nature views and landscape values demands a qualitative approach. I wanted to let the informants explain in their own words what they believed nature was, and what they believed to be valuable in the landscape, and why. This would not be adequately reflected in a questionnaire. While quantitative methods such as questionnaires are useful in uncovering patterns in phenomena and common characteristics of informants, they do not take into account the personal experiences of the informants, or the reasoning behind their answers (Stafford & Bradshaw, 2016, p. 120). The aim of this thesis has been to uncover the personal experiences and opinions of each informant, and to analyze the reasoning behind their opinions.

To capture these opinions, I decided that interviewing was the most suitable method. Interviews are well-suited for providing an insight in the individual experiences of the informant (Dunn, 2016, p. 150). Interviewing is also useful as it makes the informants actively think about how they want to formulate their answers (Dunn, 2016, p. 150).

While most of the data have been produced through interviewing, I also decided to use document analysis to get a more accurate representation of the official views and values of the NCAA.

4.3 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted over a three-week period during a stay in Tanzania between September 3rd and October 10th, 2018 in Arusha, Karatu, Ngorongoro, and Seronera in Tanzania. Three other master students from NTNU, Halvor Føyen, Therese Antonsen and Emily Rogers, also carried out fieldwork for their own master theses during the same period. Before and during our fieldwork, we cooperated with the Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI), who facilitated our fieldwork and guided us through the process of obtaining the necessary research permits. They were also our supervisors during the fieldwork. TAWIRI provided us with a car and a driver to take us from Arusha to Ngorongoro and Seronera. This driver also assisted us by acting as a Swahili translator when necessary.

Before leaving for Tanzania, we applied for research permits. When we left, we had sent all the necessary documents, but we had not received our final permits. Our plan when arriving in Arusha on September 3rd was to start our fieldwork within the first or second week. However, our permits were not ready before September 20th. This left us with three weeks in total to conduct the fieldwork. Since we had one car, we had to distribute the fieldwork in a way that allowed all four students to produce enough data for their thesis. We travelled between Karatu and the NCA from September 21st to September 26th. During this period, Therese Antonsen and I interviewed Maasai informants in the Maasai boma Seneto, and Halvor Føyen distributed questionnaires to tourists while I interviewed them in different lodges. On the 26th we travelled to Seronera, Serengeti where Halvor Føyen continued to distribute questionnaires, while I interviewed tour guides at the Serengeti Visitors Center. Emily Rogers conducted her fieldwork in the Mara region. While she was away, we did not have access to the TAWIRI car, and we relied on the local contacts we made at the visitor center to travel to and from the fieldwork. We left Seronera on October 3rd, and finished our work in Ngorongoro, interviewing tourist informants at the lodges and Maasai informants in the Maasai boma Irkeepusi. As in the previous week, we lived in Karatu and travelled to the NCA each morning to do interviews. On October 8th we drove back to Arusha, and left Tanzania on October 10th.

4.4 Interviews

The data from the fieldwork have been generated through interviews with local Maasai people, tourists, representatives from NCAA, tour guides as well as lodge managers. In total 47 interviews were conducted. Of these, 19 were with 10 male and 9 female Maasai informants. Fifteen tourists were interviewed in 7 separate interviews. 8 were men and 7 were

women. Two male NCAA officials were also interviewed. In addition to this, I conducted brief interviews with 7 tour guides, all of whom were men, as well as 2 tour guides in training, also men. Two lodge managers, one man and one woman, were also briefly interviewed.

In all interviews I used a semi-structured interview guide that consisted of a list of set questions within different topics that should be covered during the interviews (see appendices 1–4). Semi-structured interviews using fully prepared questions allow the researchers to follow a similar structure in every interview, while still being flexible (Dunn, 2016, p. 158). Some modifications had to be done on the way. Particularly during interviews with Maasai informants, some of the questions were excluded. A section of the interview guide referred to the relationship between the Maasai and the NCAA. It soon became clear that some Maasai informants were reluctant to share their opinions about the NCAA beyond that they were pleased with the cooperation between them. All Maasai informants were given the opportunity to voice their opinion on the relationship, but if the informant seemed reluctant to give any more information, I chose not to push the questions further.

The questions in all of the interview guides were written to help the informants reflect on their answers. Simple ‘yes’ and ‘no’ questions were avoided whenever possible, being only used if an answer needed clarification. Since interviewing is used to access information about the informant’s views and opinions, leaving the questions open allows the informant to use their own words in their answer (Dunn, 2016, p. 151).

Different strategies were used to access the informants. Access to certain types of informants relies on the permission of a ‘gatekeeper’ as well as the consent of the informants themselves (Dunn, 2016, p. 160). To conduct interviews with the Maasai, we were first introduced to the village elders by a member of the NPC in Seneto and by a Maa interpreter from the NCAA in Irkeepusi. To gain permission to conduct interviews at the lodges, our group talked to the lodge manager on beforehand, asking if we could approach the tourists and talk to them as they sat in common areas of the lodges. If the lodge manager gave us permission, the interviews could proceed.

4.4.1 Maasai informants

The interviews with the Maasai were conducted in Seneto and Irkeepusi, two cultural bomas located on opposite sides of the Ngorongoro Crater (see Figure 5). There were school buildings outside of both bomas, and all interviews except for one were conducted in these school buildings. The first interview in Seneto was carried out outside on a grassy hill near the boma. All interviews were carried out together with Therese Antonsen, one of the students in our group, as she was also doing fieldwork in the bomas concerning the livelihood of the Maasai people in NCA.

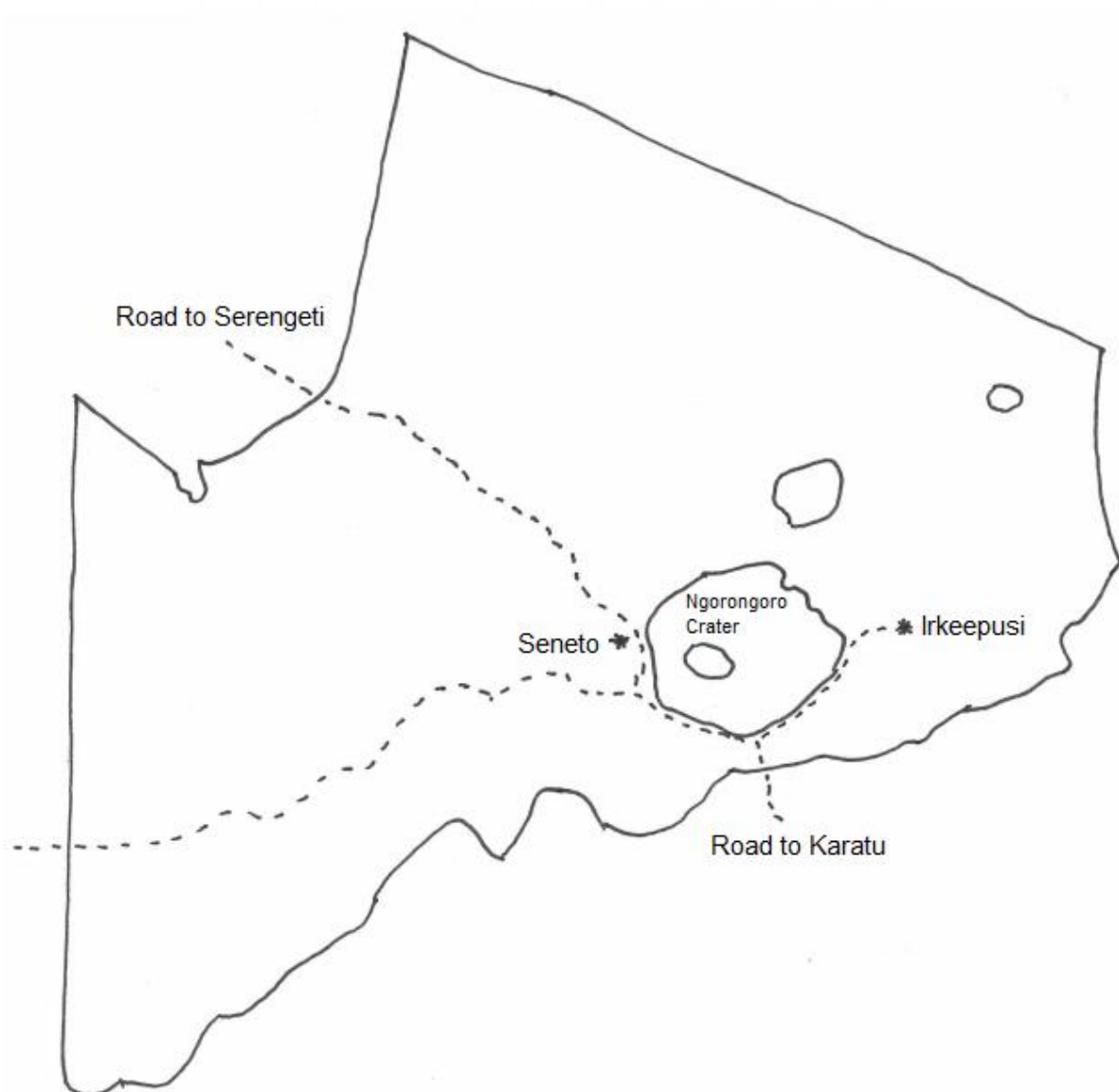


Figure 4: Locations of Seneto and Irkeepusi cultural bomas within the NCA. (Author, 2019)

In both bomas, we wanted the same number of men and women for our interviews. On the last day of fieldwork, our interviews were interrupted by a group of tourists that arrived in the boma, and the Maasai became busy with the tourists, leading us to decide to leave before we could finish the last interview. Thus, only 9 women were interviewed, as opposed to the 10 men.

The interviews in Seneto were conducted between September 23rd and 25th and the interviews in Irkeepusi between October 5th and 7th. In Seneto we were introduced by a member of the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Council (NPC) who also acted as our Maa interpreter on the first day.

Maa is the language spoken by the Maasai people, and to conduct interviews with the Maasai we were dependent on a Maa interpreter. The NPC member acted as our interpreter on October 23rd. On October 24th the NCAA appointed a Maa interpreter to us. This interpreter did not pay adequate attention to our questions, making it necessary to repeat most of our questions. The interpreted answers were also short, and in some instances the interpreter answered on behalf of the informants. On October 25th he was not available, and we were appointed a new interpreter. She was more thorough when interpreting answers, and she made notes as the informants replied to our questions. When we went to the Irkeepusi to finish our fieldwork, the previous interpreter was not available, and we were appointed a fourth Maa interpreter. He also appeared thorough with his interpretations.

As mentioned above, access to the Maasai informants was first obtained through a member of the NPC, who we had contacted before entering the NCA. We met him again in the NCA, and drove with him to the Seneto cultural boma. He introduced us to the Maasai people in this boma, explaining what we were there to research and what we wanted to talk to them about. The interviews that were conducted with him as an interpreter resulted in some more critical opinions on the conservation policies. However, the interpreter would comment some of the questions himself, making it difficult to differentiate between the informants' views and his own views.

His introduction may have helped us gain more trust from the Maasai informants, as he was a respected member of the community, and he reassured the informants that they could talk to us. Even as we used interpreters from the NCAA, this introduction was probably helpful in gaining some trust with the Maasai people. In Irkeepusi, our interpreter from the NCAA introduced us to the village leaders. While this gave us access to interview the Maasai people in this boma, there was some suspicion towards us. During one of the interviews in this boma,



Figure 5: The landscape surrounding the Maasai boma Seneto. (Author, 2018)

an informant became concerned that we had been sent by the government, and that she did not understand why we were asking them questions. While our interpreter assured her that we were not there on the behalf of the government, it became apparent that some of the informants were reluctant to share their opinions with us. However, there were some individuals who shared their opinions on development of the area. For instance, several informants talked passionately about the importance of education. Yet, when we used interpreters from the NCAA, the informants were reluctant to give any information that could be interpreted as negative attitudes towards the NCAA. However, this was also the case in Seneto. In other words, the Maasai informants' reluctance to share their opinions was not solely the result of how we were introduced as researchers in the bomas.

Using an interpreter is necessary when the researcher does not know the language of the informant. However, in addition to the issue of gaining the informants trust, using an interpreter also makes it possible for the questions to be misinterpreted. The meaning of the question is interpreted according to his or her own understanding of the question. When the informant answers the question, the same process happens as the interpreter answers on the behalf of the informant. The questions may be misinterpreted, as can the answers. The way the interview questions were interpreted may also have influenced how the Maasai informants

understood the concept of nature. I do not know which Maa words are used similarly to the English concept of “nature”, and therefore I do not know which words were used by the interpreter to ask the questions to the Maasai informants. In the instances where I felt that the interpreter had misinterpreted my question, I tried to reformulate the question and made notes on which questions were prone to being misinterpreted.

Another issue that may have contributed to limited information from the informants is my own position as a foreigner and a researcher in the interviews. The fieldwork in the Maasai bomas only lasted a few days. Gaining the trust of the informants is essential when trying to access their opinions and knowledge. Reaching this level of trust in three days will be challenging, and I am not confident that the Maasai informants felt safe enough with me to give their full opinion on every issue that was brought up during the interviews.

Thus, the issue of getting answers from the Maasai informants is the result of different factors, including limited time to build trust with the informants, using interpreters from the NCAA and a reluctance to share potentially negative opinions about the conservation management.

While most of the interviews with Maasai informants were conducted with just one informant present, on the first two days, several informants were brought in at the same time. This resulted some challenges in the execution of each interview, as the other informants could hear everything that was being said in the interviews. This may have affected the answers given by the informants that were in this situation, as they may have felt pressured to answer the questions ‘correctly’ according to the other people in the room. The answers they gave may also have been influenced by the answers given by previous informants. In some cases, the informants that were not being interviewed would also chat amongst themselves, which caused additional background noise in both the actual interviews and in the sound recordings. On the third day we asked for the informants to be brought in one by one. This made it easier to focus on each informant with minimal distractions.

4.4.2 Tourist informants

The interviews with tourists were conducted in Serena Safari Lodge, Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge and Rhino Lodge (see Figure 7). The two former lodges had a direct view over the crater (see Figure 8), while the last lodge was situated on the other side of the road, away from the crater, with a view of a forest landscape (see Figure 9). The interviews were sound

recorded, and the data have been produced through the transcriptions of these interviews, as well as notes that were written during and after the interviews.

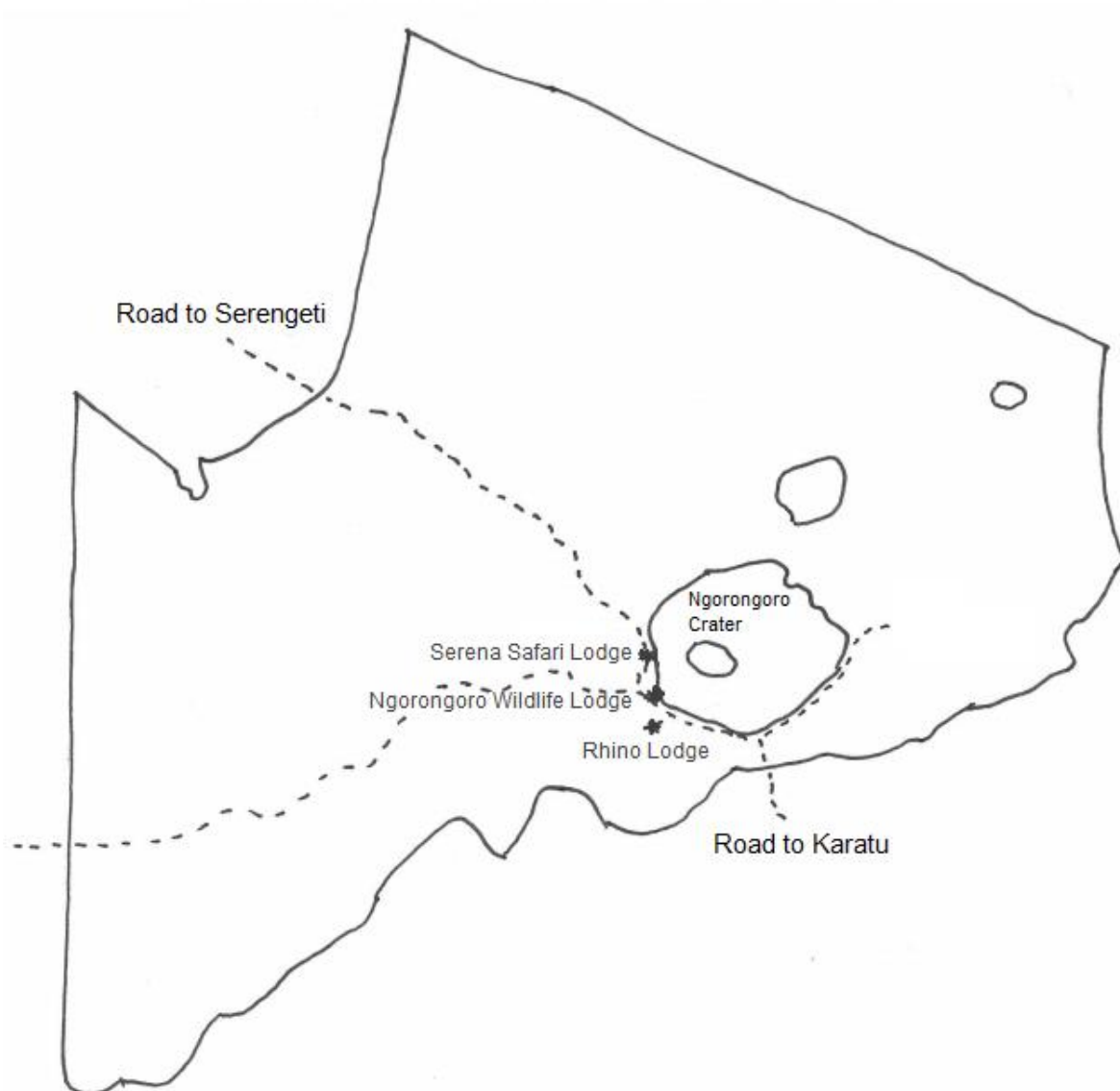


Figure 6: Location of the lodges where interviews were conducted. (Author, 2019)

Initially, my plan was to interview tourists one-on-one, meaning that I only approached tourists that were alone. This was to avoid the tourists from influencing each other in the interviews, and to get the opinions of the individual tourists as opposed to a group of tourists. This proved to be a challenge, as most of the tourists were sitting in small groups, either with a partner or with a group of friends. I began interviewing groups of tourists as well, discovering that this allowed the tourists to discuss some of the issues among themselves, resulting in a better understanding of their train of thought when answering the questions.



Figure 7: Forest landscape as seen from Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018)



Figure 8: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge. (Author, 2018)

While it was not intentional, 14 of the 15 tourist informants came from English-speaking countries. 5 tourists came from the USA, 4 tourists came from the UK and 5 tourists came from Canada. The remaining tourist came from Germany. Additionally, two of the Canadian tourists came from Quebec, and one of them were French-speaking, although she was fluent in English. The German tourist was also fluent in English, and there were no linguistic issues during the interviews.

Because of this, the tourists in this study mainly represent tourists from the English-speaking world. As will be shown later on in the thesis, the opinions of the tourists have some similarities, but they also vary between each individual. Although it would be interesting to see the results of a more diverse selection of informants, there is not one common narrative, even among tourists from the same country.

4.4.3 NCAA informants

The two NCAA informants provided information about official NCAA policies and about the cooperation between the NCAA and the Maasai people. These informants were interviewed as representatives from the NCAA. Thus, the data generated from these interviews are interpreted as representing the views and values of the NCAA as an organization, and not those of the individual informants. However, it is difficult to separate the subjectivity of each informant from the organization they represent. The informants have their own individual opinions and experiences, and these may affect their answers in the interview. For instance, the first informant believed population growth was a challenge in the area, both concerning the growth of local communities and an increase in tourism. This is one of the official challenges that are recognized by the NCAA (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010), but it may also be interpreted as the subjective opinion of the informant. Both informants held the opinion that tourism was important to the NCA, and that overcrowding was a challenge.

The first interview was conducted in an informal setting at a café in the village of Karatu outside of the NCA. The café setting meant that there was a lot of background noise, which made it difficult to follow on the conversation. The second interview took place in an office at the NCAA headquarters. Here, it was easier to focus on the questions and answers. Both interviews were recorded through note-taking. Both interviews were conducted with the other students present, and everyone participated in asking the informants questions.

4.4.4 Tour guides and lodge managers

The tour guides were interviewed to gain a better understanding on what tour companies believe that the tourists expect to experience in the NCA, and how they cater to these expectations. All the interviews took place at the Serengeti Visitor's Center in Seronera. In addition to the tour guides, two tour guides in training were interviewed in the same manner as the tour guides. While all the tour guides were interviewed in Seronera, all of them had experience with guiding tourists in the NCA.

The interviews with tour guides at the Serengeti Visitor's Centre were short, lasting from a couple of minutes to 15 minutes. The guides were approached as they had lunch at the visitor center between the game drives with tourists. Only guides that were sitting alone were approached, to avoid intruding on conversations between the guides and tourists. These interviews were recorded through notes that were taken during and right after the interviews.

One of the interviews with a lodge manager also took place at this center. This interview was conducted in the same way as the interviews with tour guides. The other interview with a lodge manager was conducted on the lodge they managed.

The questions in these interviews were focused on the expectations of tourists, and what they believed the tourist found attractive in the NCA. The nature views and landscape values of these informants have not been in focus. Instead, the data produced from these interviews reflect which views and values the informants believe that the tourists have.

4.5 Document analysis

In addition to the interviews, the analysis in this study relies on official documents from the NCAA and the Tanzanian government. The main document that is used for the document analysis is the GMP, published by the MNRT and the NCAA. This document shows the official values expressed by the NCAA and Tanzanian government. In addition to the GMP, texts from NCAA's official web pages have been reviewed and analyzed.

These data have been used to complement the data produced from the interviews. Using different sources of data production, the credibility of the research increases (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). It has allowed me to cross-check the information given by the NCAA informants, and given me a more accurate context of the opinions of the NCAA.

While document analyses provide more exact data, meaning that statements can be accurately repeated, it does not necessarily make the data more accurate (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). The

Tanzanian government and the NCAA have their own interests in the NCA, and cannot be viewed as a purely objective text. The data taken from the GMP must be analyzed as critically as the statements from the interviews.

4.6 Data analysis

When the interviews were finished, the sound recordings were transcribed. The notes from each interview were also transcribed to be easier to read and analyze. After the transcription of all interviews, the statements from each interview were coded. Qualitative analyses usually rely on two forms of codes: descriptive and analytic codes. The descriptive codes reflect the surface meanings of the informant's answers, for instance by extracting quotes or phrases directly from the interview (Cope, 2016, p. 378). In this case, they are referred to as in-vivo codes (Cope, 2016, p. 378). Analytic codes are used to categorize the statements into themes (Cope, 2016, p. 379).

The statements from the interviews were marked with an in-vivo code that was taken directly from the statements, and an analytic code which that reflected what the informants found valuable, or which nature views they subscribed to. For instance, statements which reflected that the informant found the wildlife to be valuable were coded as "wildlife (as value)", and statements that reflected the Maasai culture to be valuable were coded as "Maasai culture (as value)". After all the statements were given an analytic code, I went through the codes again and began grouping codes with similar themes under new codes. This process was repeated until four codes under nature views and five codes under landscape values remained. The remaining codes make up the nature narratives and landscape elements that will be presented in the analysis part of this thesis.

As the interview data serve as the main source of data, the codes used in this analysis were also the basis for the document analysis. The purpose of using this form of corroborative coding is to combine the different forms of data (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). The documents have been analyzed by reading through the material, and identifying statements that corresponded with themes that were established through the analysis of the interviews.

4.7 Ethical concerns

All research that involves human interactions, for instance through interviewing, requires an understanding of how to talk to people to get the answers you need without being intrusive, or make them feel unsafe or uncomfortable. The researcher needs to consider the ethical implications of their research, as well as how their own subjectivity affects the outcome of the

research. In the following subsection, I will go through the ethical considerations I have made before, during and after the fieldwork, and reflect on the impact my own position as a researcher has had on the thesis.

4.7.1 Informed consent, anonymity and harm

When doing qualitative research using methods such as interviewing, there are three main ethical concerns to consider. These are informed consent, anonymity and avoiding harm (Dowling, 2016, p. 31), which are all relevant to this thesis.

In research that involves people, it is important to receive informed consent from the informants (Dowling, 2016, p. 32). Informed consent demands more than simply asking the informants for their consent to being interviewed. It involves informing the informants about the research questions and aim of the study, as well as what is expected from them as an informant (Dowling, 2016). The tourists received a short briefing of the research questions and the aim of the study (see appendices 6, 7, 8 and 9). They were asked to give their consent to being interviewed, then asked for their consent to the interview being recorded. The NCAA officials and tour guides were also informed and asked for their consent. The Maasai informants were informed in the same manner as the tourists, but because of the language barrier, the interpreter had to convey the information. They were asked if they were comfortable with being asked questions, and if they were comfortable with being recorded.

Since qualitative research is focused on the opinions, feelings and experiences of individual people, the information that is uncovered during such research is often private (Dowling, 2016, p. 31). Thus, the data need to be handled carefully to ensure that the privacy of the informants is kept safe, both during the fieldwork and during the analysis of the data. As mentioned above, the interviews conducted on the first two days in the first boma were carried out with several of the other informants present. This compromised the anonymity of the informants, and as discussed earlier, it may have affected how the informants answered each question. The fact that most of the interpreters were NCAA employees may also have affected the information given by the informants. The presence of an interpreter is a challenge in preserving the anonymity of the informants. While the Maasai informants cannot be identified by the data presented in this thesis, the interpreters could still potentially know the identity of the Maasai informants.

The only question in the interview guide for the tourists that can be considered to be identifying information is the question about where the informant comes from. In most cases,

the informant only stated the country they were from. The informants from USA stated their state. The real names of the informants have not been kept with the data, and the data material only refers to pseudonyms given to each informant. Names have been chosen alphabetically, with the first informant being given a name starting with A, the second a name starting with B, etc. This is the case with the informants in all groups.

The identity people holding official seats in organizations can be difficult to keep anonymous (Dowling, 2016, p. 32). Since the informants communicated with us as representatives from the NCAA, and their views reflected those of the NCAA, their anonymity is not as critical as it would have been if they expressed more private opinions and experiences. However, their identity is not overtly revealed in this thesis, as some of their personal opinions may be present in their answers.

A researcher needs to consider their own ability to cause harm to the informants that they are interacting with, and the possibility of exposing themselves to harmful situations (Dowling 2016, 32). During the fieldwork, no physically dangerous situations arose. The most physical danger we encountered was that of the wildlife, and precautions were made to avoid contact with wild animals. However, as the Maasai informants were being interviewed, the possibility of causing psycho-social harm was relevant. Psycho-social harm is a possibility in all social sciences, and refers to the damage talking about painful and difficult issues can cause to informants (Dowling, 2016). Again, the issue of having NCAA employees present must be addressed. If the informants had opinions about the NCAA that could be perceived as being negative, the informant would have been put in a difficult situation when asked about their relationship with the NCAA, as they fear the consequences of speaking against the current conservation policies. With the NCAA interpreters present, the Maasai informants may have felt vulnerable. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I did not push the informants to answer questions about the conservation management if they seemed reluctant.

4.7.2 Subjectivity and intersubjectivity

Objectivity in geographic research requires that the researcher distances themselves from the informants and the topic of the research (Dowling, 2016, p. 39). While some researchers strive to achieve this form of objectivity in their research, this is not the case in all qualitative research (Dowling, 2016, p. 39). Dowling (2016) argues that it is difficult for a researcher to distance themselves completely from informants, as qualitative methods such as interviewing is an inherently social process. She further argues that it is difficult for a researcher to separate their own subjectivity from the research object, as the interpretation of data depends on the

perspective of the researcher. Cultural background is one instance of a deciding factor of the subjectivity of the researcher (Crang & Cook, 2007, pp. 11–12). Socio-economic status and gender are other factors (Dowling, 2016, pp. 39–40). Being aware of and analyzing my own position in the research process is the key to understanding how my subjectivity have affected the fieldwork and the results (Mansvelt & Berg, 2016, pp. 396–397). My personal interests have affected the choice of research topic, as landscape values and nature views are subjects that I care about. My position as a foreigner, without much time to create trust with the Maasai informants, may have restricted the answers I have received. These examples show how my own subjectivity could affect the outcome of this thesis. However, by remaining critical of my own subjectivity, I can more easily identify the impact this subjectivity has had on the outcome of the thesis.

In addition to subjectivity, the interaction between the researcher and the informants also make intersubjectivity relevant. If subjectivity is the way the researcher perceives the world according to their own opinions and experiences, intersubjectivity is the meanings and perceptions of the world that are constructed through the social interaction between the researcher and the informants (Dowling, 2016, p. 39). Because qualitative research often relies on interactions between the researcher and the informants, the research has a social dimension which makes objectivity difficult to achieve (Dowling, 2016, p. 39). In the case of the interviews with Maasai informants, the subjectivity of the interpreter has also been relevant, as their subjective interpretation of the questions and answers may have influenced the data.

In qualitative research it is important to reflect on of subjectivity and intersubjectivity affects the research. One way of dealing with these issues is through critical reflexivity, which entails a constant review of the subjectivity and intersubjectivity and its impact on the research (Dowling, 2016, p. 34). During the fieldwork I kept a field diary which documented the thoughts and observations I made during each day. By documenting my own thought process during the fieldwork from start to finish, it became easier to have a critical stance on my own subjectivity.

Another important issue to consider during qualitative research is the influence of power relations between the researcher and the informants. The power relation can either be reciprocal, where the researcher and the informant are comparable in their social position, or asymmetrical, where the researcher or the informant have different social positions (Dowling,

2016, p. 36). During the interviews with tourists the power position was not significantly different, as both the informants and I had similar cultural and social backgrounds.

Some of the tourist informants (i.e. Gerard and Helene) expressed that they felt lucky to be able to afford the trip to the NCA. It is likely that at least some of the tourists are financially well off, as they mentioned their economic advantage. However, they were aware of this privilege, and the differences in financial status between me as a researcher and the tourists did not have a significant impact on our interactions. When interviewing the Maasai informants, the power relation became more skewed. The Maasai informant who was concerned that we had been sent by the government, and her reluctance to answer questions as a result, implies that the government is in a position of power over the Maasai, and that this power affected my interaction with the informants.

4.8 Summary

Qualitative methods have been used in this thesis, as the aim of the thesis is to capture the personal opinions and experiences the informants have with nature and landscape.

Interviewing has been used as the main method. Document analysis of the NCA GMP and the webpages of the NCAA have been used as a supplement to represent the official views of the NCAA. Forty-seven tourists, Maasai, NCAA officials, tour guides and lodge managers have been interviewed during three weeks of fieldwork in the NCA and Seronera, Serengeti. Four different Maa interpreters were used when interviewing Maasai people.

All informants have given their consent to participate in the interviews. The informants are kept anonymous. I have also considered the possibility of causing harm, especially in the interviews with Maasai informants. I have also considered the impact of my own subjectivity in this thesis, and the impact of power relations between me and the informants.

5 Nature views in the NCA

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the range of nature views that have been uncovered through the data material. I have categorized the different views into four narratives. These are: “nature as unbridled beauty”, “nature as the circle of life”, “nature as the Motherland” and “change of nature”. These themes were established through the coding process described in the previous chapter. After presenting the findings, I will discuss the nature views that have been identified within the narratives using Noel Castree’s categorization of nature views, and address the narrative which appears to be dominant.

5.2 Nature as unbridled beauty

Several of the tourist informants perceived nature as something that is “pristine” and “untouched” in some way. When the tourist informant Arnold was asked to describe what nature was to him, he answered:

I mean, obviously seeing the animals and the plants in their own natural state, not being bothered by outsiders, or a human footprint I guess, so... Pretty much the unbridled beauty of it, you know? Nothing introduced or changed for what it actually is. (Arnold, Tourist)

To him, the absence of human intervention was the hallmark of the natural world. When asked what she believed nature was, Helene – another tourist informant – replied:

It’s so wild. You don’t feel that human has put too much imprint in it. So, it’s like part of the nature that has been probably like that since almost forever, and the animals seem to live, like, comfortably, and at peace... (Helene, tourist)

The tourist informant Fiona also expressed that she regarded the absence of humans to be nature. When asked to give an example of what was not nature, she replied “cities.” When asked about what humans’ role in nature was, she replied that it was “too destructive”. She continued by saying: “I mean even just driving around, the destruction that we do, running over bushes, and air pollution from all the vehicles.” The latter statement indicates that Fiona is aware of her own environmental impact when going on game drives, even if she continues to engage in this behavior.

Fiona was also asked why she thought the NCA should be conserved, to which she replied: “Humans don’t really need it. Let the animals have it.” These statements show a perceived

distinction between humans and animals, and that the NCA would be better off without a human presence. Arnold, Fiona and Helene expressed that they believe that humans and human activity are a threat to nature, and that the presence of humans is destructive to nature. Fiona did point out that she believed people today are putting in more effort to be environmentally friendly.

The tourist informant Nina also described nature as wild, and when asked about the nature of the NCA, she replied: “It appears undisturbed. There’s not too many places left that you can truly feel like you’re one of the first people there... even knowing logically that you’re not.”

While all the statements above represent a view of nature as something separate from nature, only the last statement addresses the fact that the nature of the NCA is not completely undisturbed by nature. The NCA is undeniably influenced by human activity, people live there today, and archaeological evidence shows that humans have been present in the area since prehistoric times (Charnley, 2005, p. 76).

The view that humans are destructive to nature was also present in the interviews with the NCAA informants. Overpopulation and overgrazing were perceived as a challenge by both NCAA officials, Andrew and Brian. The GMP also lists forest destruction and overgrazing as a challenge (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, pp. 35–36). The conflict between development and conservation is also mentioned in the Management Plan, and it lists “the growing number of non-traditional structures in the NCA” (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, p. 44) as a concern (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, p. 44). Tourism related issues includes an increased number of vehicles in the Ngorongoro Crater (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2010, p. 44).

The NCAA informant Brian implied that he did not believe that humans and nature are completely separate in the NCA. He stated that since the NCA is a multiple land use area, both development and conservation must be enforced. He explained that local communities need to be involved in the process for this co-existence to be possible. In his view, human activity is potentially destructive. However, his statements also imply that it is people’s responsibility to avoid this destruction and to protect the NCA.

Arnold also stated that even if humans often are a destructive force in nature, they should act as ‘caretakers’ of nature. He believed that the role of humans in nature was to “to conserve and try to rein each other in.” By viewing humans as ‘caretakers’ of nature, the tourists are also implying that humans have the ability to preserve nature as well as destroy it.

The tourist informant Helene also believed that humans' role in nature was that of a caretaker. As a reply to the question of what humans' role in nature was, she said: "To preserve it. To make sure that we, like life, can be shared with animals and, because we are on their land, so at some point it's, 'how can we both cope together'." She believed that humans should preserve nature, but she also emphasized the importance of humans being able to live together with animals.

To separate human activity from the wildlife, the NCAA manages the NCA through different zones. For instance, some zones are intended as a grazing location for Maasai livestock while others are intended as habitats for the wild animals. The crater floor is currently a zone strictly intended for wildlife, and the Maasai people are not allowed to take their cows, sheep or goats into the area to graze. The zoning policies were directly brought up by five of the Maasai informants, Ines, Martin, Olivia, Quentin and Roger. When asked about her relationship with nature, Ines said that it was not good because of the conservation. She stated:

For now, the relationship between us and the nature, it's kind of not that much preferable. Because for the past years we used to have some places like the crater. We used to have other places which are now prohibited due to some conservation factors. So, it's kind of not favorable for now. (Ines, Maasai)

However, the latter four Maasai informants expressed a positive attitude towards the policies, saying that they had the necessary space available to do what they wanted. Martin did remark the irony of Maasai people not being allowed to use the "animal zones", while the wild animals were free to wander into the "human zones" as they pleased. The general positive opinions of the Maasai interviewees on the zoning policies came as a surprise, as previous research have indicated that the Maasai people are not happy with the policies (e.g. (Århem, 1985)). It is possible that the Maasai informants were not comfortable with sharing their full opinions on the zoning policies in the NCA.

The tourists were asked about their attitudes towards seeing Maasai and livestock in the landscape of the NCA. The tourist informant Isaak commented that while he was positive towards seeing livestock and wildlife live together, he saw a clear distinction between these two groups. He viewed the cows, sheep and goats as being 'imported animals' that were not native to the area.

Tourist informant Arnold stated that he had enjoyed seeing animals in zoos, but preferred seeing them in their ‘natural habitat’ in the NCA. This idea was brought up again later, when he was asked how he perceived the overall management of the area. He said:

The trails were spread out, which I think is good, coz it gives the animals a plenty of room – it makes it a little harder to see, but... you know, it gives the actual wildlife there the space that they do need. (Arnold, tourist)

To contrast this, when asked about what human’s role in nature was, Isaak answered: “Our place here... we are only visitors. We try not to act with... we are like in the zoo, and just looking from the cars.” While Arnold prefers the NCA experience over the zoo experience, Isaak points out the similarity between watching animals in the zoo and watching them from a car in their natural habitat.

5.3 Nature as the circle of life

Three tourist informants, Fiona, Isaak and Arnold, associated nature with different ideas that can be described as ‘the circle of life’. Fiona said that to her, nature could be described as: “Like, the hierarchy of animal survival, and how everything serves a purpose, how the plants feed the animals, and the animals feed the plants back. It’s how everything lives off each other.”

Similarly, Isaak described nature as a “dramatical experience”, stating that he was “very impressed by how animals live together and fight against each other together”. The nature of the NCA was also described as “symbiotic” by Arnold. The way animals and plants are able to not only live together, but also be dependent on each other forms an ecosystem that is unique to the NCA. The tourists that hold these views are implying that this ecosystem, which can be described as ‘the circle of life’ is what they think of when they think of nature

Isaak described how he experienced this hierarchy of animal survival himself:

We saw a hyäne [hyena] today. Hyäne who caught an ill antelope. And [crunching noise] eat it. Yeah, very brutal, but fascinating, and very dramatic. And we saw a family of lions, four lions, trying to catch a buffalo, a büffel, but the büffel was better, and he won. And that’s [exhales in awe] a fantastic experience. (Isaak, tourist)

These animals all have their place in the hierarchy, where some are predators and some are prey. Both predator and prey can “win” in “the circle of life”, and to Isaak, this represented nature.

None of the tourists included humans when describing nature as a circle of life, unless they were specifically asked how they thought the Maasai people and other people living in the NCA fit into this ecosystem. When given follow-up questions about their opinions on humans such as the Maasai people living within this ecosystem, the tourists generally emphasized the importance of co-existence between animals and humans. As mentioned above, Fiona believed that the NCA should belong to the animals, and that humans did not “need” it. However, when asked about how she felt about the Maasai people living in the NCA, she stated that “it’s part of their culture, so I guess it’s okay.” She viewed the Maasai culture as being more compatible with the natural environment, which made it ‘okay’ for them to live in the area. She continued by stating that the Maasai probably are more reliant on the natural environment than other people are, meaning people like herself.

After Arnold’s explanation about what he believed nature was, he was also asked about his thoughts on people living in the NCA, and if he thought that had an impact on the unbridled nature. He answered that:

They’ve been here before a lot of other things, and you know they have a great respect for animals and the area itself. So... I mean, without a doubt, it’s just all having respect for the nature around you. I think, obviously you can co-exist. (Arnold, tourist)

In their interview, the tourist informants Gerard and Helene talked about the differences between the Maasai and people like themselves, explaining that they have different ways of life. Helene explained the differences as such:

[...] their conception of living with nature is way different than ours. I like to have my shower, I like to have some soap, and some... there’s these little things that I wouldn’t be able to live without for a long time. But they do. Just to eat, I wouldn’t eat that... so it’s just part of... and it’s part of nature. (Helene, tourist)

Gerard agreed with her statements, but added that: “maybe they look at us and they say: ‘we wouldn’t like to be like that’”. They did not state that one way of life was better than the other, but that their modern way of life would not be compatible with the ‘natural’ environment of the NCA. When Helene states that “it’s part of nature” she expresses that the Maasai nature is somehow different from her own. However, she continued by saying: “It’s probably we all were like many, many years ago. From Canada, we have like the first inhabitants, the Indians that we call them. And they were living like that, and some still live a bit similar.” Helene and Gerard pointed out the differences between their way and the Maasai

way of life. However, Helene also believed that all people had lived a simple way of life at some point in history, and that some peoples – such as the Maasai – have a way of life more similar to this original way of life.

5.4 Nature as the Motherland

The Maasai informants Ines and Klara used the word “Motherland” to describe the NCA. As mentioned above, Ines felt that she did not have a good relationship with nature at the moment, as the conservation of the area resulted in restrictions for the Maasai communities. Still, she loved the place because it was her “Motherland”. Klara stated that she found everything within the NCA to be valuable, because it was her “Motherland”. Their statements suggest that the Maasai have a sense of belonging to the environment, or the Motherland, as they called it.

Three other Maasai informants, Olivia, Roger and Sarah, stated that the nature provided them with everything they needed to live, including shade that allows grass to grow into pastures, fresh air, medicine, food, etc. To these informants, nature seems to be a provider of resources that are necessary to survive. Roger explained further:

Our nature is very perfect for us, because the Maasai nature, we believe in nature, and then we get to pray to the nature, and everything we get from the nature. That's why we're getting grasses, to keep our livestock happy. We're getting medicine, we're getting so much things. (Roger, Maasai)

Through this statement, Roger describes nature as a provider of everything they need. He continued by explaining the importance of the forest:

So, we believe in nature, and we like nature so much. For us we do not cut the tree. We do no cutting because we see like our god. Okay? So just, uh, making those trees to become very big, you understand? Because we believe in that. (Roger, Maasai)

According to Roger, nature, and trees in particular, is sacred to the Maasai people. Bernard stated that the Maasai used to believe in nature, but that they now were mostly Christian. Olivia also mentioned the importance of the forest. She stated that the Maasai did not cut down trees, as they knew it would contribute to climate change.

5.5 Change of nature

Five Maasai informants, Martin, Nathan, Olivia, Phyllis and Quentin, brought up climate change as either a challenge – as it could result in less rainfall, leading to less grass for

livestock – or as a reason for not cutting down the forests. When asked about which challenges he faced living in the NCA, Martin said: “There is climate change. That is the world. Because for the previous years we have very heavy rain and strong fog. So, it is not like previous years. So, it’s like climatical change everywhere.”

Nathan brought up climate change when asked about what nature meant to him. He said: “Nature is changing from previous time. Previous time, we get more rain, it’s very cold. Now, because of climatical change, it’s changing. It’s not similar to previous time.” Quentin also named climate change as the main challenge of the area. He had the following stance: “There is the challenge of climatical changes, of climatical condition, it may be a challenge, a natural problem, not artificial, natural problem.” Quentin’s statement suggests that he does not believe that humans can do anything to combat the force of nature that is climate change. In contrast, Olivia and Pyllis, who mentioned forest protection as being beneficial in the combat against climate change, believed that climate change could be combatted. When Olivia was asked what her relationship with nature was, she answered: “We have a good relation with nature, forest, we don’t want to cut the trees because we know about the climatical change.” Phyllis also mentioned climate change in relation to forests, stating that the NCA has “enough forest to control the climatical change.” All the Maasai informants who mentioned climate change expressed the view that nature is changing as a result of climate change.

During the interviews, climate change was not the only form of change that was brought up by the Maasai informants. For instance, Nathan said that “the nature of human settlements is changing”. By this, he meant that development – and education in particular – caused people to prefer other ways of life to the traditional life in Maasai villages. He stated that because of education, people no longer wished to live “like this”, referring to the boma we were sitting by, and that they would rather live in modern houses. At the end of the interview, he was asked if he thought anything could be changed in the NCA. He replied that: “Ngorongoro place as Ngorongoro place, no change. But people are changing because previously they are not developing, but now you have the government, NGO’s, private, so development is here.” He was then asked if he thought the changes were positive, to which he replied: “It is positive, because previously you don’t have anything, now you live as other people.”

The Maasai informant Alfred stated that while he felt that they had enough resources to live a good life in the NCA, if a person has never been outside the area, they don’t know any better way life, and they have no way of comparing it to the life they live within the conservation area. This view reflects the changes Roger brought up several times during his interview.

Roger believed that the changes in their community were improving their lives, and allowed the people to ‘see’ what a good life is. He stated: “Our life really is good. Because for now, everyone become to know what is good. Previous we don’t know how to see. So, for now when we study, everyone is looking.”

Roger also brought up human change by stating that development was ‘ending their nature’, and ‘ending their culture’. When talking about how the Maasai were changing he said:

Previously, in our culture we don’t like anybody coming in [to] us. We just be [alone]. We have our soldiers. We have everything. We don’t like anybody coming in [to] us. But for now, we come ended, because we just see the people coming [to] us, they have to exchange us. Our culture. They have to exchange. (Roger, Maasai)

Roger’s statement indicates that in previous times, the Maasai were not as accepting towards outsiders as they are today. At this time, they would rather be left alone to practice their own traditions and culture. He believed that interacting with tourists and other Westerners makes the exchange of culture possible, resulting in the Maasai becoming more similar to Western people. His examples included wearing pants and shirts instead of traditional Maasai clothing, speaking English and wishing to live in the city instead of the bomas.

He stressed the importance of education and to be able to ‘speak’ with other people. He was asked about how he felt the changes impacted his community, to which he replied: “[...] we’re getting so many people studying, so many people know the world, so many people who know how to speak with other people. So now we see the importance.” He himself spoke English, and an interpreter was not needed in his interview. At the end of his interview, Roger explained what he thought was the most important change in the NCA: “For now, education is very big. Very big, important for the Maasai. Because we see that we are low for the days come going. So now we like to come up [improve their lives].”

The Maasai are known to practice polygamy, with one man being able to have several wives (Hayashi, 2017), and Alfred stated that polygamy was the nature of Maasai. Contrary to this, Roger only had one wife, and had no desire for more wives. He believed that other Maasai had similar opinions, and that this was a part of their change of nature. He stated: “For now we don’t like more than 20 wife, like my father. We don’t like.”

While the examples above showed the Maasai informants to have a generally positive attitude towards development and change, the Maasai informant Olivia had a negative opinion

towards some aspects of the cultural exchange. She experienced that younger people were not as eager to wear traditional Maasai clothing such as the shuka anymore, instead choosing to wear Western clothes such as t-shirts and jeans. While the Maasai informants had both positive and negative opinions on changes, all of them agreed that they were developing, and that changes in their culture, or “nature”, were the result.

As mentioned previously, some of the tourist informants spoke of the Maasai culture as being more compatible with the environment of the NCA as they considered their culture to be closer to nature. They perceived Western culture and habits as incompatible, which could mean that if the Maasai people are developing and changing their culture, tourists would perceive them as being “less natural”. The Maasai on the other hand, did not express any belief that they were drifting away from nature, but rather that their nature was changing. These opposing views on nature, and on human’s position in nature, points to an important contrast between the Maasai and the tourists. The tourists’ perception that the Maasai are one with nature depends on the Maasai continuing to live a traditional way of life. When local residents in tourist destinations abandon their traditional practices in favor of more modern technology, it could harm the tourists’ perception of them being ‘natural’ (Hinch, 1998, p. 122).

5.6 Discussion

5.6.1 The stakeholders’ nature views

All stakeholder groups had a variety of nature views within each narrative (see Table 3). Generally, the data that have been presented under the narrative of “nature as unbridled beauty” show a variety of nature views. The opinions expressed by the NCAA in the GMP and by the NCAA informants emphasize the destructive potential of human activity, as well as the importance of protecting nature from this destruction. The view that “non-traditional structures” are a threat to the natural environment of the NCA suggests a nature view that correlates to what Castree (2014) calls external nature views, as it implies that modern structures are incompatible with nature. The NCAA has previously expressed a view that modernization of the area will result in a “man-made, artificial environment” as opposed to a natural environment (Århem, 1985, p. 96), implying that this would be a negative development. However, the NCAA informants believed that it is possible for nature and humans to co-exist. According to them, achieving both successful conservation and development in the NCA is possible, and they believe that the NCAA should strive to achieve both of these goals. The tourists also mentioned the potential destructiveness of human

activity, for instance through littering and pollution. The tourists awareness of their own impact on the environment is characteristic that is common in ecotourism (Hinch, 1998). Like the NCAA, the tourist informants who viewed human activity as destructive to nature also believed that humans should act as “caretakers” to protect the natural landscape.

Table 3: Narratives of nature compared to the nature views from Castree (2014).

Narrative	Explanation	Nature views	Dominant stakeholder groups
Nature as unbridled beauty	Nature is pristine, untouched by humans	External	Tourists, NCAA
		Intrinsic	Tourists
Nature as the circle of life	Nature is an interdependent and interconnected ecosystem	Universal	Tourists
		External	Tourists
		Intrinsic	Tourists
Nature as the Motherland	Nature is a provider of everything humans need to live	Universal	Maasai
		External	Maasai
Change of nature	Nature, including human nature, is changing	Intrinsic	Maasai
		Super-ordinate	Maasai

The modern society can be viewed as both a destructive and a protective agent in natural landscapes (Castree, 2014, p. 19). While the NCAA and the tourists believe that human activity is a threat to the natural landscape of the NCA, they also believe that humans have a responsibility to protect nature from destruction whenever possible. However, by attempting to keep the landscape “natural”, humans are influencing the development of the landscape, thus producing a pseudo-natural landscape (Jones, 1991, p. 230). The NCAA appears to believe that the ideal state of nature is to be unbridled by human activity. Still, the conservation management can be seen as a form of human activity, and thus the attempt at keeping the NCA “natural” results in a landscape that is influenced by human activity.

The tourist informants Arnold, Helene, Fiona and Nina expressed a view on nature where humans and human activity is separated from the natural world. Like the NCAA, these tourists express an external nature view. The statements given by these tourist informants suggest that they believe nature only stays natural as long as it is protected from human

activity. Using phrases such as “unbridled beauty”, as Arnold did, emphasizes an external nature view in accordance with Castree (2014). It is apparent that these informants share the view that nature and society are separate, a distinction that has been dominant in the Western world since the European Enlightenment period (Castree, 2001, p. 6). The idea that nature – and especially exotic, tropical nature – is a pristine “Eden” that must be protected has also been prevalent in the Western world since the 1970s (Cronon, 1996, p. 18).

The tourist informants did not only express external nature views, however. For instance, Isaak, one of the tourists, emphasized that livestock were “imported animals” that did not belong in the natural environment of the NCA. This view indicates that Isaak believes that it is more natural for some animals to live in the NCA than others. Intrinsic nature views assume that entities, e.g. animals, have naturally defined characteristics (Castree, 2014). Isaak’s perception implies that it is inherently natural for some species of animals to live in the NCA, while others do not naturally belong to the area. Arnold described nature as being “animals and plants in their own natural state”, where they have not been affected by a “human footprint”. This statement indicates an external nature view in accordance to Castree (2014, p. 10), as he emphasized that the human is separated from the natural. However, the belief that animals have a “natural state” that can be disrupted by human activity suggest an intrinsic nature view (Castree, 2014, p. 20). This suggests that the non-human nature and the human nature are inherently different and incompatible, where the introduction of humans suppress the natural state of plants and animals, making them unable to fulfill their nature.

Arnold also brought up the difference between watching animals in the zoo and watching them on game drives in the NCA, where he preferred seeing animals in their “natural habitat”. Again, this suggests that Arnold possesses a view that certain features or properties are more natural for the animal than others, meaning that they have an intrinsic understanding of nature. Isaak on the other hand, compared the experience of watching the animals from the cars with a zoo. In-situ conservation, most notably through the establishment of PAs such as national parks and conservation areas, has been the dominant way of conserving biodiversity since the beginning of the 20th century (Adams, 2013, p. 4). Both Arnold and Isaak appear to be in favor of an in-situ approach to conservation of animals. However, Isaak points out the similarities of the safari experience and the zoo experience. Safari tourists in Africa are often looking for a specific safari experience, and experiencing their idea of African nature – and wildlife in particular – is an integral part of the tourists’ expectations (Gardner, 2016, p. 155).

Fiona stated that she believed it was “okay” for Maasai people to live in the NCA, as their way of life was compatible with the environment. Arnold also stated that the Maasai could co-exist with nature. These views suggest that Fiona and Arnold perceive the Maasai way of life as more compatible with nature than their own. This could indicate several nature views. First, it suggests that humans have a place in the natural environment, which would indicate a universal nature view (Castree, 2014). Second, it suggests that while Maasai societies are able to co-exist with nature, modern society is not, which would indicate an external nature view (Castree, 2014, p. 16). Third, the separation between the Maasai ‘natural’ culture and the modern, Western ‘non-natural’ culture suggests the intrinsic nature view that people from different cultures are inherently different (Castree, 2014, pp. 16–17).

This indicates that the tourists have self-contradictory views on nature, perceiving nature as both being separate from humans, and viewing the Maasai people as being a part of nature. In other words, nature could both be external, intrinsic or universal in the view of these tourists. The tourists also perceived the intrinsic nature of their culture and the Maasai culture to be different. Castree (2014, pp. 18–19) writes that the complexity of the concept of nature makes it possible for all these views to be present at the same time. It seems that the tourists with this perception did not view humans themselves as being completely separate from nature, but rather that modern human activity is incompatible with nature. This activity could mean cities, trash, cars, etc. According to this narrative, if humans were to suspend these activities, they might be able to become a part of nature again.

Helene had a similar opinion to Fiona and Arnold. She believed that the Maasai way of life was different than hers, and therefore more compatible with the nature of the NCA. She also brought up the Indigenous peoples of Canada, and stated that at one point, all people had been the same. In a similar manner to how she views the Maasai people as being more at one with nature, she also found Indigenous peoples – such as the First Nations of Canada – to be more “natural” than herself. Again, this indicates a belief in an intrinsic difference between cultures, as described in Castree (2014). By stating that this is how “we all were” in previous times, Helene is indicating that there is a common natural state for all humans, but that modern society has drifted away from this natural state. The view that modern society is separated from nature implies an external nature view (Castree, 2014, p. 16).

The narrative of “nature as the circle of life” also includes various nature views. The view that everything in nature is interconnected and interdependent fits with the definition of a universal nature view according to Castree (2014). As discussed earlier, Fiona gave

statements about nature that can be interpreted as external nature views, as she believed human structures like cities to be unnatural and that humans were destructive to nature. However, she also stated that nature was the “hierarchy of animal survival”, and that “everything serves a purpose”. The universal nature view assumes that everything is part of an interconnected nature (Castree, 2001), which is what these statements imply. Isaak also mentioned this hierarchy of animals living together and fighting against each other. Fiona’s statements, as well as Isaak’s experiences with the animal hierarchy, suggest a belief that every animal has their own place in the ecosystem of the NCA, and this is inherent in their nature. The belief that all animals have an inherent position in the ecosystem, and thus creating biodiversity, indicates an intrinsic nature view (Castree, 2014, p. 20).

While the tourist informants had varying nature views, all of them seemed to have an ecocentric rather than an anthropocentric standpoint. This means that humans are seen as a part of an interconnected ecosystem instead of being a dominant force over nature (Hinch, 1998, p. 120). This is also consistent with the nature views where humans are seen as being one part of a universal nature (Castree, 2001, p. 8; Hinch, 1998, p. 121), but it may also represent an external view where nature needs to be protected from human destruction (Castree, 2001, p. 6). All the tourist informants’ nature views had the common characteristic that they valued nature above humans in the NCA. Cultural background can determine tourists’ interpretations of nature (Packer et al., 2014, p. 102). The tourist informants had similar cultural backgrounds, which could explain the common ecocentric perception on nature.

The Maasai informants view of nature as a provider of resources was reflected in Ines and Klara’s use of the word “Motherland” to describe the area. Ines stated that she loved her Motherland despite the challenges she faced because of restrictions. The Maasai have a sense of belonging to the NCA, even if their rights to use the land are restricted (Århem, 1985, p. 96). Having a connection to nature is a part of universal nature views (Castree, 2014). The way the Maasai informants describe their relationship with nature suggests that they have a universal nature view to some degree, as their dependence on resources from the environment suggests that they view themselves as being a part of nature. While the tourists mainly brought up wildlife and the landscape – mainly the Ngorongoro Crater – of the NCA when speaking about nature, the Maasai informants were more concerned with the resources available in the NCA. This includes wildlife and the crater, but also weather and climate, grass for their livestock, food and medicine from the forests.

However, Martin argued that the NCA was completely natural because there is no agriculture activity in the area. When asked what nature was in the NCA, he stated that everything was nature, but specified that: “Everything is natural. All nature, yeah. Trees, nature. Grass, nature. Yeah, no one grow.” The perception that absence of agriculture equals nature suggests an external nature view. The external nature view assumes that the environment is no longer natural if it is “modified” by humans (Castree, 2014, p. 10). Agriculture is a form of human activity, and by engaging in it, the environment shifts from natural to cultural. This means that nature can be viewed as an external entity that humans can collect resources from, but in which they not necessarily are a part of themselves. Thus, nature and humans are separate, and agriculture is incompatible with nature, which represents an external nature view similar to that of the NCAA. However, while the Maasai informants viewed activities such as agriculture as positive, the NCAA viewed them as negative.

Several of the Maasai informants (i.e. Martin, Nathan, Olivia, Phyllis and Quentin) brought up the issue of climate change. Nathan expressed that the nature of the area was changing as a result of climate change, and Quentin stated that climate change was a “natural problem”. Nature can be viewed as a super-ordinate force which controls life (Castree, 2014), and Quentin’s statement suggests that he believes that the climate of the NCA is a natural force that determines the life of everything within the area. When the climate changes, all life changes with it.

Roger emphasized that development was “ending” the “nature” and “culture” of the Maasai. Roger’s statements on the changes in Maasai nature and culture suggest he believed development in the form of education and contact with tourists changed the community. According to him, the very nature of what it means to be Maasai is changing. Castree (2001, p. 7) write that the belief in an inherent nature, including a “human nature”, is a part of the intrinsic nature views. It suggests that humans have a natural state, and that there is an intrinsic meaning of what “human nature” is. This view also suggests that this inherent nature of humans is constant and unchanging (Castree, 2014, p. 8). The Maasai informants who talked about human change did not seem conform to the belief that their nature was unchanging. On the contrary, they believed that their nature was changing as the result of development and globalization. While these beliefs do reflect the intrinsic nature of humans, it also suggests that this nature is not unchanging. Again, change is brought on by super-ordinate forces which changes the nature of beings.

It is important to note that the Maasai people are not a homogenous group of people. While they have a common cultural background and live together in close communities, they have their own individual opinions and experiences in the same way that the tourists do. People who live together in communities are often viewed as a unified entity, and it is assumed that they have the same interests and wishes concerning development (Nunan, 2015). In the 18 interviews with Maasai people that were conducted, there was a range of different opinions. As with the tourists, there was not one narrative among the Maasai informants that dictated the meaning of nature. Like the tourists, they expressed a complex perception of nature. They had especially varying views on the changes in nature, with some informants perceiving the changes as negative and some perceiving them as positive. While the concept of the Motherland can represent an interconnected and universal nature, it also suggests a view of nature as a separate entity. This view does not reflect the same dichotomous view between nature and culture that has been discussed under “nature as unbridled beauty”. Instead, it suggests that the Maasai informants view nature as a provider of resources.

5.6.2 The dominant narrative

Of the different narratives of nature views that has been presented, the dominant narrative in the NCA appears to be the view that nature ideally should be “unbridled” by human activity, and that humans are a destructive force to nature. This was a perception held by the tourist informants and the NCAA. The NCAA informant Andrew stated that agriculture is prohibited, and that “overgrazing is destructive to the landscape”. The NCAA believes that the lifestyle of the Maasai is only suited in the NCA as long as they do not engage in what they perceive as destructive activities in the area. Behaviors that the NCAA perceive as destructive to nature is prohibited or viewed as a challenge. Historically, pastoralism in the NCA has been viewed as incompatible with nature conservation, because of the fear of livestock overgrazing, which could lead to environmental degradation (Homewood & Rodgers, 1984, p. 438). Cultivation has also long been perceived as degrading to the conservation values of the NCA (Boone et al., 2006, p. 811).

The tourist informants also seemed to appreciate “unbridled” nature of the NCA. The profitability of tourism makes the narrative of a “wild” and “unbridled” nature more powerful when tourists are expecting to experience this type of nature on safari tours (Gardner, 2016, p. 156). Thus, here is little room for alternative narratives that take the interests of Maasai people into consideration (Gardner, 2016, p. 156). Because the tourism industry offers economic opportunities for several stakeholders in the NCA, the tourists possess what Saito

and Ruhanen (2017) call induced power. According to Andrew, the tourism industry is positive for the conservation of the NCA. Similarly, the NCAA informant Brian stated that conservation was done to promote tourists.

Although the tourists viewed the “unbridled” nature as ideal, they acknowledged the presence of the Maasai in the NCA. Tourists who travel to “natural areas” or PAs where humans are present expect humans to act in a certain way that is compatible with their nature views (Hinch, 1998). If the people who live within these areas are engaging in modern technology to hunt and cultivate, the tourists might be less willing to perceive these people as being one with nature (Hinch, 1998, p. 122). In the eyes of the tourist informants, the Maasai people of the NCA live in traditional way of life. They keep livestock, but they do not hunt or engage in agriculture. As mentioned earlier, many safari tourists are expecting to see a certain type of landscape that they associate with “African nature” on their safari tours (Gardner, 2016, p. 155). The Maasai activities that are seen by the tourists does not disturb the tourists’ perception that the NCA is “natural”, which makes it “okay” for them to live there.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the different nature views stakeholders have in relation to the NCA. The informants had complex views on nature, and several informants gave statements that correlated with different nature views. The tourists mainly emphasized the “unbridled beauty of nature” and the “circle of life” narratives. They viewed nature as both universal, external or intrinsic depending on context. They perceived their own modern lifestyle to be less compatible with nature than the traditional lifestyle of the Maasai. The NCAA also subscribed to the narrative of “unbridled” nature, and believed that human activity such as livestock grazing and cultivation was destructive to nature. They expressed a mainly external nature view. This narrative also appears to be dominant in the NCA. The tourists’ perceptions on what nature should be are prioritized in the conservation management because of the economic potential of tourism.

The Maasai perceived nature as a provider of resources, or as the “Motherland”. This view could both be universal, as it suggested had a connection with nature, and external, as some of the informants stressed that human activity such as agriculture was not “natural”. They also believed that nature was changing, both through climate change, and through development – which caused their own nature to change. This indicated a belief in an intrinsic nature, but also a super-ordinate force that changed the nature of the Maasai.

6 Landscape values in the NCA

6.1. Introduction

As shown through Michael Jones' typology of landscape values, there are many elements that can make a landscape valuable to people. During the fieldwork for this thesis, several elements were brought up as being valuable by the informants. In this chapter, I will present the most prominent elements that were mentioned by the informants. The valuable landscape elements have been categorized into the themes of "wildlife", "culture", "uniqueness", "climate and natural resources", and "the Ngorongoro Crater". These themes have been established through the coding process described in Chapter 4. Within each of these themes, several types of values have been identified. I will then describe how Michael Jones' landscape values can be applied to these elements, and explain how the different values can be grounds for value conflicts.

6.2 Wildlife

"Wildlife" is one of the focus areas of conservation that has been defined by the NCAA (the others being landscapes, forests, and livestock and people). According to the NCAA informant Brian, wildlife is the basis of the tourism. The NCAA informant Andrew stated that tourism to the NCA was positive to the conservation because of the profits made from tourists. The Maasai informant Olivia had a similar opinion:

I love the animals because I know tourists come to the area for, because of wild animals, so we get money because of the wild animals. Students go to school because of money collected when the tourists come to see the wild animals. (Olivia, Maasai)

The tourist informants were mainly interested in seeing wildlife. Other studies on tourists' perceptions on nature have found that tourists are more interested in seeing *charismatic megafauna* (Martín-López et al., 2007), meaning large animals that have been popularized through exposure in scientific research (Martín-López et al., 2007) or through cultural exposure, for instance in movies (Ducarme et al., 2013).



Figure 9: Elephants near a pool of water in the Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge. (Author, 2018)

All of the tourist informants said that the wildlife of the NCA was valuable to them. Nina and Owen stated that wildlife was the main reason for their visit to the NCA. When Nina was asked what made the NCA special in her opinion, she answered that “to me, it’s the wildlife any more than anything.”

When asked if she had been on any tours to the cultural bomas, Nina replied: “Our interest is really in the animals, so... We don’t have a ton of time, so the time we have we’re focusing there [on the animals].” She also mentioned animals as the main reason for choosing to come to the NCA as opposed to other areas, because she and her partner had read that the area had the world’s largest concentration of black rhinoceroses. Arnold was also mostly interested in animals, and when asked if he was interested in a tour to the cultural bomas, he replied:

Not really. I mean it’s cool to see and everything like that, and it might be a different tour for a different day, but here, it’s about seeing the nature and the animals so I just wanna put as much time into doing that as possible. I mean, you won’t see both back home but, you know... I feel like the Maasai might be here longer than some of the animals, so... I’ll take advantage of it while I can. (Arnold, tourist)

With this statement, Arnold expresses that he places a higher value on the wildlife of the area, as he believes the wildlife is more threatened, and that some of the animal species might go extinct in his lifetime.

Gerard and Helene also mentioned animals as the main reason why they chose to travel to the NCA. Gerard stated that it “was the dream of our life to come to Africa, and do a safari.” Helene said that they had “been told that Tanzania had the most different types of animals.”

These tourists were looking for first-hand experiences with the wildlife of the NCA, and all of them talked about how seeing many animals during their game drives heightened their experience. As described earlier, Isaak mentioned seeing spectacular scenes, such as a hyena catching and killing an antelope, as well as a pride of lions attempting, and failing at taking down a buffalo. Nina and Owen brought up how many of the *Big Five* they had seen, and that seeing all of the Big Five was one of their goals during their trip. The Big Five refers to the black rhinoceros, lions, leopards, African buffalo and elephants, which are animals that have been coveted as trophies in game hunting (Caro & Riggio, 2014). Today, the term is commonly used as a marketing strategy in tourism, and represent some of the most important *flagship* species of conservation in Africa (Caro & Riggio, 2014). Flagship species are species



Figure 10: Herds of animals (presumably wildebeest) in the Ngorongoro Crater as seen from the Crater View viewpoint. (Author, 2018)

that are used as a symbol for a cause, for instance to raise awareness for conservation and environmental issues (Ducarme et al., 2013).

Through the interviews with the tourists, it became clear that the black rhinoceros was an important part of the reason why several of the tourists had chosen to travel to the NCA. Arnold, Gerard and Helene mentioned the black rhinoceros, expressing that they were hoping to see one. Arnold said that he believed “everyone goes for that”, referring to tourists, including himself coming to the NCA in hopes of catching a glimpse of the animal. None of the tourist informants had seen a rhino up close. However, Nina and Owen had seen one from “binocular distance” during their game drive in the Ngorongoro Crater and Isaak had seen one “from far away” in the Serengeti. Isaak described the experience as “a lucky moment”.



Figure 11: Waterbuck grazing in front of Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018)

The value of the black rhinoceros to the NCA is made clear in press release on NCA’s web page. It describes an incidence where a rhinoceros calf was attacked by a pride of lions. The lions were chased away by game drivers, and NCA rangers relocated the calf to a safe area. In the press release, NCA states:

We would like to emphasize that while our conservation policy does not advocate for any interference with nature, but when it come to extremely endangered wildlife species that are faced with extinction, actions have to be taken (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, 2018).

In this situation, the NCAA express that they find the black rhinoceros to be valuable because of its endangered status to the point that they are willing to disregard their policy of not interfering with wildlife.

The guides that were interviewed also had opinions on the position of the black rhinoceros in tourism. One guide said that it would be reasonable to make sure that all the tourists saw at least one rhino on their tour in the crater. He stated that not seeing a rhinoceros was a common complaint among the tourists he guided, and that creating more roads, including a road directly passing the rhino habitat of the crater, would result in less complaints. Another guide had similar opinions regarding tourists wishing to see the black rhinoceroses, suggesting that the management should create new roads close to the rhinoceroses' habitat, and allow one car at the time to stop for 10 minutes for tourists to take pictures of the rhinoceroses. However, another guide stated that they felt there were too many roads in the crater, and that they would like the management to reduce the number of roads. When asked if he thought tourists would disapprove of this reduction, he replied that the tourists would have to "follow the guides anyway". In these guides' experiences, seeing a black rhinoceros is one of the priorities of some tourists. The lodge manager Angela also stated that many tourists expected to see the black rhinoceros. She believed that it was the responsibility of tour operators to make sure the tourists understand what they can expect.



Figure 12: African buffalo in front of Rhino Lodge. (Author, 2018)

Although predators and aggressive wildlife are a risk, none of the Maasai informants mentioned wildlife as having a negative impact on their lives. Klara and Ludwig both stated that they did not harm the animals, and the animals did not harm them. When asked about the danger of predators in the area, Martin stated that lions were not an issue, and that the buffalo was a larger threat to them, as buffalos are aggressive animals, while “lions are hidiers”. He also said that it was common for certain animals, such as zebras, to stay near the Maasai bomas for protection. By grazing near the human settlements, these animals can stay safe from predators such as lions and hyenas.

When Roger was asked about his relationship with the wildlife, he replied: “We even, we don’t hunt. Even not allowed to eat animal in our culture. So, we like animal, we love animal, we know how to deal with them.”

As mentioned earlier, Olivia brought up the positive value of the wildlife as a source of income for the Maasai. She explained that tourists come to the area for the animals, and that the money left by the tourists contributes to the education of Maasai people. Five other Maasai informants, Joseph, Ludwig, Phyllis, Quentin and Sarah said that the wildlife of the area was valuable to them. Ines, Joseph, Ludwig, Quentin, Roger and Sarah said that they believed wildlife was one of the main reasons why tourists visited the NCA. This indicates that the wildlife is valuable to the Maasai because they attract tourists, which provides them with an opportunity of earning more money. Quentin stated that while tourists also came for their culture, the animals seemed to be more important to them. He stated that:

In this conservation there are many things that attract much tourists to come here. With wild animals and the Maasai themselves. [...] Tourists are attracted much by the Maasai culture, the way they dance, the way their... general lifestyle. But the first is to the animals, and the second is Maasai lifestyle. (Quentin, Maasai)

Roger also said that he felt the Maasai people were being “passed” in favor of wildlife. In these two informants’ opinions, the tourists value wildlife as an attraction higher than the Maasai culture. The values of the Maasai culture will be presented further in the next section.

6.3 Culture

The Maasai informants greatly valued their livestock – all Maasai informants viewed livestock as the most valuable part of their culture. People and livestock are one of NCAA’s focus areas of conservation (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-a), and “valuing people” is listed as one of the NCAA’s core values (Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Authority, n.d.-c). In other words, the Maasai culture is among the elements that the NCAA sees as valuable in the NCA. The Maasai culture is among the criteria that makes the NCA a World Heritage Site, and managing the cultural resources of the NCA is a part of the NCAA's mission statement (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-c). The NCAA informant Brian stated that since the NCA is a multiple land use area, it is important to enforce both development and conservation. Despite this, the NCAA does appear to perceive certain cultural elements as having a negative value in the "natural landscape" of the NCA. This included agriculture, livestock "overgrazing" and building modern structures.

As mentioned in the previous section, tourists were mainly interested in wildlife-related experiences during their stay in the NCA. John, Karen, Louis and Mary had been on a tour to a cultural boma. The remaining tourists had not and had no interest of doing so. As mentioned earlier, Nina and Owen explicitly said that they had come for the animals, and that their limited amount of time meant that they would not focus on visiting a Maasai boma or do other Maasai related tours. Arnold had the same opinion. Karen stated that the tours seemed more like a museum than a genuine or authentic experience. When asked about the how she felt about the tour, she replied:

It was a nice experience, but we think it was just for the tourists. Which it probably was. I mean, it was nice. The dancing, and the colors... they showed us how to make fire. It was nice to see, but it was more of a museum's village, I think. If it had been in Europe it would have been called a museum's village. (Karen, tourist)

Isaak had a similar opinion, stating that: "I have the feeling that they think it's like a touristic site, and I think that it's not my right to look at them as kind of like an animal or something like that."

Isaak had a hard time looking at the Maasai as if they were part of a zoo, which is what he felt the tours to Maasai bomas were offering. The position of Maasai culture in the landscape can be described as having a negative value to these tourists. However, even though the tourist informants showed little interest in going on Maasai tours, they did express an appreciation of the Maasai and their culture in and of itself. When Gerard was asked about what he thought of the Maasai and their livestock living in the area, he said: "Uh, mind you, I'm very respectful of that. If they're happier that way, that's fine with me. There's no way I want to impose my way of living." He continued by stating that he did not believe the Maasai culture posed a

threat to the area, and that the only thing he was worried about was tourism. He said: “Let’s not export our habits from the city and... just leave it there.”

Gerard believed that the habits from Western cities were not compatible with the traditional Maasai way of life, and would be destructive to the nature in the NCA. While he did not agree with every aspect of the Maasai way of life, saying that he would have difficulties living that way himself, he thought that everyone should “live and let live”, meaning that he respected and tolerated their way of life, and expecting the same tolerance of his life choices in return. Helene agreed with this sentiment, and stated that we all used to be at one with nature in the way that the Maasai are living today. She compared the situation to the Indigenous First Nations of Canada, stating that some “still live like that”. She continued: “as long as we respect that and we don’t do some... we don’t start to really try to push our habits on them, I think that would be, should be fine”.

Isaak stated that while he could not agree on certain aspects of Maasai culture – especially with female genital mutilation, which is a common practice in many Maasai communities (Hayashi, 2017) – he did respect their way of life and believed that they had the right to live and to use their land in the NCA (note: the Maasai do not own the land they live on in the NCA. It is owned by the Tanzanian government, and the Maasai people are not free to use it as they wish). He had some reservation against what he believed to be the tourists’ common perception of the Maasai people. He stated that: “there is a romantic view on the Maasai, like all of them are living traditional, but if you look at their culture, their behavior with women’s rights... yeah... *Beschneidung von frauen* [*female genital mutilation*], you know...”

In addition to attributing value to the wildlife and the Maasai culture in the NCA, Arnold, Gerard, Helene and Isaak also found the co-existence between wild animals, livestock and the Maasai people to be valuable. The multiple land use structure of the NCA allows people and livestock to be near the wildlife. It is not uncommon to see zebras grazing close to the Maasai livestock. Isaak remarked that it was “strange”, but “amazing” to see the Maasai livestock grazing among the wild animals.



Figure 13: Maasai livestock grazing next to a herd of zebras. (Author, 2018).

The Maasai themselves also brought up their own culture when speaking about what they found valuable in the NCA, as well as what they believed the tourists found valuable. Quentin expressed pride in how the Maasai culture has managed to survive through history, and he took pride in how the Maasai were able to co-exist with the conservation in the NCA. He explained that:

I have travelled a lot in a lot of country in Tanzania, so I find that people does not conserve environment. There is no trees, there is no animals, so I like much the environmental protection of Ngorongoro as I see the animals, the wildlife, they're enjoying, and the human beings they interact with the animal without conflict.
(Quentin, Maasai)

Similarly, Olivia said that tourists were attracted to the Maasai culture because they had “good culture”.

The Maasai people are heavily dependent on their livestock – mainly cows, goats and sheep – for subsistence. The livestock provides them with food, and by selling livestock the Maasai are able to make a profit, and is an integral part of their culture (Århem, 1985). Without them, they would not be the people they are today. One Maasai informant emphasized the

importance of the livestock by saying: “When you ask us to choose between livestock and animals, we will choose livestock. But that does not mean that we will want to harm them, harm the wildlife. This is the love we have for the livestock.”

The above quote shows how important the livestock is for the Maasai way of life. All the Maasai informants that brought up wildlife in the interviews specified that they would never harm the wild animals, and that they loved the wild animals as well.

6.4 Uniqueness

Arnold and Isaak expressed that they had travelled to Ngorongoro and Tanzania because they wanted to experience the place, and that they didn't know how long it would be possible to visit this exact place. As mentioned earlier, Arnold valued animals over the Maasai culture during his visit in the NCA. He stated that “you won't see both back home”, but that he preferred to see the wildlife because he believed some of the animals were in danger of becoming extinct. In other words, he valued the unique experience of seeing these animals. He gave several other statements that expressed a value of uniqueness. When asked what he thought made the NCA worth conserving, he replied: “I'd say because it's unique. You're not gonna find it... if this goes, that's it.” He continued by saying:

[...] I've travelled a lot, and I've never seen anything like this. It's pretty cool, and I don't think anything needs to be singled out. Everything needs to be... even, you know, the people and the culture, and everything else like that, everything together needs to be conserved, to the best of everybody's ability, I guess. (Arnold, tourist)

Arnold points out that the NCA is not like any other place in the world. The entirety of the area is valuable, including the culture of the people living within the area. He also believed that the individual animals had a unique value, stating that: “I mean there's obviously lions other places, but they're not gonna be the same lions that are here, you know, that have been here.”

Similar to how Arnold pointed out that some of the animals might be extinct in the near future, Isaak believed that in 20 years there is a possibility that there will be no more black rhinoceroses left. To him, the opportunity to show his children the world was a large motivation for going on this trip:

When I was thinking about spending my money for a new car or for good holiday, I choose the good holiday because I think it's an everlasting experience, and my kids

can remember their whole lives that we have had such a journey. And we don't know how long it is possible to visit places like this. Yeah. 20 years later it's maybe not... There's no rhinos left. (Isaak, tourist)

Since the black rhinoceros is critically endangered (World Wildlife Foundation, n.d.) and very hard to spot, it is a rarer experience for tourists to see than for instance the many ungulates of the NCA, such as zebras and wildebeest, which are arguably easier to spot. Because this experience is rare, tourists perceive it as more valuable.

When asked what he thought made the NCA valuable, Isaak brought up the uniqueness of the area:

The whole area is very valuable. I think I read about that it's the biggest crater in the world and it's... einmalig [unique]. In Germany we say einmalig. It's only one part of the world who has so many, so rare animals in one place, which have to live together, and I think there is no second place in the world which can show you such things. (Isaak, tourist)

The NCAA informant Brian said that “Ngorongoro is a part of the world”. According to him, people from all over the world have a right to see the Ngorongoro Crater, because it is a part of the world heritage. He said that there is only one Ngorongoro, and therefore it should be protected. This view is similar to those of the tourists who viewed the NCA as valuable because there is no other place like it in the world.

6.5 Climate and natural resources

The Maasai informants described several elements and phenomena in the landscape which indicated that they perceived the climate and natural resources of the area as being valuable. As mentioned in Chapter 5, several of the Maasai informants viewed nature as a provider of resources, with Ines and Klara calling it “the Motherland”.

The NCAA mentions the forests of the NCA as one of their focus areas of conservation because of its importance in producing rainfall, which is an important water resource to the people and animals within the area. Four Maasai informants, Joseph, Martin, Nathan and Olivia, mentioned rain as an important feature of the landscape, explaining that the forest areas around the crater produces rainfall. Having enough rain is important for the grass that feed the Maasai livestock to grow. Joseph named the lack of rain as a challenge for them, and Martin and Nathan stated that there was less rain now than in previous times, blaming climate

change for this decline. As discussed in Chapter 5, five Maasai informants, Martin, Nathan, Olivia, Phyllis and Quentin, mentioned climate change as a challenge. Olivia stated that the Maasai people refrain from activities that may contribute to climate change, such as cutting down the forests. It is apparent that the climate and weather conditions are important to these Maasai informants. Without enough rain, the grass that their livestock grazes on cannot grow, and the animals will starve.

The “Motherland” view on nature implies that the Maasai informants get what they need from nature, and according to Sarah, the Maasai communities have become poorer after agriculture was prohibited. She stated that:

The changes that we have seen in the conservation... Just the time once we, the society, were prohibited to engage in agricultural activities. As starting from that time our lifestyle started to change, people started to become very poor, some others formally failed to run their own life. (Sarah, Maasai)

6.6 The Ngorongoro Crater

In the NCAA’s focus areas of conservation, the “landscape” is represented by the Ngorongoro Crater. The authority states that the crater “symbolizes the dramatic natural scenery of the NCA” (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-a). The crater also sustains the ecosystem which the wildlife consists of. The NCAA informant Brian explained that tourists were interested in the crater because of the possibility of seeing more animals and more different types of animals than they could see in Serengeti. The crater forms the border around an area that contains several types of animals that the tourists want to see. As Arnold put it, there is “a lot more action going on in a small area.”

Box 2: Seasons in the Ngorongoro Crater

At the time of our arrival in Tanzania, it was dry season. The dry season in Ngorongoro runs from around June to October (Bartzke, Ogutu, Mtui, Mukhopadhyay, & Piepho, 2016). There was virtually no rain during our stay in Karatu and during our fieldwork in Ngorongoro, although it was usually foggy on our way up to the NCA headquarter. The dry season meant that the crater floor was less green than it would have been during the rainy season, which is apparent in the pictures taken of the crater below.



Figure 14: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from the Crater View viewpoint. (Author, 2018)

Most of the interviews were conducted on lodges overseeing the crater, and the tourist informants would frequently refer to the crater as they talked about how they felt about the landscape. Nina and Owen pointed to the crater itself when describing the landscape, and used the words “open”, “awe-inspiring” and “breathtaking” to describe it.

Gerard and Helene named the crater itself to be worth conserving, because of its uniqueness, which has been discussed earlier. Gerard stated: “Well, I mean, just the fact that they have a crater here... an ancient volcano... The contrast between Serengeti and this is so big that... It is special in some sort of way.” Helene, however, believed that other places could be equally unique, stating that: “Each place is all different, so I think that: ‘I really like Serengeti, it’s really nice here too, so just like different regions, why prefer one, no? Just appreciate both’”.

The Maasai informants Ines, Joseph, Klara, Ludwig and Martin mentioned the Ngorongoro Crater as a valuable element in the landscape. Ines, Klara emphasized while using the Ngorongoro Crater for grazing livestock is prohibited today, it had previously been an important resource to the Maasai. Martin, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of the crater in tourism. When asked why he thought tourists came to the NCA, he answered:

“Why they come here? For sure they need to see the Ngorongoro Crater, the eighth wonder of the world, so everyone needs to visit it.”



Figure 15: The Ngorongoro Crater as seen from Serena Safari Lodge. (Author, 2018).

6.7 Discussion

6.7.1 The valuable elements

The stakeholders saw several types of values in the landscape elements of the NCA (see Table 4). The value of wildlife was brought up by both tourist and Maasai informants. However, the reason given by the different informants explaining why they found the wildlife to be valuable varied. The value of wildlife in its own right can be described as ecological values, or intrinsic ecological values (Jones, 2009, p. 196). This view involves seeing wildlife as being intrinsically valuable, independently of human presence and perception. However, it is hard to prove that someone values wildlife purely for its own sake. (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, pp. 173–174) stress that it can be difficult for a stakeholder to truly represent the interest of nature, as stakeholders usually hold on to their own individual interests in the area. The NCAA will benefit economically from tourism in the NCA, and the tourists visiting the NCA are seeking personal experiences with the wildlife, meaning that they will value it for more than just its intrinsic ecological value.

The tourists' statements about wildlife also represent different types of values. The Ngorongoro Crater floor is populated by wildlife all year round, and it is possible to spot a variety of animals at any given time of the year. The tourists come to the NCA with hopes of seeing the wildlife for themselves. In this case, the intrinsic value of the animals is not necessarily the only value they are interested in, even if they do find this to be of importance. Generally, animals that are considered to be 'charismatic species' are more popular among tourists (Ducarme et al., 2013). Tourists also tend to prefer charismatic megafauna, which usually entail large mammals (Martín-López et al., 2007). The Big Five animals would fall into this category, as these were animals that the tourist informants were especially interested in seeing. The Big Five concept provides tourists with a "checklist" of animals for their safari tours, making it a goal to see all the animals during the game drives (Gardner, 2016, p. 155).

Table 4: Valuable elements in the NCA, using the landscape values from Jones (2009).

Element	Explanation	Values	Dominant stakeholders
Wildlife	The values of animals and plants that can be found in the NCA	Ecological intrinsic values	NCAA, Tourists
		Aesthetic and recreational values	Tourists
		Market values	Maasai, NCAA
Culture	The values of the Maasai culture	Identity and orientation values	Maasai
		Subsistence values	Maasai
		Negative values	NCAA, Tourists
Uniqueness	The value of being a unique place that cannot be found anywhere else in the world	Aesthetic and recreational values	NCAA, Tourists
		Ecological intrinsic values	Tourists
Climate and natural resources	The values of climate and weather and natural resources such as water and forest	Subsistence values	Maasai, NCAA
The Ngorongoro crater	The values of the Ngorongoro Crater itself	Aesthetic and recreational values	NCAA, Tourists
		Long-term ecological values	NCAA
		Market values	NCAA
		Identity and orientational values	Maasai
		Subsistence value	Maasai

Charismatic species often become flagship species for conservation causes (Ducarme et al., 2013, p. 1), and the black rhinoceros presence in the NCAA logo emphasizes its position as a flagship species. Tourist informants Arnold, Gerard, Helene, Isaak, Nina and Owen found the black rhinoceros to be especially valuable. The conservation status of the black rhinoceros increases its charisma in the eyes of tourists, and the cultural exposure of the Big Five, for instance through safari marketing (e.g. Thomsons Safari (2012), who writes about the Big Five on their website for tourists to read). By preferring charismatic animals, the tourists are attributing what Jones (2009) calls aesthetic value to the wildlife.

The guides that were interviewed believed that experiencing animals, and especially the black rhinoceros, was important to the tourists. According to the tour guides Dennis, Garrett, Hank, and the tour guides in training, seeing a black rhinoceros is a priority among some of the tourists. Dennis and Garrett suggested making changes in the conservation management policies to make it easier for tourists to see the black rhinoceroses. The tourists' expectations for African safari tours, and the tour operators wish to cater to these expectations, influence which values are attributed to African landscapes (Gardner, 2016, p. 155).

Even if the NCAA value the wildlife for its intrinsic values, the statements given by the NCAA informants Andrew and Brian indicate that the wildlife is also valued for its market value potential. If landscape elements can be sold as products, the market value increases (Jones, 2009, p. 196). In this case, the wildlife of the NCA serves as a product that can be sold to tourists for profit, and conserving the wildlife provides the NCAA with an opportunity to benefit from tourism. The Maasai informant Olivia had a similar opinion. She stated that the economic advantage of tourists coming to see wildlife, resulted in the Maasai children being able to get an education. Again, this indicates that the informant sees an economic market value in the wildlife. However, her statement implies that she does not necessarily value the market potential for personal profit. Instead she valued it for the opportunities it results in, namely in education. Gardner (2016) brings up a similar point in his research in Loliondo, Tanzania. He found that the Maasai people here wanted tourists to value the landscape, because this would enable them to continue to use the land for pastoralism (Gardner, 2016, p. 156).

While the wildlife is a source of market values for the NCAA and the Maasai, the profit is coming from the tourists. Both of the NCAA informants stated that tourism was positive for conservation, as it provides economic benefits. The tourism industry is an important source of

income for the NCAA, which gives stakeholders within the tourism industry increased induced power, i.e. power that arises from economic advantages (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017). Tourists' perceptions on what is valuable in African landscapes is often prioritized in the management of PAs, because of their economic advantage (Gardner, 2016, p. 156). While the tourists in the NCA do not actively use their power in negotiations, their profitability gives them a form of induced power, as their interests are considered by the NCAA in the negotiations.

Michael Jones' typology of landscape values does not explicitly mention the value of culture, but the position of Maasai culture in the landscape is an important part of tourists', the NCAA's and the Maasai people's perception of the NCA. How each informant values the Maasai culture was expressed in different ways. The material culture of the Maasai was valued by both tourists and the Maasai themselves, and dancing in particular was mentioned as a valuable part of the culture by Quentin. All of the Maasai informant viewed livestock as particularly valuable. Livestock, and especially cattle, is not only valuable to the Maasai because of its economic potential, but because it is valuable to the Maasai culture itself (Århem, 1985, p. 17). In addition to providing the Maasai with food and profit through trading, the livestock represents the social status of the Maasai (Århem, 1985, p. 35). Thus, the livestock has what Jones (2009) calls subsistence as well as market value to the Maasai people. The importance of the livestock in Maasai culture also suggests that it has identity value to the Maasai.

Another one of NCAA's focus areas of conservation is livestock and people, and people is listed as one of their core values. The NCAA has been tasked with protecting the interests of the local Maasai as well as the natural resources in the NCA (Århem, 1985). However, some of the Maasai interests, such as livestock grazing in the Ngorongoro Crater and cultivation, have been restricted, as they are perceived as being a danger to the conservation value of the NCA (Boone et al., 2006, p. 811; Galvin et al., 2015, p. 487; Homewood & Rodgers, 1984, p. 435). These activities are seen as negative elements in the landscape of the NCA. The negative value that the NCAA attribute to human activities is connected with the idea that the nature of the NCA should be "unbridled" and protected from degrading human activity. When elements are perceived as negative in the landscape, one solution is to remove these elements (Jones, 2009, p. 197). The NCAA attempts to limit the negative elements by placing restrictions on the activities they believe are negative.

Isaak's statement on problematic aspects of Maasai culture, such as female genital mutilation, implies that he attributes a somewhat negative value to the Maasai culture as well. Isaak and Karen also gave the impression that they believed that the tours to the Maasai bomas were "touristic", and not authentic. Their statements indicate that the presence of the Maasai is not inherently negative, but that the current marketing of Maasai culture in tourism is not an authentic experience. Gerard's statement that people should "live and let live" suggests that he believes that the different cultures have an equal value, and that people from both cultures should be free to practice their traditions. Helene and Gerard also spoke about the specific differences between their own lives and the Maasai way of life. The opinions they gave suggest that they value the Maasai culture and their own culture differently. It does not mean that they view one culture as superior to the other, but rather that they expect the humans in the NCA to behave differently than they behave themselves in urban environments in Canada. As discussed in Chapter 5, these views reflect an intrinsic nature view, where different cultures have inherent differences (Castree, 2014). These statements also reflect the binary world view as described by Castree (2001, p. 6), where urban and rural landscapes, as well as the human and the natural world are dichotomous. Gerard expressed that the Maasai way of life and the Western way of life were incompatible, and that the "natural" Maasai culture is more suited for the "natural" environment of the NCA. Because the tourists have a nature view where the Maasai are perceived as more "natural", their value in the NCA landscape increases.

The tourist informants Arnold, Fiona and Isaak all described the value of the NCA as being "unique". In their opinion, there is no other place like the NCA anywhere else in the world, and this makes the area valuable. Arnold also mentioned that the wildlife of the area was valuable because of its uniqueness, as the individual animals in the NCA do not exist anywhere else in the world. Ecological, intrinsic values entail viewing biodiversity as valuable independently of human's utilitarian needs (Jones, 2009, p. 196). Arnold's view suggests that he attributes an ecological and intrinsic value to the uniqueness of these animals, as he recognizes the inherent value of each individual animal.

The NCAA informant Brian also addressed the value of the NCA's uniqueness by stating that there is "only one Ngorongoro in the world". In his opinion, the NCA belongs to the world, and everyone have the right to come to see the area. This is consistent with the UNESCO World Heritage Site status of the NCA. One of the aims of the NCAA is to maintain this status through conservation. This emphasis on the world heritage status indicates that the

NCAA attribute a form of identity value to the NCA, as they believe that the area “belongs to the world” and is a part of the world heritage. Identity values suggest that a landscape has a cultural significance (Jones, 2009, p. 197). Brian suggests that the NCA is significant to the entire world, not just to the local residents within the area.

Brian specifically mentioned natural resources as an important value in the NCA. He viewed water as especially important, as animals need water to live. This implies that the NCAA emphasizes the subsistence value of the NCA on behalf of the animals. To them, it is important that the NCA is able to sustain wildlife. Brian also stated that: “no water, no animals, no tourists”. This means that the values the NCAA attach to natural resources can be attached to their values regarding wildlife. If the values of the natural resources decrease, so will the values of the wildlife. In other words, water and an adequate habitat for the animals are necessary to maintain the market value that the NCAA attribute to the wildlife. The Maasai informants, while they also benefit economically from the natural resources for the same reasons, are more dependent on the subsistence value that can be extracted from the NCA.

As discussed earlier, the “Motherland” narrative puts nature in a role as a provider of resources, and the Maasai informants felt that the nature in the NCA provides them with everything they need to live a good life. The access to resources that contributes to people’s livelihoods increases the subsistence value of the landscape (Jones, 2009, p. 196). The Maasai informants expressed an emphasis on value of the climate and the natural resources of the area. This included water, grass and medicine. The climate was also important to the subsistence of the Maasai informant, as sufficient rainfall resulted in grass for their livestock. The Maasai informants’ dependence on livestock suggests that the livestock itself has a significant subsistence value. The “Motherland” narrative also indicates that the Maasai feel a sense of belonging to the area, which is consistent with the presence of identity values (Jones, 2009, p. 197). As Ines stated, she loved the place despite the restrictions and challenges the community faced, because it was her Motherland. Klara stated that everything within the area became more valuable, as it was a part of her Motherland. A similar idea is brought up by Århem (1985). Here, the Maasai informants are speaking about their connection to the NCA, and their wish to continue to live in the area:

‘This is our homeland’, they say, ‘this is where we belong. No matter what happens, even if nothing changes for the better, whether we are allowed to cultivate or not and

even if we have to starve and suffer, this is where we want to stay' (Århem, 1985, p. 96).

These findings suggest that the cultural identity of the Maasai people living in the NCA has a strong connection to the area itself.

Most of the tourists who travel to the NCA mainly go on tours to the Ngorongoro Crater. The typical tourists in the NCA do not see much else of the remaining 96% of the conservation area (Charnley, 2005, p. 78). This was also the case with the tourist informants in this study. As tourists mainly travel to the Ngorongoro Crater to see the wildlife of the NCA, the values attached to wildlife is dependent on the crater. This means that the Ngorongoro Crater can have a market value to the NCAA through tourism, in the same way that the wildlife does. However, the NCAA's focus on sustainability suggests that it also attributes what Jones (2009) calls long-term economic values to the crater. An increasing number of tourists could lead to a short-term increase of profit for the NCAA, but an overpopulation of tourists would not be sustainable on a long-term level. Long-term economic values often have an ethical element, which builds on the notion that the values of landscape should be available for future generations (Jones, 2009, p. 196). The negative values the NCAA attributes to cultivation and livestock grazing in the crater suggest that these activities are viewed as unsustainable. Being able to use the crater for livestock grazing and cultivation could increase the subsistence value of the area to the Maasai.

NCAA and the tourists also emphasize the aesthetic beauty of the Ngorongoro Crater. The NCAA uses words such as "dramatic" and "wondrous" to describe the Ngorongoro Crater (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-a). Owen and Nina used words like "breathtaking" and "awe-inspiring" to describe the view of the crater. Landscapes that are perceived as beautiful have an aesthetic value (Jones, 2009, p. 196), and the descriptions used by the NCAA and the tourists emphasizes these values.

6.7.2 Value conflicts in the NCA

Value conflicts may occur if stakeholders believe that the values they attribute to the landscape are in danger of being lost to other types of values (Jones, 2009, p. 198). The most prominent value conflict that has been uncovered through the data in this thesis is between the NCAA and the Maasai informants. The NCAA wishes to conserve the natural environment of the NCA, and perceive activities such as agriculture, livestock grazing and modern structures as destructive to the conservation interests. The Maasai informants, on the other hand,

appeared to attribute positive values to these elements. The conflicting interests also seem to be related to the difference in nature views between the Maasai and the NCAA, as the Maasai wish to integrate livestock and cultivation in the area, while the NCAA perceives this as incompatible with the nature of the area.

The NCAA informant Brian stated that the purpose of conservation management is not to decide what the Maasai can and cannot do, but to protect the environment. When asked if he thought the Maasai people were displeased with not being able to move freely between the different zones, he replied that the Maasai are able to move freely, as long as they do not destroy the landscape. In his interview Brian also stated that the landscape was in danger of being destroyed due to cattle overgrazing. The NCAA's perception that agriculture is a danger to the natural landscape is also apparent in the GMP. The subsistence values, market values and identity values that the Maasai attribute to their culture – including agriculture and livestock – are in conflict with the intrinsic ecological values, the aesthetic values, the market values and the long-term ecological values the NCAA attribute to the NCA. While the Maasai would perceive agriculture as a positive element in the landscape, the NCAA views this as damaging to its natural elements.

The values that the Maasai informants attribute to the livestock and the values the NCAA and tourists attribute to wildlife are another example of a possible value conflict between the stakeholders. Predators such as lions and hyenas are capable of attacking and killing livestock, thus causing a value conflict. Brian stated that when predators killed livestock, the locals would want to kill said predator, something that is not coherent with the conservation situation, as all wildlife in the NCA is protected. Instead of killing the predators, the NCAA offers a compensation for the livestock that has been killed. Nathan corroborated this, stating that:

The person whose livestock was bitten by wild animal; he will get some amount from Ngorongoro [Conservation Area Authority] to replace the animal who was bitten. And then if it this wild animal is very aggressive; he will take to another area far from this settlement. (Nathan, Maasai)

Brian also stated that there was a possibility that people could be hurt by the wildlife. Nathan brought up this situation as well:

If animal bite human, and get an injury it is responsibility of NCAA or Ngorongoro Conservation to treat this person until they recover. If they are dead, it is

responsibility of Ngorongoro [Conservation Area Authority] to send some money the family to support them. (Nathan, Maasai)

The ability to offer economic compensations to persuade stakeholders into agreement is a form of induced power (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). The NCAA is in a position where they are able to offer these compensations, which gives them more power in negotiations.

The example above shows how two conflicting values can co-exist in the same area as a result of collaboration. The NCAA and the Maasai still have different interests, but they deal with the differences by finding a solution that benefits both. However, the success of this solution is dependent on the stakeholders adhering to the agreement (Jones, 2009, p. 198). It will only be effective if the NCAA actually provide compensation if this situation occurs.

While this form of agreement seems like an effective solution, it will not necessarily be effective in solving other value conflicts. In this case, the value of the livestock can be measured in the economic loss it will result in for the Maasai. However, not all values can be quantified in this way (Jones, 2009, p. 198). Brian hinted at this when talking about the issue of people being hurt by animals. He was reluctant to call this a ‘compensation’, as he didn’t believe money could compensate for a lost life, but confirmed that they would support the family of the deceased in this situation. While the solution still is to compensate the family with economic support, he agrees that the value of a human life cannot be compared to anything of monetary value.

Both of the NCAA informants emphasized the importance of collaboration between the NCAA and the local Maasai people to solve these value conflicts. Brian compared the collaboration process to a family conflict, explaining that if a conflict seems impossible to solve, they have to come together as a family to find a middle ground. They stressed the importance of the NPC coming to them with their issues, and of the NCAA doing the same. In collaboration processes, stakeholders need to have a sense of urgency about an issue for the issue to be resolved (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). The NCAA expects the Maasai people to see the urgency of issues by communicating through the NPC. The NCAA has more legitimate power in the eyes of the Maasai, but they accept the “urgency” of issues which the Maasai bring to them. Therefore, both parties fulfill the urgency requirement posed by Jamal and Stronza (2009). The NCAA administers the NCA on behalf of the Tanzanian government. This type of authority increases the legitimate power (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017, p. 191). The Maasai people and tourists alike have to adhere to the rules implemented by the NCAA.

The Maasai informants and the NCAA did not have exclusively contradictory landscape values, however. The Maasai informants listed several of the NCAA main focus areas as valuable, which suggests that the two stakeholder groups either have had similar values to begin with, or that these values have been negotiated by the stakeholders. A negotiation like this would imply that the stakeholders have had an approach similar to the harmony model. The harmony model requires that the stakeholders negotiate solutions that are mutually beneficial (Jones, 2009, p. 198), which is also considered to be a main goal in collaboration processes (Jamal & Getz, 1995). However, the NPC was established after “persistent demands by the locals of having an organization that was to be their representative and on that was to oversee their development” (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, n.d.-b), an action that resembles the conflict model through the mobilization of an action group. Most value conflicts are not solved purely through the harmony or the conflict model, but rather a combination of both (Jones, 2009, p. 199).

The similarities in certain landscape values may be the result of NCAA’s induced power in the NCA. Seven of the Maasai informants, Ines, Joseph, Klara, Martin, Nathan, Olivia and Sarah, mentioned that the conservation of the NCA had resulted in certain benefits provided by the NCAA. Health services, food support and education were the most prominent benefits that were mentioned. The NCAA’s ability to offer support and services to the Maasai people gives them an induced power over the Maasai. By offering the Maasai people these benefits, the interests of the Maasai may shift, and their own values and nature views may change to fit those that the NCAA hold. However, when Sarah asked about how the conservation affected her, she pointed out the importance of the environmental protection as well as the services provided by the NCAA. She explained:

I have two ideas. One is about the conservation itself, that conservation itself help them to maintain the environment. But the conservation administration, NCAA, help the community through Ngorongoro Pastoralist Council, that is the main mirror that NCAA uses to reach the society, especially in the development of community projects. So, the conservation itself help them in environmental conservation, but the NCAA administration help the society to develop different community projects. (Sarah, Maasai)

The similarities between the Maasai informants and the NCAA focus areas may also indicate that the Maasai have been influenced by the type of power Saito and Ruhanen (2017) describe

as coercive power. Sarah was reluctant when talking to us about conservation issues, as she feared we had been sent by the government. The 4th interpreter said the following during the interview with Sarah: “The community, they are frightened. They ask me: ‘why are they coming to ask this question?’ At the first time I just tried to introduce you... it’s like the interview, she say: ‘are you from the government?’”

Because the tourism industry offers economic opportunities for several stakeholders in the NCA, the tourists may also possess an induced power. The tourism industry is profitable for the NCAA and as mentioned earlier, the NCAA informant Brian stated that conservation was done to promote tourism. Even if the tourists are not conscious about their power to control the conservation management of the NCA, the NCAA take their interests heavily into consideration, even equating their own conservation interests with what the tourists want. The tourists also hold an induced power over the Maasai people for the same reason.

To ensure successful outcomes from collaboration, it is important that the distribution of power between stakeholders is equal enough for all stakeholders to have a voice in the decision-making process (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). In the establishment of PAs, local inhabitants have often been displaced, as human settlements and nature conservation is seen as incompatible (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 152). This is the case for the Maasai people who were evicted from SNP and relocated to the current NCA. The authority that the Tanzanian government has to decide whether or not the Maasai are allowed to live in the NCA puts the NCAA in a position of power over Maasai inhabitants. While collaboration is possible even with an unequal power distribution between stakeholders, all stakeholders need to have sufficient power for the collaboration to be successful (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173). From the data presented in this study, the NCAA and tourists appear to have an uneven share of power, while the Maasai lack considerable power. The existence of the NPC may be helpful, as the NPC negotiates on the behalf of the Maasai, giving the Maasai more legitimacy, which is an integral part of an effective collaboration process (Jamal & Stronza, 2009, p. 173).

6.8 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the landscape values that were brought up by the tourists, the Maasai and the NCAA officials during their interviews. The values of the NCAA have also been presented through the NCA GMP, as well as NCAA’s own webpages.

The tourists found the wildlife, uniqueness of the area and the Ngorongoro Crater to be valuable, mostly due to its aesthetic values. They also saw ecological intrinsic values in these

elements. They attributed some negative values to the Maasai, but emphasized that they respected their culture. The NCAA also found the wildlife, the uniqueness and the crater to be valuable. However, they attributed economic values to the elements in addition to ecological intrinsic values. They also perceived some aspects of the Maasai culture as negative, as they believed them to be destructive to nature. The Maasai valued the wildlife for their market value potential, and were dependent on the subsistence value of the natural resources and their culture. They also had a strong connection to the area, which increased the identity value of the Ngorongoro Crater and their culture.

The variety of landscape values between these stakeholders – especially between the NCAA and the Maasai – can cause value conflicts, as they have different interests in the area and therefore value different things. The Maasai greatly value their livestock, and wish to use the NCA landscape for the benefit of their cattle, sheep and goats. The NCAA on the other hand wants to conserve the “natural” elements in the landscape, such as the forests and the wildlife, and believe that overgrazing is a threat to this.

According to the NCAA, value conflicts in the NCA are solved through a collaboration process where the stakeholders negotiate solutions that are beneficial to all. The NPC could give the Maasai people more power in these negotiations. However, the power balance between the stakeholders is still uneven, and the power relations between stakeholders affect the outcomes of the collaboration process. The NCAA has induced power over the Maasai people, as they can offer economic benefits, health services, education etc. The tourists also have induced power – although they do not actively utilize it. The authority that the NCAA has over the Maasai, gives them legitimate power as well. The reluctance of some Maasai informants to talk about their relationship with the NCAA also indicate that the NCAA has coercive power over the Maasai.

7 Conclusions and further research

Through a series of interviews with NCAA informants, Maasai informants, tourist informants, tour guides and lodge managers, as well as through document analysis of NCAA documents, I have analyzed and discussed the nature views and the landscape values of some key stakeholders in the NCA.

The nature views were categorized into four different narratives. Within each narrative, several different nature views could be identified. Variations in nature views could also be found within the same stakeholder group, and even within the statements of each individual informant. Nature is a complex concept, and the views of each informant cannot be neatly contained within one category – views and perceptions of nature may change depending on context. The tourist informants generally had a view that nature should be “unbridled” by human activity, and that humans were external from nature. However, they viewed the Maasai way of life as being more compatible with nature than their own. They also viewed nature as a “circle of life”, meaning that all life in the NCA is part of an interconnected ecosystem, and that everything has their own place in this system. The NCAA also viewed nature to be “unbridled”, and believed that human activity such as livestock grazing and cultivation was destructive to the natural environment. The Maasai informants generally viewed nature as a provider of resources, referring to it as ‘the Motherland’. This view on nature mostly entailed an external view, as they viewed themselves as being separate from nature. The Maasai informants also mentioned changes in climate and society as a super-ordinate force that is changing the nature. The natural environment is changing because of climate change, for instance through a decrease in rainfall. The human nature is also changing as a result of an increase in education and through socializing with tourists and people outside of the bomas.

The dominant narrative appears to be that nature ideally should be “unbridled” by human activity. The expectations the tourists have to see a certain type of “wild”, “African nature” may influence the conservation management because of the economic advantages of tourism. This gives the tourists a form of induced power in the conservation management, even if they do not actively participate in a collaboration process. The NCAA also has a more powerful position than the local Maasai residents in the NCA. They have induced power, as they are able to offer economic and social support to the Maasai through health services, education programs and food supply. They may also have coercive power, as it was apparent that the Maasai informants were reluctant to share negative opinions about the conservation management. The authority of the NCAA gives them legitimate power as well. The Maasai

people on the other hand, have limited power in negotiations. The NPC may help the Maasai gain more legitimacy in the collaboration process, and both the NCAA and the Maasai themselves emphasized the importance of using the NPC to communicate and solve conflicts.

The stakeholders also attributed different landscape values to the NCA. The most valued elements in the landscape were the wildlife, the culture, its uniqueness, the natural resources and the Ngorongoro Crater. These elements were valued in different ways, and each stakeholder group could find several values within the same elements. The wildlife appeared to have an ecological, intrinsic value to the NCAA and the tourist informants, as they believed the animals were valuable in their own right. However, the tourists also attributed aesthetic values to the animals. The NCAA and the tourists also attributed aesthetic values to the uniqueness of the area and the crater. The NCAA and the Maasai informants attributed similar market values to the wildlife. The identity value of the area appeared to be important to several of the Maasai informants. They also greatly valued the subsistence value of the area, especially concerning their livestock.

The differences in landscape value has the potential of causing value conflicts. One important conflict was related to the view the NCAA holds that human activity, such as livestock grazing and cultivation, is destructive to the natural environment. As the Maasai informants found these activities to be valuable, a value conflict between them and the NCAA emerge. The solution of the NCAA has been to restrict these forms of activity. While most of the Maasai informants did not speak negatively about the management, some expressed dissatisfaction with not being able to cultivate. Another conflict between the Maasai people and the NCAA is the issue of predators killing livestock. This issue has been solved through a collaboration process, with an outcome where the Maasai are compensated for their loss.

The power of the NCAA and the tourists has given these stakeholders an advantage in negotiations, and their nature views and landscape values appear to be prioritized in the management of the NCA. Although the NCAA acknowledges the importance of collaboration with the Maasai community, the interests of the Maasai, especially concerning the values they attribute to livestock and cultivation, appear to have limited representation.

7.1 Implications for further research

This thesis has only covered some of the stakeholder in the NCA. In further research on nature views and landscape values in the NCA, it would be interesting to include a more complete range of stakeholders, for instance NGOs, tour operators and local communities

besides the Maasai. It would also be interesting to interview Maasai people from more bomas, as well as Maasai people not living in the cultural bomas. Spending more time with the Maasai people to gain better trust with the informants would also be beneficial. In this study, the limited amount of time made it difficult to build a sufficient level of trust, and this has resulted in limitations in the data.

Another interesting aspect of this study is the environmental impact tourism has on the NCA, and the awareness some of the tourist informants had on their environmental impact. The Maasai informants were also concerned with climate change, and emphasized the importance of the forests in regards of climate change. In further research, studying the environmental impact of tourism in the NCAA could be an interesting topic. As the NCAA perceive cultivation and livestock grazing, comparing the impact of tourism with the impact of these cultural activities could also be interesting.

Through this research it would be possible to make more thorough conclusions about how the different nature views and landscape values of the area affect the conservation management, and it would be possible to draw more conclusions on how effective today's conservation management is, as well as what could be improved.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide for Maasai informants

Section I: Basic information

1. Occupation

Section II: Your views on nature

1. How do you feel about seeing people in Ngorongoro?
 - a. How do you feel about the wildlife?
2. What do you think humans' place in Ngorongoro is?
 - a. Do you and the tourists act differently in Ngorongoro?
3. Can you describe what the landscape (of Ngorongoro) means to you?
 - a. What do you see in the landscape?
4. What do you think is valuable in Ngorongoro?
 - a. Which resources are most important to you?
 - b. Are your needs met?
5. What makes Ngorongoro special?
 - a. What do you think makes Ngorongoro worth conserving?
 - b. Are there any specific elements in the landscape (of Ngorongoro) you like?
 - c. Is there anything you don't like?

Section III: Relationship with tourism industry and park authorities

1. Why do you think the NCA is so attractive to tourists?
2. How would you describe your relationship with the tourism agencies?
 - a. Is there a dialogue between you?
 - b. Do you interact with the tourists?
 - c. What do you think about the tourists that come to the NCA?
3. Have you had any noteworthy experiences with the tourists (good or bad)?
 - a. What about the tourism agencies?
4. Do you feel "heard" by the park authorities concerning your needs?
 - a. In your opinion, what do the park authorities prioritize?
5. How do you feel about the current state of Ngorongoro?
 - a. Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Appendix 2: Interview guide for tourists

Section I: Basic information

1. Home country
2. First time in Ngorongoro?

Section II: Your views on nature

1. What does “nature” mean to you?
 - a. Is there anything that is *not* “nature” to you?/What isn’t “nature”?
 - b. Could you explain where you think the line between what is nature and what is not nature lies?
2. What do you think humans’ place in nature is?
 - a. How do you feel about seeing people living in the park?
3. Can you describe what you see in the landscape of Ngorongoro?
4. What do you think is valuable in Ngorongoro?
5. Which experiences do/did you expect to have in Ngorongoro?
 - a. Were your expectations met? Why/why not?
6. What makes Ngorongoro special?
 - a. What made you choose Ngorongoro over other parks or conservation areas?
 - b. What do you think makes Ngorongoro worth conserving?
 - c. Are there any specific elements in the landscape (of Ngorongoro) you like?
 - d. Is there anything you don’t like?
7. Why do you think is attractive with areas such as the NCA?

Section III: Relationship with locals and tourism agencies

1. How well do you know the Maasai people?
 - a. Have you been in contact with them?
 - b. How would you describe them?
2. Have you had any noteworthy experiences with the locals (good or bad)?
3. How well do you feel the tourism agencies “know” what you want?
 - a. Are you satisfied with their accommodations?
4. Have your expectations of what you were going to see in Ngorongoro been met?
5. What do think about the state of Ngorongoro as you have seen it?
 - a. Is there anything you would have liked to be different?

Appendix 3: Interview guide for NCAA officials

Section I: Basic information

1. Name of organization
2. What is your position?

Section II: Your views on nature

1. What does “nature” mean to you?
 - a. Is there anything that is *not* “nature” to you?/What isn’t “nature”?
 - b. Could you explain where you think the line between what is nature and what is not nature lies?
2. What do you think humans’ place in nature is?
3. Can you describe what the landscape (of Ngorongoro) means to you?
 - a. What do you see in the landscape?
4. What do you think is valuable in Ngorongoro (e.g. which resources)?
5. What makes Ngorongoro special?
 - a. Why do you think tourists choose to travel to Ngorongoro as opposed to other areas and national parks?
 - b. What makes Ngorongoro worth conserving?
6. What do you prioritize in the management of Ngorongoro?
 - a. What is most important to conserve/protect?
7. Why do you think areas such as the NCA are so attractive to tourists?

Section III: Relationship with the locals and tourists

1. How would you describe your relationship with the locals and the tourism agencies?
 - a. Is there a dialogue between you?
2. Do you accommodate for the needs of local people? What about tourism agencies?
 - a. What do you do to ensure that their needs are met?
3. How do you feel about the current state of Ngorongoro?
 - a. Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Appendix 4: Interview guide for tour guides and lodge managers

Section I: Basic information

1. What is your position in the agency?
2. What is your aim as a tourism agency?
3. How long have you been working with the agency?

Section II: Your views on nature

1. What does “nature” mean to you?
 - a. Is there anything that is *not* “nature” to you?/What isn’t “nature”?
 - b. Where does the line between what is nature and what isn’t lie?
2. What do you think humans’ place in nature is?
3. Can you describe what the landscape (of Ngorongoro) means to you?
 - a. What do you see in the landscape?
4. What do you think is valuable in Ngorongoro?
5. How do you introduce the tourists to nature?
6. What makes Ngorongoro special?
 - a. Why do you think tourists choose to travel to Ngorongoro as opposed to other areas and national parks?
 - b. What do you think makes Ngorongoro worth conserving?
 - c. Are there any specific elements in the landscape (of Ngorongoro) you think the tourists like?
 - d. Is there anything tourists don’t like?
7. Why do you think the NCA is so attractive to tourists?

Section III: Relationship with the locals

1. How do you feel about your relationship with the locals?
 - a. Is there a dialogue between you?
 - b. Do you interact with the locals? Do the tourists?
2. Have you had any noteworthy experiences with the locals (good or bad)?
3. Do you feel “heard” by the park authorities regarding your needs?
 - a. In your opinion, what do the park authorities prioritize?
4. How do you feel about the current state of Ngorongoro?
 - a. Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Appendix 5: Informants

Maasai informants

ID	Sex	From	Additional info	Date
Alfred	Male	Seneto	1 st interpreter Interviewed on the grassy hill	23. Sep.
Bernard	Male	Seneto	1 st interpreter	23. Sep.
Carl	Male	Seneto	1 st interpreter	23. Sep.
Daniel	Male	Seneto	1 st interpreter	23. Sep.
Edith	Female	Seneto	2 nd interpreter Interviews conducted with other interviewees and other women present	24. Sep.
Florence	Female	Seneto	2 nd interpreter Interviews conducted with other interviewees and other women present	24. Sep.
Georgina	Female	Seneto	2 nd interpreter Interviews conducted with other interviewees and other women present	24. Sep.
Hilda	Female	Seneto	2 nd interpreter Interviews conducted with other interviewees and other women present	24. Sep.
Ines	Female	Seneto	3 rd interpreter	25. Sep.
Joseph	Male	Seneto	3 rd interpreter	25. Sep.
Klara	Female	Seneto	3 rd interpreter	25. Sep.
Ludwig	Male	Seneto	3 rd interpreter	25. Sep.
Martin	Male	Irkeepusi	Spoke English, 4 th interpreter was present	3. Oct.
Nathan	Male	Irkeepusi	4 th interpreter	3. Oct
Olivia	Female	Irkeepusi	4 th interpreter	3. Oct
Phyllis	Female	Irkeepusi	4 th interpreter	3. Oct
Quentin	Male	Irkeepusi	4 th interpreter	5. Oct
Roger	Male	Irkeepusi	Spoke English, 4 th interpreter was present	5. Oct
Sarah	Female	Irkeepusi	4 th interpreter	5. Oct

Maa interpreters

ID	Gender	From	Additional info	Date
1	Male	NPC	Introduced us in Seneto	23. Sep.
2	Male	NCAA		24. Sep.
3	Female	NCAA		25. Sep
4	Male	NCAA	Introduced us in Irkeepusi	3. Oct–5. Oct

Tourist informants

ID	Sex	From	Additional info	Date
Arnold	Male	California, USA		22. Sep.
Bernard	Male	Ohio, USA	Partner with 3 Traveled together with 4 and 5	22. Sep
Catherine	Female	Ohio, USA	Partner with 2 Traveled together with 4 and 5	22. Sep
Doug	Male	Wisconsin, USA	Partner with 5 Traveled together with 2 and 3	22. Sep
Elisa	Female	Wisconsin, USA	Partner with 4 Traveled together with 2 and 3	22. Sep
Fiona	Female	Canada		24. Sep
Gerard	Male	Canada	Partner with 8	3. Oct
Helene	Female	Canada	Partner with 7 French-speaking, but fluent in English	3. Oct
Isaak	Male	Germany	German-speaking, but fluent in English	4. Oct
John	Male	UK	Traveled together with 11, 12 and 13	5. Oct
Karen	Female	UK	Traveled together with 10, 12 and 13	5. Oct
Louis	Male	UK	Traveled together with 10, 11 and 13	5. Oct
Mary	Female	UK	Traveled together with 10, 11 and 12	5. Oct
Nina	Female	Canada	Partner with 15	5. Oct
Owen	Male	Canada	Partner with 14	5. Oct

NCAA informants

ID	Gender	Additional info	Date
Andrew	Male	Research Officer at NCAA	20. Sep
Brian	Male	Conservationist at NCAA	22. Sep

Lodge managers and tour guides

ID	Gender	Additional info	Date
Lodge Manager Angela	Female		22. Sep.
Lodge Manager Billy	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	28. Sep
Tour guide Chris	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	28. Sep
Tour guide Dennis	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	28. Sep
Tour guide Earl	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	29. Sep
Tour guide Frank	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	29. Sep
Tour guide Garrett	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	29. Sep
Tour guide Hank	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	30. Sep
Tour guide Ivan	Male	Interviewed at the Serengeti Visitors Center	30. Sep
Tour guide Jack	Male	Tour guide in training	30. Sep
Tour guide Karl	Male	Tour guide in training	30. Sep

Appendix 6: Informed consent form for Maasai informants

Nature views and landscape values in Ngorongoro

This is a request for you to be a part of a research project with the aim of uncovering different views on nature and conservation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. In the following you will find information about the main objective of the project, and what your participation will mean.

Aim of research project

This research project is a part of a master thesis in geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The aim of the project is to uncover how different groups of people perceive nature and the landscape, and how their views are represented in the conservation management.

The research project is a part of the AfricanBioServices project and is done in partnership with the Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institution (TAWIRI).

Why are you being asked to participate?

The researcher is visiting different cultural bomas and will ask six women and six men to participate in the project. The participants are selected randomly.

What does your participation mean?

Being a part of this project means you will sit down for an interview (aprox. 30 minutes) and be asked about your views on nature and the landscape of Ngorongoro. You can stop the interview at any time as you wish. The interview will be audiotaped, for more accurate recollection of what is being said. The researchers will also take notes during the interview.

All your personal information will be kept anonymous, and all data will be kept confidential. At the end of the research project, in June 2019, all data will be erased.

Protecting your personal information

Your personal information will only be used for the purposes described here. All personal information will be processed according to the General Data Protection Regulation.

Your name will be kept separate from the data material from the interview. Your name or other identifying information will not be published in the project.

Only the student and their supervisor will have access to the personal information.

Your rights

As long as you can be identified through in the data material you have the right to:

- access the personal information that has been registered on you
- have incorrect or inaccurate registered personal information about you corrected
- have your personal information deleted
- receive a copy of your personal information
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Authority or the Data Protection Official on the processing of your personal information.

What gives us the right to process your personal information?

We process your personal information based on your consent.

On behalf of NTNU, the researcher and their supervisor, NSD – the Norwegian Centre for Research Data has decided that the processing of personal information in this project is done according to the General Data Protection Regulation.

Where can I learn more?

If you want to make use of your rights, or if you have any further questions, do not hesitate to contact:

- the student at martija@stud.ntnu.no
- her supervisor, Haakon Lein, at haakon.lein@ntnu.no
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data at personverntjenester@nsd.no or +47 55 58 21 17

Consent

Your consent can be withdrawn at any time without having to give a reason. There will be no negative consequences if you choose to withdraw your consent.

I have received and understood the information given on the project Nature Views in Ngorongoro, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I consent to the following:

- I consent to being interviewed
- I consent to the interview being audiotaped
- I consent to my information being processed until the end of the project (June, 2019)

Kind regards,

Martine Aure, October 2018

Haakon Lein, October 2018

Appendix 7: Informed consent form for tourists

Nature views and landscape values in Ngorongoro

This is a request for you to be a part of a research project with the aim of uncovering different views on nature and conservation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. In the following you will find information about the main objective of the project, and what your participation will mean.

Aim of research project

This research project is a part of a master thesis in geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The aim of the project is to uncover how different groups of people perceive nature and the landscape, and how their views are represented in the conservation management.

The research project is a part of the AfricanBioServices project and is done in partnership with the Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institution (TAWIRI).

Why are you being asked to participate?

The researcher is visiting different lodges and visitor centers and will ask six men and six women to participate in the project. The participants are chosen randomly.

What does your participation mean?

Being a part of this project means you will sit down for an interview (aprox. 30 minutes) and be asked about your views on nature and the landscape of Ngorongoro. You can stop the interview at any time as you wish. The interview will be audiotaped, for more accurate recollection of what is being said. The researchers will also take notes during the interview.

All your personal information will be kept anonymous, and all data will be kept confidential. At the end of the research project, in June 2019, all data will be erased.

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Your rights

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- her supervisor, Haakon Lein, at haakon.lein@ntnu.no
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data at personverntjenester@nsd.no or +47 55 58 21 17

Consent

Your consent can be withdrawn at any time without having to give a reason. There will be no negative consequences if you choose to withdraw your consent.

I have received and understood the information given on the project Nature Views in Ngorongoro, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I consent to the following:

- I consent to being interviewed
- I consent to the interview being audiotaped
- I consent to my information being processed until the end of the project (June, 2019)

Kind regards

Martine Aure, October 2018

Haakon Lein, October 2018

Appendix 8: Informed consent forms for NCAA officials

Nature views and landscape values in Ngorongoro

This is a request for you to be a part of a research project with the aim of uncovering different views on nature and conservation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). In the following you will find information about the main objective of the project, and what your participation will mean.

Aim of research project

This research project is a part of a master thesis in geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The aim of the project is to uncover how different groups of people perceive nature and the landscape, and how their views are represented in the conservation management.

The research project is a part of the AfricanBioServices project and is done in partnership with the Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institution (TAWIRI).

Why are you being asked to participate?

The researcher is asking you to participate so they can receive information on how the nature views of the Maasai and the tourists is represented in the management of the NCA.

What does your participation mean?

Being a part of this project means you will sit down for an interview (aprox. 1 hour) and be asked about your views on nature and the landscape of Ngorongoro. You can stop the interview at any time as you wish. The interview will be audiotaped, for more accurate recollection of what is being said. The researchers will also take notes during the interview.

All your personal information will be kept anonymous, and all data will be kept confidential. At the end of the research project, in June 2019, all data will be erased.

Protecting your personal information

Your personal information will only be used for the purposes described here. All personal information will be processed according to the General Data Protection Regulation.

Your name and your position will be kept separate from the data material from the interview. Your name or other identifying information will not be published in the project.

Only the student and their supervisor will have access to the personal information.

Your rights

As long as you can be identified through in the data material you have the right to:

- access the personal information that has been registered on you
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- I consent to being interviewed
- I consent to the interview being audiotaped
- I consent to my information being processed until the end of the project (June, 2019)

Kind regards

Martine Aure, October 2018

Haakon Lein, October 2018

Appendix 9: Informed consent forms for tour guides and lodge managers

Nature views and landscape values in Ngorongoro

This is a request for you to be a part of a research project with the aim of uncovering different views on nature and conservation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. In the following you will find information about the main objective of the project, and what your participation will mean.

Aim of research project

This research project is a part of a master thesis in geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The aim of the project is to uncover how different groups of people perceive nature and the landscape, and how their views are represented in the conservation management.

The research project is a part of the AfricanBioServices project and is done in partnership with the Tanzanian Wildlife Research Institution (TAWIRI).

Why are you being asked to participate?

The researcher is visiting different lodges and visitor centers and will ask six tour guides to participate in the project. The participants are selected randomly.

What does your participation mean?

Being a part of this project means you will sit down for an interview (aprox. 30 minutes) and be asked about your views on nature and the landscape of Ngorongoro. You can stop the interview at any time as you wish. The interview will be audiotaped, for more accurate recollection of what is being said. The researchers will also take notes during the interview.

All your personal information will be kept anonymous, and all data will be kept confidential. At the end of the research project, in June 2019, all data will be erased.

Protecting your personal information

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Only the student and their supervisor will have access to the personal information.

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- have your personal information deleted
- receive a copy of your personal information

- send a complaint to the Data Protection Authority or the Data Protection Official on the processing of your personal information.

What gives us the right to process your personal information?

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Where can I learn more?

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Consent

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- I consent to being interviewed
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- I consent to my information being processed until the end of the project (June, 2019)

Kind regards

Martine Aure, October 2018

Haakon Lein, October 2018

