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“Domicilelessness” and Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Case of Maasai in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed at demonstrating Maasai migration into Dar es Salaam urban areas and their challenges in accessing accommodation. Methodologically, the study deployed secondary data analysis following a descriptive research design. Furthermore, this study was conducted through both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The study was conducted from 2018 to 2022 of which a random sample of 100 (N=100) was targeted. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 16). Findings: The Maasai means of accommodation are divided into four main categories: completed houses (6%), under-construction sites (39%), halfway constructed and abandoned structures (31%), and car garages and under trees (24%). These groups lack basic services such as water, toilets, and cooking spaces, and are often confounded and inhabitable, exposing them to risk of contracting various diseases. Maasai engage in livelihood activities both day and night, with hairdressing, handcraft, and petty trading being their primary activities. At night, they work as watchmen and those not engaged in anything spend time sleeping. Inclusive policies catering for minority groups in urban areas need to be put in place in Dar es Salaam.

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INTRODUCTION

Tanzania has over 120 ethnic groups with unique traditions and cultural attachments, including dress, food, house typologies, language, and social practices. As these tribes migrate to cities, they adopt western culture and traditions, such as dress, housing design, and construction materials, to become accustomed to the urban environment. Most Tanzanian tribes' houses in urban areas have fewer cultural attachments than those in rural areas,

making them accessible to people of any ethnic group. However, few tribes, like the Maasai and Hadzabe, remain strongly attached to their cultural norms, with Maasai culture being closely associated with house form, building materials, lifestyle, and other socio-cultural practices rarely found in large cities like Dar es Salaam.

The Maasai minority group, who continue to practice their traditions, have migrated to urban areas due to socioeconomic

development, environmental changes, loss of grazing land, political marginalization, alternative employment, and resource decline in Maasailand, as well as the need for wage labor (Mung'ong'o & Mwamfupe, 2003). Maasai migration to urban areas offers better income but can also lead to challenges such as access to a healthy living environment, housing, and modernization. This is different from other tribes, who easily adapt to western culture and traditions. As a result, an increasing number of Maasai are forced to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, and they should be prepared to face the potential impacts of migrating to an ecological urban setting and the impacts of their adaptation.

The study aimed to explore possible solutions for the Maasai living in Dar es Salaam's metropolitan districts, specifically concerning housing and income-generating options. It sought to examine the available housing and transportation options for Maasai migrants, along with the challenges they face in securing employment and adapting to urban life. Historically, Maasai people lived as nomads in rural areas where their lifestyle was suited to temporary dwellings. This contrasts with urban environments, which often do not align with Maasai culture and lifestyle. However, most Maasai residents in urban Dar es Salaam have received formal education and adopted Western lifestyles, which facilitates their ability to secure accommodation and pay rent. This cultural and economic disparity underscores the unique challenges Maasai face in achieving sustainable development.

The author expected to address three main issues with the research. First, they aimed to determine the extent to which Maasai in metropolitan Dar es Salaam have access to lodging and the types of lodging available to them. Second, they sought to explore what types of livelihood activities Maasai engage in to afford tenancy, given that urban living requires a "tenancy-landlord relationship or private ownership of lodging." Third, they intended to identify

the hazards associated with Maasai accommodations in metropolitan areas. The findings were anticipated to be useful to settlement institutions, academics, practitioners, decision-makers, and civil society. Finally, the paper was set to integrate the findings with the policy implications of the current situation.

Housing Concepts

Housing is a crucial living component, providing shelter, protection, warmth, and a place to relax (Henilane, 2015a). It plays a significant role in economic growth, accounting for 62% of total economic activity and being the largest fixed asset for families (European Commission, 2005). The terms "housing" and "house" are related, with housing being a distinct and confined physical and physiological entity (Melnikas, 1998).

The concept of housing is similar to the concept of 'home', defined as a physical and physiological space (Melnikas, 1998). The costs of purchasing, constructing, and maintaining housing should be proportionate to the benefits it offers. In today's world, the focus is on the benefits of housing, such as comfort, convenience, and energy efficiency (Henilane, 2015). The costs of housing should be proportionate to the benefits it provides (Ibid.). This shift in focus is driven by the desire to create a comfortable, convenient, and appropriate environment that is also energy-efficient (Ibid.). Grimes & Orville (2016) suggest that national policies for housing provision are often based on construction costs, which can vary significantly based on building materials, housing standards, and quality. They argue that housing is more than just a physical means of residence, such as a collateral, mortgage, or facility, and is a valuable asset that can be exchanged for potential returns.

Housing and Informality

Authors such as Nguluma (2003) have conducted various studies to understand the

challenges of housing in informal settlements where, issues such as the self-built housing practices within informal settlements in Dar es Salaam as means to acquire housing were discussed. Nguluma (2003) highlights how residents in these areas create their own housing solutions due to the inadequacy of formal housing systems and limited government intervention. Key issues addressed in the work include the lack of access to formal credit and planning services, which forces individuals to rely on incremental and often substandard construction methods. The study also emphasizes the resilience and resourcefulness of residents in overcoming these challenges, despite facing inadequate infrastructure, poor sanitation, and high-density living conditions. Nguluma's analysis underscores the need for more inclusive urban policies that recognize and integrate informal housing practices into formal urban planning and development frameworks.

Again, the work of Gopalan (2015) identifies key issues such as inadequate housing supply, the need for affordable housing solutions, and the disparities between formal and informal housing sectors. Gopalan emphasizes the importance of inclusive policies that address the needs of low-income and marginalized groups, advocating for better access to financing and land for affordable housing projects. The paper also highlights the necessity of integrating housing strategies with broader urban planning and development goals to ensure sustainable and equitable growth. Key recommendations include strengthening regulatory frameworks, improving infrastructure, and enhancing community participation in housing development initiatives.

Typical day-life of Maasai in Urban Dar es Salaam

The Maasai living in urban areas of Dar es Salaam begin their day with a blend of traditional and modern routines. They rise

early in the morning, commuting to various locations across the city. Many Maasai engage in small-scale businesses, such as operating stalls in local markets where they sell traditional medicines, handwoven beads, and other art and craft items. Their day might include working on construction sites as security guards. Some remain back, rearing children or doing handmade art crafts at where they stay ("home"). The word home here connotes a spot or location that the Maasai consider their place of living. This may be in various locations, such as under a tree, garage, shopfronts, or a gathering locality.

Throughout the day, the Maasai keep on roaming around the city streets, selling traditional herbs, handmade beads, and bangles in order to keep them busy. During breaks, they socialize with other Maasai or participate in community activities that reinforce their cultural ties. As evening approaches, the Maasai hawkers keep on moving from one place to another, asking passersby to buy their products. They also move into drinking parlors seeking the market for their products. Some shift their roles from selling to night security guards in various shops, houses, and factories. The life becomes nomadic as they do not have a permanent fixed structure with proper bedding and other amenities that can be termed as a house, making their housing conditions in urban areas a challenge.

"Housing" refers to a distinct, independent place of residence for one household or a place of habitation used as a permanent dwelling during census. It includes occupied conventional residences and other housing units with a set address (Central Statistical Bureau, 2005). Although derived from a Western sense of dwelling, "housing" implies permanence and a distinct place, unlike the Maasai living in Dar es Salaam's metropolitan districts. Permanent quality and location in Dar es Salaam require owners to protect themselves from the high temperatures and humidity, which promote mosquito breeding. This raises questions about how

Maasai living in metropolitan settings deal with their environment, as there is no specially planned housing for them.

Melnikas (2008) defined "home" as a physical, physiological, and socially restricted space where people can live their biosocial existence, obtain services, and perform domestic duties (Kiwara, 2016). This raises questions about the presence and practice of these features in Maasai urban dwellings.

It is a basic human necessity and an indicator of a population's living standard. Today, housing quality is a hot topic, requiring pleasant, affordable, and relatively maintenance-friendly homes (Henilane, 2015). The author connects living standards with housing quality, implying homes should meet specific standards and comfort for occupants. This raises questions about the quality of life for Maasai households in urban areas and their economic contributions to urban growth.

Maasai Housing and Culture

Tanzanian Maasai are isolated and more traditional than Kenyan Maasai, indicating that their culture and traditions, including housing, are more valuable to preserve (Ann M, 2003). However, many landlords believe that the Maasai are primitive and cannot maintain modern urban dwellings, the situation that prevents the Maasai from obtaining housing in metropolitan areas. Additionally, preserving Maasai cultural standards in urban life is challenging, potentially compromising the purity of Maasai norms.

Maasai, pastoralists, use cow dung to plaster their rural buildings, protecting them from rain and keeping the cow culture scent. This keeps the Maasai feel connected to their property, norms, and surroundings. Maasai houses are nearly permanent, only being abandoned if unsuitable, if a family member dies, or if the structure is burned to the ground. Maasai huts are part of tribal enclosures for significant occasions like the "eunoto" blessing of junior elders. These enclosures may have over a hundred huts

arranged in a large circle, drawing the entire community together for ceremonies and feasting. The socio-cultural bonds seen in rural Maasai homes are practically practicable in metropolitan settings, showcasing the importance of these huts in tribal communities.

Housing Quality

Adequate shelter is crucial for a community's physical and psychological well-being and social stability (Challenge, 2010). However, urbanization in developing countries is causing a shortage of affordable housing, especially for low-income families. By 2030, urban residents will make up 61% of the world's population, and by 2039, the global population will be primarily in southern urban areas (Ibid). This lack of housing options has led to an increase in informal settlements.

Urbanization in Dar es Salaam hinders the provision of essential living attributes, as evidenced by Kiwara's (2016) analysis of the inadequate, unsatisfactory, and low-quality housing environment. The majority of homes in the area are sub-standard in terms of quality and quantity (Kiwara, 2016), with poor living conditions more common in areas like Kigogo, Kisiwani, Mwananyamala, Tandale, and Manzese, where housing conditions are deplorable and pose a health risk to residents (HABITAT, 2010; Rakodi, 2005).

Housing and Livelihood

The study by Rabodi (2002) highlights the importance of housing as a fundamental infrastructure for individuals, especially those in the informal sector, as it allows them to pursue their livelihoods. The essay emphasizes the strong relationship between shelter, location, and livelihood in urban communities. It highlights the significance of housing for Maasai, highlighting its necessity for sustainable living and enabling them to achieve accommodation for business. The study's central premise is

to reveal how Maasai achieve accommodation for their livelihoods.

Kiduanga's (2015) research highlights the theoretical relationship between housing, livelihoods, and well-being in urban populations. It emphasizes that these aspects contribute to urbanites' well-being through various socioeconomic activities. This understanding can help in discussing Maasai accommodation options and their livelihoods and well-being, as these factors are crucial for urban development and socioeconomic progression.

Kissick et al. (2006) emphasize the role of housing in generating work opportunities and expanding local tax bases. They argue that legalizing informal settlements and registering homes frees up fixed capital for investment and expands local tax bases, highlighting the importance of housing in employment generation and livelihood activities.

Grimes et al. (2006) found that rehousing in Korea led to a 28% increase in weekly production per worker, from \$13.00 before rehousing to \$17.40 after rehousing. This effect was replicated in Mexico, Venezuela, and Kenya, all of which were attributed to better housing. The study highlighted the positive impact of housing on occupants' performance and productivity, contributing to their overall well-being. The findings suggest that improved housing can lead to better performance and productivity, ultimately contributing to overall well-being. This highlights the importance of housing in enhancing overall well-being.

The literature suggests that housing has facilitated livelihood activities and well-being globally, but this study aims to understand various types of Maasai housing and livelihood activities in urban contexts, contradicting previous examples from around the world.

The section under the literature review covers different concepts of housing from different perspectives. For example, the Maasai consider housing as a temporary structure or space that can meet the needs

for just a short while. Other authors consider housing as a permanent structure that is built for safety, security, property, status, and a place for refuge. The same section relates different concepts of housing and the quality required. Where, for the Maasai, the quality is more attached to the culture, materials, and place of construction while in urban areas, the issues of culture are no longer given much attention.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This study focuses on the theory that housing and livelihoods are essential for urban well-being, as they can transform the socio-economic aspects of urban populations. It aims at revealing the Maasai possibilities for housing, such as availability, typologies, location, and quality, and livelihood activities like hairdressing, selling traditional herbs, and guarding in tourist hotels, to achieve Maasai well-being (health, safety, socialization, identity, and permanence). Housing serves as a strong livelihood means, enabling the population and city to achieve a better life and urban setting. This paper analyzes the concept of livelihood in Maasai housing and what livelihood means to achieve the Maasai wellbeing (Krantz, 2001). It highlights that livelihoods encompass resources, strategies, activities, institutional processes, and organizational structures, all playing a role in households' employment. The study aims to identify the link between these parameters for Maasai living in Dar es Salaam, focusing on the functional perspective of housing, which is of significant importance to the people, region, and nation (Figure 1).

The theoretical framework links the three aspects: Accommodation, livelihood activities, and the well-being in terms of how they intertwine. The framework shows that the Maasai traditionally live in semi-nomadic communities in the rural areas of Tanzania relying on seasonal migration to find grazing land for their livestock. However, factors such as land

privatization, conservation policies, and modernization have influenced their settlement patterns. Accommodation here refers not only to physical housing but also to the broader concept of settlement patterns and adaptation to changing environments.

The theory further demonstrates how accommodation relates to the type of livelihood activities of a society where, in the case of the Maasai, livelihood activities among the Maasai primarily revolve

around pastoralism, agriculture, and increasingly, engagement with tourism-related ventures. These activities are not only sources of income but also deeply embedded in their cultural identity and social structures. Livelihood diversification, driven by both internal and external factors, has become increasingly important for Maasai communities to cope with challenges such as climate change and socioeconomic transformations.

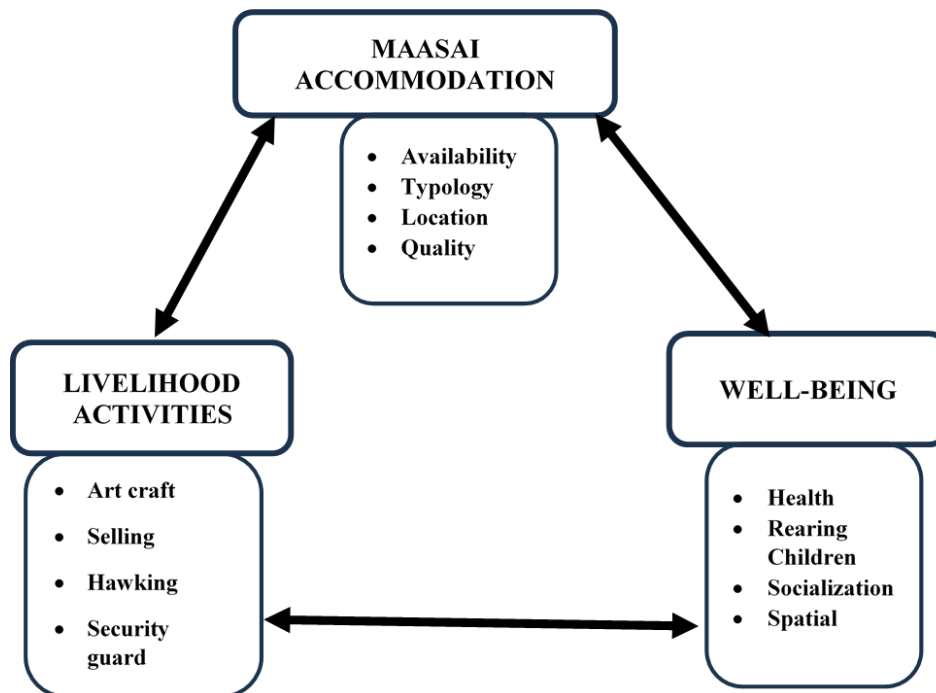


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework -interaction of accommodation, livelihood activities and well being.

Finally, the framework relates the accommodation, livelihood activities and the wellbeing of a society (Chambers and Conway, 1992). In the case of the Maasai, the well-being encompasses various dimensions, including physical health, mental health, social relationships, and economic status. For the Maasai, well-being is intricately linked to their cultural integrity, access to resources, and ability to maintain traditional practices amidst changing circumstances. It is influenced by factors such as education, healthcare, social cohesion, and economic opportunities. Although this framework works for the

Maasai in the rural-settings, it might be different for the Maasai who have migrated and currently living and conducting livelihood activities in urban areas. Thus, the study intends to underscore how the three aspects manifest to the Maasai in the urban areas. The framework links the three aspects indicating what is to be covered in each of the aspects in order to develop a comprehensive discourse of the study.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

A study was conducted using 100 questionnaires (N = 100), with 97% of

interviewees responding. The questionnaires were administered in Mwenge, Bunju, Tegeta, Sinza, Ilala Boma, Kariakoo, Savei, and Mwananyamala, chosen due to the Maasai's livelihood activities in these areas. The study considered both daytime and nighttime data collection, considering their literacy level. The study was guided by a comprehensive literature review of the Maasai lifestyle, accommodation pattern, livelihood activities, and well-being of the same. The literature highlighted the gaps and relevant theoretical frameworks. The literature review led to the selection of the appropriate conceptual framework and some related theories, such as the sustainable livelihoods framework and intersectionality theory, which ultimately guided the design and analysis.

Research Design: The author used purposeful sampling to select the Maasai community's representative of different accommodation patterns, locations, and livelihood activities of the Maasai in urban Dar es Salaam.

Data Collection Methods: The study employed a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative surveys, qualitative interviews, and focus group discussions in which the author was able to gather quantitative data on the Maasai demographics, livelihood strategies, and subjective well-being indicators of the same. Qualitative methods provided deeper insights into the socio-cultural context and the Maasai experiences in urban areas. The study observed ethical issues by explaining the study to the Maasai then asking them the consent and signing the consent to do the research, and then assisting the author on issues about cultural norms throughout the research process to ensure the relevance and ethical conduct.

Data Analysis: The collected data was analyzed qualitatively, including all matters about lifestyle, living places, livelihood activities, age, sex, family structure, and preoccupations and the quality of accommodation, family

structure, and well-being indicators. This was followed up by the quantitative analysis covering the issues of statistical understanding of the number of accommodations, types, patterns, and the number of family numbers involved in livelihood activities. The information was triangulated by comparing and contrasting findings from the quantitative, and qualitative analyses in order to achieve a comprehensive discourse. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 16). After the discourse, the findings were contextualized by situating findings within the broader socio-political, socio-spatial, socio-cultural, and environmental context, considering factors such as land tenure, government policies, planning policies, health, climate change, and cultural dynamics affecting Maasai communities. Finally, the findings were interpreted in light of the conceptual framework, theoretical perspectives, and methodological considerations, including the implications for theory, policy, and practice.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Categories of Maasai Living Places in Urban Area

Sharing Compound with Landlords

The study identifies that the majority of Maasai, who work as watchmen in urban centers, live on construction sites or abandoned buildings. The majority (54%) live on construction sites as their permanent residences while engaging in various livelihood activities (Figure 2). Only 15% live with landlords' compounds as watchmen sharing the compound but not the house. These Maasai live in small guard huts with changing spaces and benches. They have access to toilets and other basic facilities from the homeowners (Figure 3). The study reveals that 23% of full-time watchmen in Dar es Salaam do not have permanent living places, resulting in frequent relocations or sharing sites. Only 8% of these individuals rent houses in

urban areas and deal with established businesses like art and craft shops or traditional medicines. Some deal with trans-regional and interstate businesses, such as exporting Maasai sandals from Dar

es Salaam to southern African countries. These individuals typically stay temporarily in hotels while waiting for goods to be prepared.

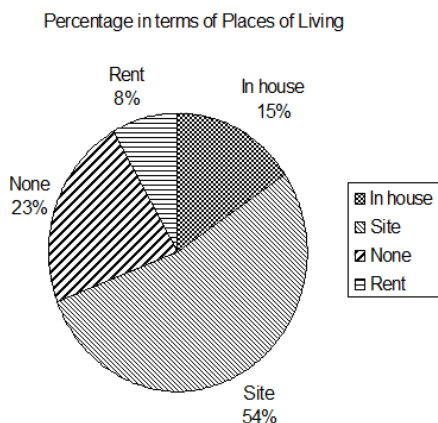


Figure 2: Distributions of Living Spaces for Maasai in Dar es Salaam (Field Data 2019).

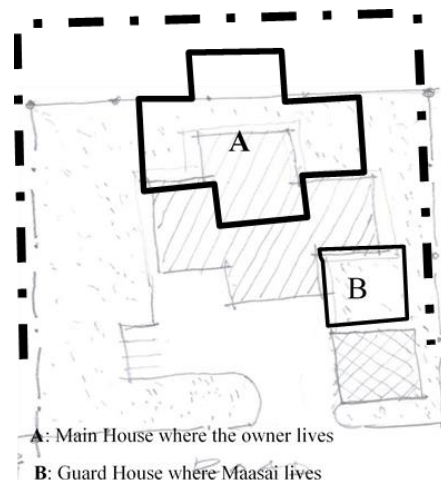


Figure 3: Maasai Living with Landlords (Field Data 2019).

Living in Construction Sites and Abandoned Places

Maasai people live on construction sites with abandoned buildings, temporary structures, or tents. 59% of these buildings are incomplete and un serviced, affecting various aspects such as floor, doors, windows, shutters, ceiling boards, mosquito nets, and roofs (Table 3). Windows are often unfixed with neither glass nor mosquito nets, exposing users to mosquito-related diseases (Table 1). Other components uncompleted include doors (21%), roofs (17%), windows 9%, and floors 4%. These findings are concerning for the health of users and highlight the need for improved construction practices.

The study reveals that 46% of Maasai residents fear malaria due to inadequate openings and mosquito nets, while 22% face coldness at night, particularly during winter (Table 2). They do not use blankets and are exposed to air, making cold seasons uncomfortable. 20% of those living in houses without doors feel insecure due to the lack of security in urban areas compared to rural areas (Table 3). This highlights a high level of housing insecurity among Maasai, with risk factors including mental illness, substance use, and homelessness (Claire, 2015). The study highlights the need for improved security measures in rural areas.

Table 1: Percentage of completeness and incompleteness of the houses

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Yes	38	38.0	39.2	39.2
	No	59	59.0	60.8	100.0
	Total	97	97.0	100.0	
missing	system	3	3.0	-	-
Total		100	100.0	-	-

Table 2: Components which are not completed in living places

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Floor	4	4.0	4.1	4.1
	Windows	9	9.0	9.3	13.4
	Roof	17	17.0	17.5	79.4
	Doors	21	21.0	21.6	100.0
	Glasses	23	23.0	23.7	-
	Mosquito net	23	23.0	23.7	-
	Total	97	97.0	100.0	-
missing	system	3	3.0	-	-
Total		100	100.0	-	-

Table 3: Problem encountered when living in semi-finished structures

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Cold weather	22	22.0	22.1	27.7
	Mosquitoes	46	46.0	47.4	70.1
	Rain	9	9.0	9.3	79.4
	Safety	20	20.0	20.6	100.0
	Total	97	97.0	100	-
missing	system	3	3.0	-	-
Total		100	100.0	-	-

Spatial Quality of Maasai Accommodations

The study reveals that most Maasai living areas lack basic facilities, including toilets, water supply, sewerage systems, and cooking places. About 34% of respondents lack direct access to water supply, relying on neighbors. This is likely due to living in construction or abandoned sites where services are not provided, highlighting the lack of basic facilities in their areas.

The study reveals that toilet facilities are a major concern for Maasai living in construction sites, abandoned buildings, and cars in Dar es Salaam. Most respondents (89%) relieve themselves in bars (33%), bush (31%), and neighboring houses or surroundings (25%). This lack of facilities is

concerning, as it agrees with a study by Bonnefoy (2007), which found that the quality of a housing environment affects human health. The study also found a relationship between housing conditions and mental health, sleep quality, indoor air, home safety, and other environmental parameters. Streimikiene's (2015) study highlights the importance of sufficient space in housing conditions, with the overcrowding rate being the main indicator. This rate measures the proportion of people living in an overcrowded dwelling, based on room availability, household size, ages, and family situation. However, this finding contrasts with places where Maasai people live, despite having basic amenities like cooking areas and toilets and a conducive environment.

Table 4: Availability of water supply

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Connected	36	36.0	37.1	37.1
	Neighbor	34	34.0	35.1	72.2
	Wells	27	27.0	27.8	100.0

	Total	97	97.0	100.0	
missing	system	3	3.0	-	-
Total		100	100.0	-	-

Table 5: Alternative means of toilets

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Neighbor	25	25.0	25.8	25.8
	Bush	31	31.0	32.0	57.7
	Farm	8	8.0	8.2	66.0
	Bar	33	33.0	34.0	100.0
	Total	97	97.0	100.0	
missing	system	3	3.0	-	-
Total		100	100.0	-	-

Conditions of Maasais’ Living and Livelihood Activities in Dar es Salaam

Situation of Living Conditions

Besides the fact that Maasai in the rural area of Tanzania live ‘‘comfortably’’ practicing nomadic life, the situation changes abruptly when they move to urban centers of big cities such as Dar es Salaam, where, apart from the challenges to secure means of accommodation, they also have to face the incompleteness of the various available but yet uncomfortable means of residence. This study shows that the Maasai in urban areas of Dar es Salaam do not have many choices of living spaces but rather are circumstantially forced to accept the few available means of accommodation. Unlike the dwelling places for other urban dwellers where the place of living is also the place of sleeping, the place of living for the Maasai is not necessarily the place of sleeping. The study shows that the Maasai spend more life (87%) hawking around and sleeping in outdoor spaces.

Situation of Livelihood Activities

The study reveals that Maasai, who engage in various livelihood activities, often require sleeping or napping places during their activities. For instance, men working in hairdressing may work full-time during the day and transition into another livelihood activity at night. During their work, they may need to take a nap along the shop corridor,

under a tree, or sit in a chair before continuing with their activity (Figure 4A).

The Maasai practice contradicts studies by Chapman et al. (2010) and Baker (2016), which suggest a strong correlation between housing quality, mental health, and sustainability. Both studies highlight the importance of housing in productive, healthy, and meaningful lives, determining health and well-being. Maasai may face mental health challenges due to inadequate living conditions, which are often undocumented and require urban development authority to address.

Futhermore, the study reveals that Maasai who work as watchmen at night and do not engage in other social-economic activities during the day spend most of their time sleeping under a tree. Men sleep under a tree, while women care for children and make beads near where men sleep. This is observed in Savei and Coca-cola industrial areas (Figure 4B). The social division of labor is interesting, with women taking care of young ones while men engage in livelihood activities. These spaces serve the basic function of resting for the Maasai but are not safe for human health (Figure 4C). The study by Bonnefoy (2007) highlights several shortcomings in the spaces Maasai spend time between livelihood activities, including poor mental health, sleep quality, indoor air, home safety, and other environmental parameters.



A: Maasai taking nap on a chair near a salon shop



B: A group of Maasai taking nap under a tree along University Road



C: Maasai men hawking along the road



D: Maasai man taking nap on the chair at Ilala

Figure 4: Maasai Living Condition (lifestyle)-during day time.

Day time and Night time Livelihood Activities

The majority of Maasai (42.3%) engage in petty trading (Figure 5), traditional herbs, and art crafts, particularly in Dar es Salaam areas. Hairdressing is the second most common livelihood activity, followed by handcrafts (8.2%). The majority of Maasai men work in Mwenge and Ilala Boma, while only 7.2% work as watchmen in the day. Urban Maasai engage in both daytime and nighttime

activities (Table 6) and nighttime activities are shown in Table 7. One Maasai was asked how he manages to work day and night, and he responded “we are earn a little amount of money between Tsh 120,000 and 180,000 per month. This is too little for me; I have to work at night as well in order to double my income”, said the security guard, who also works as a hawker during the day time selling Maasai herbal medicines.

Table 6: Typologies of Maasai Livelihood Activities during Day time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Watchmen	7	7.2	7.2	7.2
	Hairdressing	34	35.1	35.1	42.3
	Petty trading	41	42.3	42.3	84.5
	Handcraft	8	8.2	8.2	92.8

	watchmen and hairdressing	5	5.2	5.2	97.9
	Nothing	2	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	97	100.0	100.0	

Table 7: Maasai Livelihood Activities during night time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cum. Percent
Valid	Guard	41	41.0	46.1	46.1
	Hairdressing	9	9.0	10.1	56.2
	Petty trading	4	4.0	4.5	60.7
	Guard and hairdressing	5	5.2	5.2	97.9
	Nothing	2	2.1	2.1	100.0
missing	system	11	11.0	-	-
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Challenges facing the Maasai in Urban Areas

Maasai Concern over Cultural Distortion

The study reveals that Maasai in urban areas are embracing modern lifestyles, but this change is influenced by the pressure to transition from traditional to modern ways of living. This affects their daily routines, including dressing, eating, and activities. Maasai are more comfortable with modern clothing and lifestyles, unlike rural areas where traditional clothing is specific to color

and meaning. Some Maasai express concern about the difficulty in finding traditional Maasai foods and dressings in urban areas and the loss of their traditional culture for those who stay in urban areas for extended periods. One Maasai was complaining about the challenges on food, dressing, and living conditions, where he said, “We only come to live in urban areas, but we feel out of place; we eat foreign foods; we dress modern clothing; and we sleep in bad environments.” We are not happy, only because we want to get money to support our families”.



A: A Maasai woman selling Traditional herbs at Mwenge



B: Maasai men selling Traditional herbs at Mwananyamala



C: Maasai lady selling herbs- at Keko



D: Maasai men working in salon for hair dressing



E: A Maasai men guarding a construction Site along the street-Ukongu



F: Maasai man guarding cars-Mbezi

Figure 5: Maasai engaging in Various Livelihood Activities in Dar es Salaam.

Cultural Conservation Coping Strategies

Maasai people gather weekly to remember their home traditions, including dancing, singing, and sharing traditional items. However, some Maasai argue that their culture is being diluted by marrying non-Maasai people and call for efforts to preserve their culture in urban areas. They fear being transformed into a modern way of living. One of the Maasai was caught complaining ... *"I work at one bar in Mbezi Beach as a security guard. I face a lot of challenges at night. Half-naked ladies come to me asking for money. In Maasai, women do not behave like the ones in urban areas; they respect men and dress properly, but here it is terrible, said the Maasai."* The complaints of the Maasai are a cultural conflict between the urban culture and the Maasai culture, which differ significantly.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

The study on Maasai migration into Dar es Salaam urban areas provides a critical insight into the accommodation challenges faced by this minority group. By analyzing secondary data through a descriptive research design and employing both qualitative and quantitative approaches, the study reveals significant findings about Maasai living conditions and

their daily activities in the city. The data, collected from 2018 to 2022, showed that Maasai accommodation is predominantly categorized into completed houses (6%), under-construction sites (39%), halfway constructed and abandoned structures (31%), and car garages or spaces under trees (24%). These living conditions are marked by inadequate basic services such as water, sanitation facilities, and cooking spaces, which significantly affect their health and quality of life. The exposure to risks like malaria and waterborne diseases due to the lack of proper amenities aligns with broader findings in urban migration literature.

The findings of this study are consistent with those of several other scholarly works examining the challenges faced by urban migrants, particularly minority groups. For instance, Davis (2006) discusses how urban migrants often end up in informal settlements with poor infrastructure and limited access to essential services. Similarly, Parnell and Robinson (2012) highlight the disparities faced by marginalized communities in accessing adequate housing and services in rapidly growing cities. The Maasai's involvement in diverse livelihood activities, including hairdressing, handcraft, petty trading, and working as watchmen, further reflects the adaptability required in navigating urban economies, as noted by Moser (1998) in her work on the informal sector in urban

areas. The need for inclusive policies is underscored by these findings, as highlighted by UN-Habitat (2016), which emphasizes the importance of tailored urban policies to address the specific needs of minority groups to promote equitable development. The study's results advocate for more inclusive and supportive policies to enhance the living conditions and integration of Maasai migrants into Dar es Salaam's urban fabric.

Policy Implication

The migration of Maasai people from rural to urban areas has led to a diluted Maasai culture, with the risk of contamination of pandemic diseases like HIV and Covid-19 (Ann, 2002; Cohen et al., 2003; Williams et al., 2002). The conditions of Maasai accommodation in urban areas also increase the likelihood of contracting malaria and other waterborne diseases, which may be transmitted to Maasai living in rural areas. The weakening of Maasai communities in rural areas due to production-age migration is another issue that needs to be addressed through a policy of cultural preservation for significant ethnic groups representing their origins.

The Maasai's presence in urban areas in Tanzania is becoming increasingly important due to their cultural significance in attracting tourists. The government should consider providing a center for Maasai to meet, exhibit their culture, and access basic social services and education. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism should establish a website to promote Maasai indigenous culture, understand cultural diversity, and advocate for human rights. The government can also lobby for Maasai participation in national policy-making processes for them to be included in the national development plans and agenda for their inclusivity.

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