ALLEVIATING POVERTY THROUGH ECOTOURISM PROGRAMMES IN NGORONGORO CONSERVATION AREA -TANZANIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

BY

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ABSTRACT

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) in northern Tanzania covers an area of 8292km. The area's natural and cultural endowment namely the world's highest density of large mammal species, the Ngorongoro crater (largest unfolded caldera), two world's richest paleontogical and archaeological sites (Alaitole and Oldupai) ,which spans a periods of 3.5 million years in human evolution and local people who undertake pastoralism i.e Maasai, Hadzabe and Tatoga has made the place a unique protected area in Africa and warranted a list of world heritage sites in 1979 and an international biosphere reserve in 1981.

In efforts to realize its vision and its new management regimes (a place where pastoralism, conservation and tourism coexist harmoniously) the area initiated and supported programmes which involve local people that harmonies relationship between wildlife-protected areas and local communities.

Of those programmes is ecotourism which is defined in this paper as form of tourism designed to maximize benefits to local communities without jeopardizing natural and cultural environment. Under this projects vision, ten (10) Cultural bomas (Places where local communities can interact with the tourists, selling their handicrafts) where established to ensure income generation to local people and therefore way out to poverty. Although this project has been in operation for sometimes, local people claim they are not fully benefiting as ambitioned.

This paper will therefore, strive to examine the social economic benefits accrued from the mentioned project and suggests what is needed to have genuine social benefits and serving as tools for sustainable community development.

THE STUDY AREA AND BACKGROUND

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area (8,292 km2) of northern Tanzania borders Loliondo Game Controlled Area (LGCA) to the north, Serengeti National Park to the west, and agricultural communities (Karatu and Mbulu districts) on the southeastern border. The NCA offers spectacular and beautiful highlands features (Ngorongoro Embaakai and Olmoti Crater,) and most important archeologically and palaeontogical (Oldupai gorge and Alaitole footprint) sites in the world. Furthermore, the area hosts both highest concentration of wildlife (herbivores and predators) and human population (Over 52,000 Maasai and Tatoga pastoralists, and various Hadzabe hunters –gatherers) (Lissu, 2002). The above unique interaction made individuals and international institutions to proclaim it differently. For example in 1972 Foosbroke christened it the 8TH Wonders of the

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World; the World Heritage Site in 1979 and Biosphere Reserve in 1982 by UNESCO and respectively. Being a harbor of pastoral communities and thousands of wildlife for thousand of years, classified the NCA as multiple land use area

Beside conservation purposes and pastoralism, the area receives the most tourists in the country and generates the greatest amount of foreign exchange within the country (Shivji and Kapinga 1998 in Charnely 2005). In 2003/04 nearly 250,000 tourists visited NCA generating a sum amount of 8,874,614 US\$. The substantial contribution of tourism should contribute to the livelihood ***** of livestock keepers inside the area. NCA residents for several years relied on pastoralism as the main economic activity and therefore their welfare were measured in terms of livestock holding (Runyoro, 2006).

Access to water throughout the dry and wet season and enough pastures are crucial resources for the NCA pastoral community. Nonetheless these natural resources have been greatly diminished following the creation of protected areas like the Ngorongoro conservation area in 1959. Mabula and Zabor (2005) observed that the limited movement of livestock keepers to some areas (crater, highland forest and Oldupai gorge) coupled with ban on grazing ranges enforced by the management of the area has increased livestock diseases.

As the result of these constraints, the Maasai in the NCA adopted cultivation to supplement their pastoral foods or rebuild a herd devastated by diseases or drought (Johnsen, 1997; Mabula and Zabor, 2005). The authority sees this important supplement as incompatible with conservation. It argued that when cultivation is practiced in areas prone to erosion, along wild animals' routes and water sources and steep slope it cause destruction (Borne 1985, Makacha and Olesayalel, 1987; Mwalyosi, 1992 in Runyoro, 2006).

Confronted by different challenges of promoting and safeguarding the livelihood of pastoral people and conservation of flora and fauna, the NCA Authority initiated community based ecotourism programmes as livelihood options and way out to poverty.

Under Ecotourism ^{†††††}livestock keepers in NCA are expected to receive tangible benefits from tourism activities. Among the projects initiated include cultural bomas along the Serengeti-Ngorongoro and Ngorongoro –Nainokanoka road, employing local guides in walking safaris^{‡‡‡‡‡} and in hotels /lodges and NCAA. According to the Ngorongoro General Management Plan of 1996-2006 Cultural *bomas are* staging points established to serve three main purposes: First, to educate visitors about local traditional culture in

^{*****} The term livelihood in this context, attempts to capture not just what livestock keepers do in order to make a living, but the resources that provide them with the capability to build a satisfactory living, the risk factors that they must consider in managing their resources, and the institutional and policy context that either helps or hinders them in their pursuit of a viable or improving living

^{†††††} low impact form of tourism to environment and culture of host community, where local people plan, manage and ensure equitable benefits from tourism

^{‡‡‡‡‡} NCAA's motivation to Walking trails is primarily an ecological. Charnely (2005) argued that walking safaris is a primary strategy for reducing the number of vehicles in the crater. With walking safaris visitors are encouraged to visits other parts of the NCA by diversify tourism offerings.

respectful way. Second, to generate additional income through entry fees, sales of handicraft to support community as well as benefits individual artisans. Lastly, to serve as staging point to arrange for guides to issue camping permits and to rent donkeys for walking safaris within the NCA

RESEARCH METHODOGY

The findings based on study conducted between November 2006 and February in 2007 using qualitative and quantitative approaches. Administered questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data on social economic activities from 99 respondents in cultural *bomas* and three lodge/hotel officials. Key informants from Villages and Ngorongoro Pastoral Council (NPC) were used to obtain information on the status of area before and after the introduction of cultural bomas, walking safaris/camping in the study area. Direct observations, and photographic and findings from other researches were used to compliment the above methods in collecting the required information. Problems facing NCAA local residents as far as ecotourism projects are concern and possible remedy and were discussed with relevant authorities' i.e. Ngorongoro Pastoral Council (NPC) and NCAA.

ECOTOURISM PROJECTS AND IMPACTS TO THE LOCAL RESIDENTS

1. Cultural bomas

Along the Ngorongoro-Serengeti and Ngorongoro-Nainokanoka roads are numerous cultural bomas serving four administrative wards (Ngorongoro, Endulen, Nainokanoka and olbalbal), almost two in each ward. The village/ward government plays a pivotal in selecting cultural *bomas* members basing on the expression of interest to join cultural bomas and the poverty level of an individual. The poor are those holding between 0 and 10 Livestock Unit per household (*enkaj*). Maasai recognize that any family with less than 10 livestock does not have enough food and hunger is a constant feature of it life especially in dry season (see Potkanski, 1994).The members alternate occupancy of the *bomas* for six to one year, after which village government selects another group; this is done to allow other villagers to join and benefit.

While at the boma, occupiers are required to perform several functions such as singing, dancing and selling handicrafts to tourists. Other activities were guiding tourists at the bomas, selling animals (milk, skins) and forest products (honey). While dancing and singing is the responsibility of genders, making and selling of artifacts was mainly done by women. Traditionally, Maasai women are know as designers, makers and decorators of beadwork (Coast, 2001). Each bomas had 2 to 3 elderly men (40+years of age) to function as advisors, reconcilers and source of wisdom to the society .Singing and dancing were carried out to welcome tourists to the bomas, who in turn pay the entrance fees to the chiefs. In additional to singing and dancing ,tourists are exposed other

traditional aspects of Maasai lifestyle such as warriors making fire from rubbing a stick ageist a small log, women working on beads and plastering a sun-baked mud hut with cow dung.

The boma entrance fee paid by tourists per vehicle ranged from TSZ 10,000 to 20,000 depending on the bomas. This is contrary to the official amount which is TSZ 20,000. Corrupt practices by drivers cum tour guides, such as demanding commission for bringing tourists to the boma has caused these variations.

The money obtained from the entrance is spilt between the cultural occupiers and the village/ward governments. Through income earned from cultural bomas the ward/village governments has built primary schools classrooms, supported school children at secondary school, repaired water points and cattle troughs. The amount left to the boma is used for management of the bomas such as buying water especially during dry season, paying allowances to the members, medication to the members, buying livestock and vertinary services. Other uses are to buying food (cereal crop flour) to the occupiers, meeting and guests charges, and salary to the kindergarten teachers. Salary to the ordinary members (non-leaders) varied from TSZ 10,000 to some bomas to TSZ 15, 000, while leaders are paid TSZ 35,000 to TSZ 80,000 per month. Leaders (chiefs) were accused of allocating huge amount of budget to themselves which does not commensurate with the duties they do as compare to those performed by non-leaders. Members complained that singing and dancing was the least paying job and the most tedious, because they have to dance and sing to each vehicle that gets in the bomas.

Members of the bomas acknowledged that earnings received have somehow improved their economic wellbeing. These include increased in small stock small stocks (shoats), ability to purchase maize flour (food security), can pay school contributions and purchase pupils' uniforms. Other indirect benefits include a wide array of skills, leaderships (mobilizing people), enterprises (such as marketing, handicrafts production) communication (speaking A, B, Cs of English, possess and use mobile phone and email while at Karatu and Arusha towns). Additionally, cultural *bomas* occupiers made clear that tourism is easier to integrate with livestock keeping than cultivation and security guard at big cities such as Arusha and Zanzibar because the working sites is near home. "You remain a better livestock keeper with a huge herd of animals " remarked one women who happened to work as a watchman at Mwanza city. Emphasizing further, the respondent said 'security work at Mwanza is very risking; accompanied with lower payment and takes one far a way from home". Other advantages mentioned include; it is the only way for uneducated Maasai to get in touch with tourists and luckily one may travel overseas.

2.Walking Safaris

Although, walking trails is a joint venture between the NCA and a small group of tour operators, it also allows the NCA indigenous residents to participate directly by supplying guides and pack animals for the tours (NCAA-GMP 2006:246). Charges such as guiding, renting donkeys and carrying luggage go directly to individuals providing

such services. It was noted that a local guide received US \$ 20 per day per group of 8 people, TSZ 5,000 for hiring a donkey per day and TZS, 5000 per porter per day (Runyoro, 2006). Fifty percent of the revenue collected from walking safaris was given to pastoral council which in turn distributes to the wards authorities for community development projects. In 2005/2006, a sum of TSZ 29 millions were allocated to community projects such as purchasing desks, building teacher's houses and classrooms ,rehabilitating dispensaries, kitchen and sponsoring students. Again more than TSZ 13 million was allocated to wards walking safaris coordinators as salary wages for the year 2005/2006.

The NCAA walking safaris plan of 2001 acknowledged that local people have in-depth knowledge of the local landscape and natural history that tourist would benefits from. Likewise, tourists are thrilled by the idea of walking amongst such exotic wildlife and such an experience will truly be something to remember. The Maasai are very friendly, helpful, and very willing to share information about their culture and interactions with wildlife. This, in turn, makes them excellent guides and companions during a safari (Swanson, 2007). In that, they should take a lead role as hikers, porters and guides. Charnely (2004) writes: guiding tourists on walking safaris is similar to herding livestock, requiring the same skills set –the ability to walk long safaris from long periods of time, the ability to detect and avoids predators, the ability to find drinking water, a good sense of director, and familiarity with local landscape. In a study by Deluca (2002) only 25 young men were reported as local safaris guides. The factor that limits local people to participate in this activity was cited as inability to speak English and lack of driving skills and presences of NCAA armed rangers with walking safaris skills.

Results showed however that the disbursement of the walking safaris collections to the Pastoral Council rather than been managed by respective villages and wards was unbecoming. Respondents echoed that Pastoral Council should not interfere with village based projects, as in most cases they associated with misuses of funds allocated to them by NCAA for community development.

3. Lodges and Local Residents

There are four luxurious lodges situated on the Ngorongoro crater rim namely; Ngorongoro Crater Lodge, Sopa Lodge, and Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge and Serena lodge. It was generally observed that all lodges except wildlife lodge employed the local Maasai people in various departments. The commonest job given to local people was security guard. Lodge operators remarked that guard jobs are particularly attractive to young Maasai men because they are accustomed in guarding their livestock. The Conservation Corporation Africa (Crater lodge) out of 150 workers, 13 (8.7%) were Maasai from local area, of which only one is in the management level (Security administrator), eight are employed as security guards, and the remaining are waiters and gardeners. The last three do not require skills/training and they are the lowliest paid jobs. Low level of employment in other departments was associated with low education level. Others resaons given; Maasai are unreliable people, because they come and go as they must attend their livestock herds and families. Runyoro (2006) demonstrated that more than a half of NCA population was not educated and only 58% of the eligible schools children were going to school, that means the chances of obtaining good paid jobs in the future are negligible. Many hotels workers are NCA outsiders (non-Maasai). Unlike Kenya's Maasai Game Reserve, where the local people (Maasai) exercise a great deal of political control, large percentage of hotel and park staff are Maasai, NCAA and Lodge management expressed the intention of giving local people a priority employment but yet to do so. Charnely (2005) recommended that political commitment and pressure to ensure that a percentage of public and private sector tourism jobs go to the resident people, and establish or sponsor them for training programmes that would provide the skills needed to compete for tourism jobs is vital.

Some, Lodges/Hotels also supported community development infrastructure and provide market for Maasai people local products. The Crater lodge for examples has donated 100 desks to Embarwai secondary school, built three classroom and teacher's Houses at Irmisigiyo and Mokilal primary schools respectively. Furthermore, the lodge bought schools uniforms to a hundred pupils at three schools (Oloirobi, Irmisigiyo and Mokilal) and supply cereal crop flour to Endulen Hospital during dry season (Available http://www.ccafrica.com/conservation-1-id-2-12#)

Furthermore, local residents entrepreneurs supplies livestock products (milks and meat) and vegetables and potatoes. While meat and milk are not consumed by tourist because of low quality (only local workers), potatoes and vegetables sold at Nainokanoka villages are consumed by both i.e. tourist and hotel workers. The economic hardship coupled with recurring drought fails the local communities.

4. Pastoral Council and Local Services

Worth to mention here is the money given to local people community development through Pastoral Council. With the creation of the Pastoral council in 1994, revenues to local residents' from tourism have increased. For example in 1995 the amount was 550 million per year to one billion in 2006/07. The PC receives ten percent of the NCAA total revenues after submitting a list of projects priorities to NCAA. This is an important source of revenue and has been used to build education a facilities and pastors infrastructure and to sponsor students to study outside the NCA. For example in 2005/06 fiscal year Pastoral Council built Embarwai secondary schools worthy of 100+ plus million, rehabilitated several primary schools classrooms with a sum of 20 plus million and supported 15 Maasai students at university level in and out of Tanzania,102 at colleges, 140 plus at secondary and vocational schools and 3 primary schools (Metele,per comm).Other services run included establishing honey bee projects to small entrepreneurs, sending local people to attend festivals and seminars related to communities at towns like Dar es salaam and Arusha. This is done to stimulate developmental thinking and open door to other livelihoods other than livestock and cultivations.

CHALLENGES FACING ECOTOURISM PROJECTS

1. Lack of land tenure

The NCA Maasai have no legal authority to manage land and resources over it. To establish a people- tourism center the villagers are obliged to seek a permit from the NCA. Lack of land title is seriously hindering their development initiatives. Restrictions^{§§§§§} by NCAA management to increase the number of cultural bomas (a least four in each ward) prove the allegations. The NCAA-Management plan of 2006-16 strictly prohibits any developmental activities in the so called fragile areas such as Archaeological sites and the Crater. These areas are potentially good for rearing animals (contain salts minerals and palatable grass species). Scholars' holds that for ecotourism projects to be successful stakeholders must agree upon the legal status of land rights on land to be used (Epler Wood,:2002, Fennell, 1999; Hinch 2001:354 in Charnely, 2005). Outside NCA, villages with legal status of land and its associated resources are fairly benefiting. For example, three villagers in the northwest of NCA have legally contacted their portion of land to Dorobo Safari Company in return of substantive benefits. The company makes annual payments to the village government, pays fees for each visitor night. Charnely (2005) writes: the company has exclusive control over tourists' activities (camping and access tracks) while villagers retain rights to use the area for grazing. Respondents recommended that they will like to have both legal status of land and power to make decisions about how to use the resources over land. Given the rights to own land, they will have ability to co-partnerships with interested investors in ecotourism and other developmental activities.

3. Poor or lack of communication skills

Foreign languages such as English, French, Spain and Chinese are unknown to occupiers of the *bomas*. Schneider (2002) argues that foreign Language barrier is frustrating because it dictates the nature of the interactions between the Maasai and tourists by preventing the two groups from communicating. Not only does this makes selling handicrafts more complicated, but it also limits the two groups' ability to interact and inhibits their ability to learn about each other beyond the typical tourists' transactions. In order to mitigate language problem, cultural bomas local tourist guides, who can speak limited English only. In the bomas, none of the local guides could speak other foreign languages other than limited English. Disadvantages attached with poor communication with tourists may have helped the Maasai people to see the value of sending their children to school. The establishment of Kindergarten schools at Seneto, Irkeekpusi and Endoinyo Nasinya could be an indicator. Furthermore, occupiers expressed a need to have adult education programme at the bomas, that can specifically teaches them English

4. Poor /lack of social services

language to enable them to interact with tourists in selling their handmade products.

^{§§§§§§} NCAA ranges (askaris) burnt and reallocated of Endoinyo Nasinya of Endulen villagers and Oldupai cultural bomas of olbalbal ward respectively.

Although, all cultural *bomas* are situated along the major roads (Serengeti-Ngorongoro and Ngorongoro- Nainokanoka) and inside NCA where vehicles are many, transport was a source of concern and was mentioned as a setback to the pursuit of livelihood in the *bomas*. The problem was more pronounced in Irkeekpusi, Endoinyo nasinya and Kiloki cultural *bomas*, this is partly because of the long distances they have travel to the social services areas. There is no public transport that could transport people and their goods from social services areas to the *bomas*. All the *bomas* dwellers rely on private lifts' mercies of the drivers' and donkeys, hospital ambulance car for the sick to reach to the market centers and health services at Makao and Endulen hospital. Due to transport problem, sick people sometimes resort to have self medication using local herbs such as (*Orkonyil, orermit, Ormukutan,Orkitalaswa ,Alasesiay*) and modern drugs bought from local shops at Kimba ,Makao and Endulen .

To resolve the problem, occupiers raised a need for *bomas* with support from Pastoral council and NCAA to supply and improve necessary social services like water, clinical services to the bomas occupier and communication and transport facilities.

5 .Market Competition

Lodgers/hotels, curios shops along the tourists' roads and in towns advertise and market quality artifacts than cultural *bomas*. Data from the interview shows that lack of entrepreneurship and experience skills in the business industry hinders occupiers to benefits from tourism. For decades Maasai people are known to be herders (contented of what they have) and not aggressive business people. Again, lack of or unknown uniform entrance fee per vehicles among *bomas* has intensified the competition. This weakness made some bomas to decrease to their entrance fees to TSZ 5000 per vehicle.

Proposed solutions to this problem included; a uniform entrance fee to all *bomas* should be made legal and disseminated to all stakeholders i.e. tour operators and drivers, all *bomas*, village/ward authorities, NCAA and Pastoral Council Office ,District Authority, Researchers and Tanzania Tourist Board.

7. The limited market opportunities

Limited opportunities to sell locally made handicrafts hindered direct benefits to local residents. Cultural bomas were the only avenues available for people to interact with visitors and market their handmade products. The problem of market was not only for locally handicrafts but also for the livestock and its by-products such as milk, meat and skins. Runyoro (2006) pointed out that NCAA has only four markets operating twice in a months and lacked essential facilities such auctioneer. Results from the interview on ways to address the problem indicated that should provision of entrepreneurships skills and market avenues to sell jewelleries in and out of NCA to *bomas* occupiers are essential.

9. Poor participation in ecotourism

Although, PC on behalf of the NCA local residents receive 10 % (for example in 2005/06 1,043,158,385 billion) of the NCAA working capital, community do not know how much is generated, how is it managed and dispersed and whether this is equitable. The fund received from NCAA by PC has supported over 360 Maasai pupils in secondary and colleges in and out of Tanzania; built secondary school, numerous primary schools, water

dips and supported women enterprising groups (Shaudo as per comm.). Additionally, local residents claimed to lack information on when and how NCAA plan, make decisions and financial process to NCA communities.

Problems associated with NCA local residents' participation in decision-making have been debatable. Since, the designation of the area in 1959, Maasai legal rights over their land were denied. According to Shivji and Kapinga (1998) in Charnely (2004) NCAA wield jurisdiction over the territory of the NCA and over NCA residents, functioning in many ways as a local government. With pressures from NGOs and donor agencies

like NORAD, DANIDA, the NCAA created a Pastoral Council in 1994. With 41 members, 18 are selected from wards residents and the rest of who are members by virtue of holding other political officers like the NCAA-Conservator and Member of Parliament (Charnely, 2005). Pastoral council provides an opportunity for NCAA board of directors and local residents to discuss socio economic developmental issues.

In order for ecotourism initiatives to attain the set objectives socio-political justices local residents is primary.

Culturally negative impacts of ecotourism

Although, cultural *bomas* are important in allowing the Maasai to control their images^{††††††}; the study further recognized some of unquantifiable negative cultural impacts that are associated with ecotourism activities in the area. These negatives impacts include;

(a) **Improper Dressing styles**

Respondents admitted that there is great cultural deformation on Maasai dresses. Schroeder (2001) writes: With tourism in their land, Maasai culture has changed drastically .It is now common to see Maasai men in particular putting up western attire at hut rather than Maasai gear. At the field warriors were seen smoking cigarettes at one of the bomas but he took off the moment a tourist shows up her cameras .NCA Maasai are not alone in this plight. Cultural conflicts have been reported along the beaches in Bagamoyo where local people complain that tourists do not cover after they had a swim. Wearing short dresses annoy and embarrass local people (Kulindwa, etal 2001). Lack or poor of a cultural binding code which could dictate on what and how people should dress in the country (mainland Tanzania) may have contributed this. In Zanzibar, the government has prepared information brochures telling tourist what is and what is not acceptable as far as dress is concern. It clearly state working in the village or Zanzibar town with skimpy clothes is an offences and humiliation to local residents.

(b) Changes in consumption behavior

^{*******} whose support advocate for participator approaches to providing socioeconomic development,

^{††††††} The bomas allow tourists to take pictures but on the Maasai's terms and condition .Indeed; cultural *bomas* are the communities' alternative to unwelcoming and undignified Practices, where tourists photographed youths along the road without their will and paid nothing in return.

The income accrued from tourism activities such as cultural bomas is associated with changes in consumption pattern of men in particular. Men are told to use the money to purchase alcohol at Kimba and Endulen sub towns. Drunkardness is associated with developing new relationships with outside marriage and abandoning other family responsibilities. Peace and harmony in the families is therefore threatened and the families are vulnerable to sexual transmitted disease such as HIV/AIDS infections.

On the question of what need to be done control the eroding good cultural traditions of Maasai; traditional and leaders elders should collectively with the whole society to educate youth to understand the importance of nurturing and preserving Maasai good customs. They should not simply discard without fundamental reasons. One elder emphasized that youth should; "Not every thing associated with white people is worth taking, so young people should be careful on what to embrace "In other words that he would probably been happy with the formula 'modernize tradition rather than displace traditional with modernization'.

(c) "Practicing cultural ceremonies in tourism centers"

Customarily, Maasai people undertake their rituals ceremonies such as circumcision at their homestead '*permanent home* '' and it's made public such that every members participates. A chief of Loonkooku cultural bomas, who stayed in the boma since its establishment had these to say regarding cultural bomas: 'People have made cultural bomas permanent homes, to conduct rituals ceremonies like circumcisions; women can give births without getting, 'cattle blood '' soup mixed with herbs''. This is contrary to the mission of establishing cultural bomas which intent that ''members chosen... stay for six months to a year and move out to allow another group to get in. The point stressed here is that cultural *bomas* have changed the behavior of Maasai people.

(d) Prostitution

People at cultural *bomas* are exposed to promiscuous behavior. Since occupiers do not come at the boma with their couples/partners, they can develop sexual partners at time of staying at the boma. Isiankin (young married or unmarried women with or without children) and Irmurran (warriors) (many of which are unmarried) were pointed the most vulnerable group. At the small town like Kimba, one individual remarked that "some Maasai women from the nearby village have developed sexual relationships with tour drivers". Traditionally, Maasai society regarded sexual relationship with an outsider (Non Maasai) as a dirty and unethical practices (Coast, 2001).Commercial sex with tourist drivers coupled with high rate of youth going to big cities like Arusha, Mwanza and Dar es salaam in search for security workers may cause high rate of HIV/AIDS infections because of low rate of protection measures. Coast (2001) write: levels of detailed knowledge of HIV/AIDS appeared very low and sketchy''. Since, polygynous marriage among Maasai and early (pre-puberty) sexual debut for female with strong sanctions for participation are the norms may have scale up the rate of HIV/AIDS among the community.

(e) "Mobile cultural bomas"

Despite, the presence of special sites (cultural *bomas*) for tourists to interact with locals' residents and other restrictions made to people outside these centers to strictly refuse any further commercialization¹¹¹¹¹¹¹ along the road, the problems still continue. Youth, women and newly circumcised youngpeople (Isipolio) used to stand alongside the road to sell their pictures and jewelry to passing tourists. This strategy was cultural disturbing and not paying. Tourists often took pictures from the safety of a moving vehicle without asking or paying. This roadside method of participating in the tourism industry was associated with disgraceful practices like begging from tourists, people spending time away from their homes crucial chores (Schneider, 2001). Lining along the bank of the road youth sometimes with handicrafts to sell to tourists waiting were accused of affecting cultural bomas market; in such they are mobile cultural boma all goods required by tourist thus when met encountered by tourists they see no reasons to go to the cultural bomas. Also, cultural bomas differ from traditional homestead in terms of bomas structure^{§§§§§§}, activities undertaken routinely and others. In order to earn tourists money people in cultural bomas must do their clients would like to see and admire. Unwillingly forexample, they have to dance and sing and every tourist that enters to the *boma*.

Another, culturally disruptive activity associated with ecotourism was the dancing group, consists of *Irmurran* and *Indoye* hired by big tourism hotels/lodges i.e Serena and Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA) lodge to dance for the visitors in the evening. Each individual in the group receives TZS 1500 to 2000 for the 4 hours dance and return home at midnight. This problem is however tricky to parents because of the economic contribution of these dances family. Expressing dissatisfaction with the activity an elderly woman said.

"It's bad seeing our children coming at midnight, sometimes on foot from Crater lodge and with little shillings but we .Can't stop them, because we need money to buy food for them"

The above expression shows that people are economically forced to accept the offer.

The Way Forward

If the development of ecotourism in the NCA is to contribute to socio-economic development among the NCA residents and assist in the promotion of conservation with development in the area "PA's^{*******} with people" there are a number of critical issues that will have to be tacked

¹¹¹¹¹¹ The process of changing a cultural elements, into a commodity that can be exchanged in a monetary markets

^{§§§§§§} Traditional bomas have no car parking sites,; no staged performances of singing and dancing, although there were both of these activities.,people live with calves and shoats inside huts.

^{****} Protected areas

- The NCAA must market, advertise and promote existing and potential community based tourism projects such as cultural *bomas* to tour operators and tourists ' and other stakeholders within and outside the country as one of attractive feature available in the NCA. In line with that, entrance fees should done per charged per head (individual) rather than per vehicle as the case now.
- To control the mushrooming of cultural bomas and reduce ecological and sociocultural impacts on the environment and local residents, the idea of establishing an association is discussable. The NCAA-Tourism Department and Pastoral Council sought of establish a cultural center to generate ideas and implement decision that are favorable to the local community with a view that improving their incomes accrued from tourism activates while enhancing the dignity of local people and protecting the ecological integrity of NCA(Melita ,2006, debriefing report)

To attain this aim ,the centers has to focus, among others , on the coordination of marking ,regulation and setting of pricing framework, negotiating with tour operators taking measures to discipline deceptive members ,drivers, visitors; training of occupiers, separation of business cultural bomas from curio shops, improve public hygienic and reviewing location of bomas.

- Socio-political empowerment among local residents is of paramount important for ensuring successful community tourism projects. Local people should be empowered to make decision on what aspect of traditions can be publicly shared; plan on what to take place on land, set direct partnerships with tour operators to develop ecotourism ventures.
- Revenues collected from walking safaris should be paid directly to the ward /village authority (rather than to the NCAA) and given autonomous power to utilize for village development projects. This is critical for engaging people participation and providing those benefits and minimizing rate of malpractices that may occur. Also, all feeder roads toward village campsites should be improved to ensure continuous use all year around.
- Increase local people participation in ecotourism projects by emphasizing education (multilingual, hotel, tour operation and management skills) and provision of training (improved local handicrafts) through attending seminars/workshops, festivals and exhibitions.

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