

Impacts of Tourism Destination Development on Residents' Livelihoods in Northern Tanzania

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Abstract: This study aimed at evaluating livelihood impacts in pursuit to provide answer to an outstanding question on whether tourism destination development over time has influenced residents' access to adequate livelihood assets underlying household-wealth and well-being. The study involved agro-pastoralists residing in three gateway tourism destination communities: Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge, located in Northern Tanzania. A cost-effective impact evaluation based on residents' definition of wealth was embedded in the participatory wealth-ranking as part of the multi-method approach involving in-depth interview, focus group discussions and survey among 416 tourism beneficiaries and 425 non-beneficiary households, to collect data on livelihood assets and changes in household's wealth from year 2008/9 to 2018/19. It was found that, tourism has significantly raised the wealth status from normal to rich among benefiting households than non-benefiting, thus, enabled them to improve their well-being. Increase access to resident's financial and human resources are recommended for further improvement of well-being.

Keywords: Tourism Development; Wealth; Well-being; Livelihood; Northern Tanzania.

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Introduction

Tourism in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) is mainly concentrated in wildlife Protected Areas (PAs) and in areas that border and serve as entry points to PAs, known as gateway communities (Frauman & Banks, 2011). As part of PA ecosystem, the Gateway

Communities (GCs) have, over the past two decades become tourism destinations as they are endowed with attractions for typically nature-based tourism (Keitumetse & Pampiri, 2016; Mwongoso et al, 2021). In the northern Tanzania, GCs have experienced three evolutionary stages of Butler

(1980) tourism destination development life cycle: exploration, involvement and development (Mwongoso et al, 2021). Tourism conduct in GCs is commonly featured with trophy hunting, cultural products offering, game-viewing, low capacity-lodges, concession agreements tied to land use restrictions, village-land membership schemes and tourism revenue-sharing (Manyara & Jones, 2007).

Tourism revenue in Tanzanian GCs is usually allocated by village councils to improve the well-being of pastoral and agro-pastoralists enduring low productivity due to semi-aridity and Savannah grasslands of Northern Tanzania. Thus, tourism receipts facilitate communal projects in ensuring availability of water and construction of schools and health centres (Nelson, 2004). These community projects are geared towards creation of desired livelihood outcomes that manifests into livelihood impacts. However, there are contested observations regarding the magnitude and direction of tourism livelihood impacts. For instance, there is a concern on whether the tourism impacts are significant to majority of residents and if the benefits are increasingly felt at an individual or household level (Snyman, 2017; Suich, 2013).

Specifically, there is an outstanding question on whether tourism development over time in GCs has influenced residents' access to adequate livelihood assets (i.e. financial, social, physical, human and natural). This is evidenced from relevant tourism impact studies (see e.g. Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010; Mosha, 2011; Snider, 2012; Tefera, 2014). These studies used the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) which is considered to be the most effective in sustainable livelihood analysis in tourism (Simpson, 2007). However, in these studies, there was no concern to focus on changes in livelihood assets to predict the residents' well-being aspect of livelihood outcomes. This implies, inadequate understanding of the contribution of tourism development in transforming residents' access to livelihood assets over time. Specifically, there is dearth of tourism studies that have evaluated the relationship between the course of tourism destination development and changes in livelihood assets to predict residents' well-being status.

Noteworthy, possession of adequate livelihood assets indicates household-wealth capable to address livelihood vulnerability context and in turn, improve well-being (Antwi-Agyei et al., 2013; Quandt, 2018)

This study, therefore, addressed the gap left by previous studies, by evaluating impacts of development of tourism destination on residents' livelihoods in three GCs: Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge located in northern Tanzania.

Theoretical Underpinnings

This study was guided by the asset-based theory within the context of SLA advocated by the DFID (1999). The SLA is suitable in describing the nexus between livelihood assets underlying wealth, livelihood strategy (i.e. tourism) and change in livelihood outcome (i.e. increased well-being) (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p.7) contend that,

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

The SLA focuses on the capabilities of five livelihood capital assets that are crucial for making a living (Manyumwa et al., 2018). Premised on the asset-based theory, SLA conceptualizes livelihood capital assets to include: (i) natural assets such as land and water, (ii) physical assets such as livestock, houses and productive equipment, (iii) financial assets such as savings, salaries, remittances or pension, (iv) human capital assets such as skills, level of education, farm labour, gender composition and dependants and (v) social assets such as community support, extended families and formal or informal social welfare network (DFID, 1999). The rationale of livelihood assets is premised on the claim that ownership of or at least the ability to use assets like land, livestock and small enterprises bears meaning to local residents because assets are reliable means of storing and saving wealth (Brockington et al., 2018).

The aforementioned definition of livelihood includes shocks. Shocks are defined as "adverse events that lead to a loss of household income, a reduction in consumption and/or a loss in productive assets" (Dercon et al., 2005, p. 5). Shocks coming from different sources may lead to financial or non-financial loss, spread across space and time and vary in frequency, duration, intensity and scope (Hakim et al., 2018).

Along occurrence of shock-event is the possibility of livelihood vulnerability. Vulnerability is simply defined as inability to escape from welfare loss when hit by exogenous shocks (Haq, 2015). There are four major perspectives used to conceptualize and guide different studies on Vulnerability (Nyamwanza, 2012). These perspectives are: (i) natural hazard: vulnerability is explained from severe loss caused by occurrence of natural events like earthquake, (ii) political economy: vulnerability is conceptualized from lack of opportunities following unequal distribution of power and sociopolitical, economic and environmental resources such that some individuals or groups are at disadvantage positions and are prone to risk than others. The other perspectives are; (iii) couple vulnerability: focusing on multiple interacting perturbations and stressors where vulnerability analysis is on three components: exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity (Turner et al., 2003) and (iv) poverty perspective: where poverty is linked to vulnerability with notions of inadequate access to assets and social support to meet basic life necessities (Ellis, 2000). The nexus between poverty and vulnerability is premised on the fact that poverty influence people vulnerable to multiple shocks like diseases, drought and earthquake. In turn, vulnerability to such shocks accelerate their poverty and hence vulnerability to future shocks (Damas & Israt, 2004).

This study employed the poverty perspective in examining the stock of household assets that predicts well-being conditions of local residents in GCs. This perspective is relevant in this study because the primary motivation of resident's involvement in tourism is to improve well-being by re-investing tourism revenue into communal projects and household assets leading to access to education, health services and savings (Nelson, 2004), thus building resilience to repetitive multiple stressors and shocks.

Figure 1 illustrates the elements constituting SLA. The logic flow of SLA starts from analysis of poor people confronted with vulnerable context (i.e., presence of shocks or undesired situations) affecting households' asset-base. Thus, a call for key actors at the household, community and institutional levels who engages in policy formulation, laws, structures and process to organize or transform resources/assets to address vulnerability context. Involvement of these actors influence the establishment of livelihood strategies (i.e., tourism intervention and agro-pastoralism) in order to attain livelihood outcomes (i.e., more income, increased well-being and reduced vulnerability). Increased well-being as one of livelihood outcomes, has a mutual relationship to livelihood asset possession as illustrated in Figure 1.

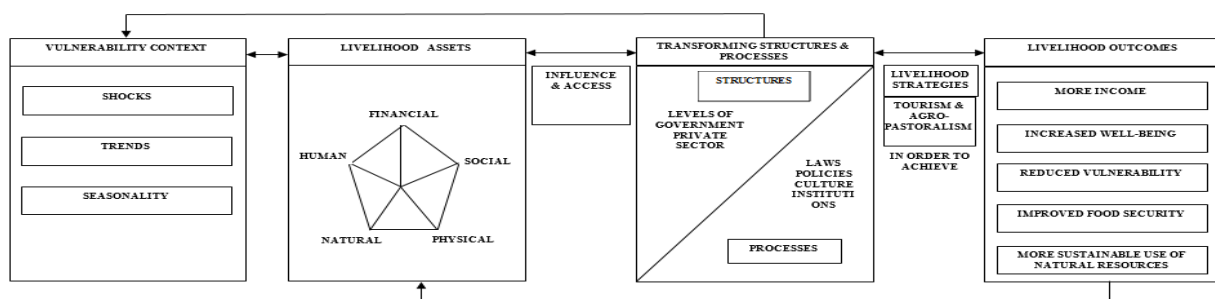


Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihood Approach (Adapted from Original DFID Framework) DFID, 1999.

The key interest of this study is on evaluating mutual relationship between access to livelihood assets that underlying household-wealth and improved well-being. The common estimates of wealth status at household is on the asset-possession as stock of wealth that household uses to combat adverse shocks causing vulnerability (Neelakantan, et al., 2020 ; Quandt, 2018). Thus, a household with adequate stock of wealth at particular point in time has a favorable well-being position as it is less vulnerable to shocks and perturbations (Antwi-Agyei et al., 2013). Enhancing

well-being has been considered as one of the most important goals in the development agenda in many SSA countries. For example, Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025 calls for achieving high quality and sustainable livelihoods through eradication of absolute poverty by year 2025.

Methodology

Study areas

This study was conducted in 16 villages located in three GCs namely, Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge. The agro-pastoral and firmed cultural-

bond Maasai natives dominate Loliondo and Lake Natron by over 95% and about 28% in Burunge where they share with 60% of agro-pastoral Mbugwe natives as well as minority ethnic groups of Iraque, Warangi and hunter-gather group of Barbaig (Babati District Council, 2015; Ngorongoro District Council, 2016). The selected GCs are traditionally Game Controlled Areas (GCAs). The GCAs and village lands have been overlapping for many years (Sulle et al., 2011). Thus, in this study, GC entails a tourism destination containing a village or several villages sharing parts of its lands with GCA. Burunge GC lies on low land, wildlife migratory corridor between Tarangire and Manyara National Parks of Babati District of Manyara Region. Loliondo and Lake Natron GCs are entry-points to world natural heritage sites of Serengeti National Park and Ngorongoro Conservation Area of Ngorongoro District in Arusha Region. Given their close proximity to tourism attractions in PAs, the three selected GCs have become tourism destinations offering walking safaris, game viewing, hunting and camping since early 1990s (Mwongoso et al., 2021; Nelson, 2004). The studied GCs have experienced three stages of the development of tourism destinations prescribed by Butler (1980). The relevant stages include, exploration, involvement and present, at the development stage (Mwongoso et al., 2021).

Design

This study employed the quasi-experiment design that relies on untreated and treated units. Households and villages where an intervention (i.e. tourism activities) is conducted, were considered as target 'treated' group or tourism beneficiaries. Households living outside the target village, and thus, are not affected by the intervention (i.e. there are no tourism activities) were considered as 'untreated', 'control' group or non-beneficiaries (Khandker et al., 2009). The basic reason of using the non-beneficiary group was counterfactual analysis. This entails to determine what conditions of well-beings among residents in the tourism beneficiary village/households would be, had the tourism activities not been conducted in their areas. Furthermore, this study was set to evaluate tourism impacts on livelihoods for a period of 10 years starting from year 2008 as baseline year while year 2009 towards 2018/19 as post periods. The baseline and post periods are necessary for impact evaluation studies in order to estimate changes derived from intervention (Khandker et al., 2009). The baseline year of 2008 was considered following observations that there was either none or unclear secondary data on household livelihood-assets prior to the year 2008. Similarly, observations from pilot study indicated that respondents could easily recall possession of livelihood assets that described their wealth status when the reference year was 2008.

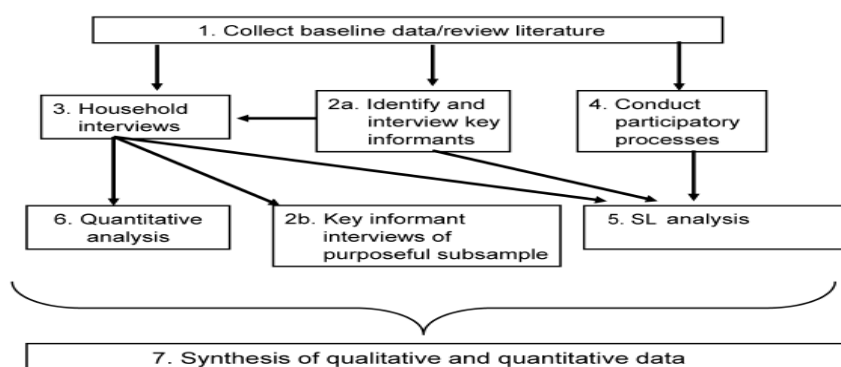


Figure 2: Integrated Approach to Assess Tourism Impacts on Community Development and Sustainable Livelihood

Population and Sampling

The population for this study comprised of household heads residing in 29, 17 and 28 villages forming district divisions of Loliondo, Sale (Ngorongoro District) and Mbugwe (Babati District), respectively. Basing on the fact that not all villages equally possessed tourism attractions, nine beneficiary and seven non-beneficiary villages were purposely selected to form a total of 16 villages

constituting three GC-destinations. Tourism beneficiary villages were: Olasiti, Kakoi, Sangaiwe, Vilima vitatu and Mwada from Burunge, Ololosokwan, Sukenya and Arash from Loliondo and one village, Engaresero from lake Natron. Non-beneficiary villages included: Pinyinyi from Lake Natron; Soitsambu, Njooroi and Olorien-Magaiduru from Loliondo and Sarame, Kisangaji and Minjingu from Burunge destination. Selection criteria for non-

beneficiary villages based on similarity to beneficiary village in terms of ethnicity, location (i.e. proximity to beneficiary village), livelihood activities and tourism resource potentials such as wildlife view, scenic beauty and socio-cultural aspects. These criteria were consistent to the principles of impact evaluation which suggest that comparison/non-beneficiary area should be identical to the beneficiary area.

Sampling frame was constructed based on criteria that sampling units should be household heads under condition that they had been household heads since year 2008 and are not immigrants but residents at least for past ten years (i.e. 2008/9 to year 2018/19). Other criteria required that household heads not possessing livelihood assets affiliated to individual aid from external donor-driven organizations like Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) which is involved in cash transfer programs to poorest and vulnerable households. These criteria were important in order to minimize selection bias by ensuring that tourism livelihood impacts are evaluated using the eligible people while constraining non-tourism impacts emanating through help from outside the communal village. Subsequently, key informants, were assigned appropriate wealth-category for the year 2008 and 2018/19 to each household in the constructed sample frame so as to determine the households' wealth trajectories (i.e. change in livelihood assets over time). This study used four wealth strata, namely, "very poor", "poor", "normal" and "rich." These wealth categories were observed following participatory wealth ranking (PWR) consensus reached among participants in a focus group discussion (FGD) conducted in each selected village.

The Sample frame constituted 1,634 beneficiary and 827 non-beneficiary households from selected villages in Loliondo, 1,177 beneficiary and 1,102 non-beneficiary households from selected villages in Burunge and 588 beneficiary and 968 non-beneficiary households from selected villages in Lake Natron destination.

Sample Size

Determination of households' sample size was employed through the formula recommended on small sample size corrected for a finite population as described by Daniel and Cross (2013). As a result, 164 beneficiaries and 169 non-beneficiary respondents/households formed the sample sizes for Loliondo; 146 beneficiaries and 150 non-

beneficiary households for Burunge and 108 beneficiaries and 113 non-beneficiary households constituted the sample sizes for Lake Natron, making a grand total of 418 tourism beneficiaries and 432 non-beneficiary households. After computation of the sample size from a respective constructed sample frame (population of eligible household heads in the village), a stratified random sampling technique (using a random number table) was used to draw the respondents for the survey. In order to execute the stratification, reference was made to the baseline year 2008 proportions of households' wealth strata, initially established through allocation of sample units to their respective wealth categories.

Instruments

Data collection and instrument used were consistent with the Simpson's (2007) integrated approach in assessing tourism impacts on community development and sustainable livelihoods as reflected in Figure 2. The approach requires data to be collected at baseline period or to use review of relevant literature. This study used year 2008 as baseline period and employed retrospective approach to solicit household-livelihood assets possessed at baseline. In addition, Simpson's (2007) approach emphasises on a multi-method for data collection (i.e., identify and interview key informants, conducting a participatory process through FGD, and household survey) followed by synthesis of qualitative and quantitative data analysis on livelihood impacts.

Household survey using a questionnaire was administered to selected samples through face-to-face interview, thus guaranteed both high response rate and validity of responses as clarification of questions were made during interview. The items in the questionnaire were set to capture households' demographic characteristics, then, household possession of key livelihood assets that determined wealth status at the baseline period (year 2008) and a post period (2018/19). These assets include house structure, number of cattle, size of land cultivated, and certainty of food availability consistent to those assets mentioned by discussants during PWR task. Respondents were also asked to state their wealth status basing on the aforementioned four categories of wealth at the baseline period (year 2008) and a post period (2018/19). In order to supplement and enrich data from survey, in-depth interview was conducted in each selected village, involving 63 households' heads known to experience severe loss

from shocks that may affect their assets and wealth trajectories in a decade. The snowball technique was used to identify target households.

Validity and Reliability

Content validity was observed regarding four livelihood assets representing particular wealth category in specific years. These include: house structure (i.e., physical), possession of number of cattle (i.e., physical and financial), size of land cultivated (i.e. natural and human-labor used in production) and certainty of food availability (i.e. physical, human and social, since access to food ensures productive and healthy individuals who can effectively interact with others). Therefore, asset-based criteria used to rank household-wealth featured well with SLA items constituting five asset components (Human, Physical, Social, Financial and Natural), thus, content validity was ensured.

Noteworthy, during FGD, discussants associated very poor households with zero possession of cows in year 2008 and maximum of four cows in year 2018; those who did not cultivate (2008) and cultivated up to half acre (2018); houses made of earth-floor, mud walls, thatch-roof (2008) and houses made of earth-floor, mud walls, leaked iron-sheet roof (2018) and those which afforded a single meal (2008) and two meals per day (2018). Therefore, household possessing these criteria scored one while households with relatively more assets scored 2 (poor), 3 (normal) and 4 (rich). Scores assigned to wealth-ranking criteria were consistently applied to beneficiary and non-beneficiary households, thus, reliability was observed through replication. Reliability was further enhanced by the use of multiple instruments in data collection.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues were maintained throughout the data collection sessions. Before the interview, informed consent from interviewees and permission for audio recording was sought after explaining the purpose for which the information was needed.

Statistical Treatment of Data

Prior to quantitative data analysis, the quality of data was ensured through observation of missing data, followed by normality and outlier's test using Z-scores and histogram to satisfy assumptions for parametric test statistics like the independent samples *t*-test. Results of normality test showed that two respondents from beneficiary groups had outliers while seven respondents from non-

beneficiary groups had missing data across several questions and thus, were excluded from the major analysis. Therefore, the sample size used for major analysis was reduced to 416 and 425 for beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents, respectively. Qualitative data was transcribed and analyzed thematically reflecting on criteria that defines wealth status over the years. Descriptive bivariate analysis using cross tabulation with row or column percentages on frequency count was used to analyze trajectories of wealth status across years 2008/9 to 2018/19. Quantitative data on wealth categories derived from household possession of livelihood assets accumulation was analyzed to find statistical significance difference in wealth between beneficiary and non-beneficiary households. Results of self-reported wealth status was considered in case of mismatch between wealth ranking scores rated by key informants and survey respondents.

Results and Discussion

This section presents demographics of respondents and then reports the results and discussions, guided by research questions.

Demographic Profile

Results from Table 1 indicate dominance of male headed households in beneficiary and non-beneficiary groups. The dominant age group was found to be 29-38 years among heads of households in beneficiary and non-beneficiary groups for all destinations. Moreover, beneficiary, compared to non-beneficiary households in all destinations had gradually achieved more level of formal education (i.e. from secondary to college level) within a decade. In addition, there was increase in number (i.e. from 12.3% to 31% for year 2008/9 and 2018/19 respectively) of individual household members involved in tourism-based activities such as tour guides, selling cultural hand-crafts to tourists and those earning wages through seasonal employment at tourists' lodges and camps. This implies potential of development of tourism sector in GCs as it offers employment opportunities to local residents.

Table 1 shows an increased trend in wealth status for both beneficiary and non-beneficiary households across years. This result is consistent with the findings by a longitudinal study conducted by Brockington et al. (2018). Brockington et al. (2018) found a remarkable change in wealth, measured by assets change in a period of 18 years (i.e., from year 1995 to 2013) in a particular village in Northern

Tanzania. Noteworthy, in this study, greater increase in wealth is observed among beneficiary households in year 2018/19. In contrast, there was no significance difference in average wealth between these groups at the baseline year of 2008/9 (Table 2). This indicates, beneficiary villages

had experienced tremendous growth in assets after the year 2009 when these tourism destinations were experiencing a shift from “involvement” stage to “development” stage of destination life cycle (Mwongoso et al., 2021).

Table 1: Respondents’ Socio-economic Characteristics

SN	Household characteristics	Beneficiary (n= 416)				Non-beneficiary (n=425)			
		2008/9		2018/19		2008/9		2018/19	
1	Gender	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
	Male	324	77.9	324	77.9	340	80.0	340	80.0
	Female	92	22.1	92	22.1	85	20.0	85	20.0
2	Age								
	19-28	174	41.8	0	0.0	96	22.6	0	0.0
	29-38	159	38.2	174	41.8	211	49.6	96	22.6
	39-48	66	15.9	159	38.2	87	20.5	211	49.6
	49-58	15	3.6	66	15.9	26	6.1	87	20.5
	59-68	2	.5	15	3.6	5	1.2	26	6.1
	69-78	0	0.0	2	.5	0	0.0	5	1.2
3	Education								
	Informal	159	38.2	159	38.2	231	54.4	231	54.4
	Primary	194	46.6	170	40.9	194	45.6	193	45.4
	Secondary	49	11.8	66	15.9	0	0.0	1	.2
	College/University	14	3.4	21	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
4.	Involved in Tourism jobs	51	12.3	129	31	0	0.0	0	0.0
5.	Wealth categories								
	Very poor	82	19.7	51	12.3	115	27.1	81	19.1
	Poor	119	28.6	54	13.0	103	24.2	77	18.1
	Normal	179	43.0	186	44.7	147	34.6	202	47.5
	Rich	36	8.7	125	30.0	60	14.1	65	15.3

Specifically, reduction in poverty among the households in “very poor” category was almost similar for beneficiary and non-beneficiary groups, implying, similar number of households in each group had moved to the “poor” category by year 2018/19. On the other hand, reduction in poverty among the households in “poor” category was relatively higher (i.e., more than half: 119 in 2008/9 to 54 households in 2018/19) for beneficiary while reduction in poverty was quarter (i.e. 103 in 2008/9 to 77 households in 2018/19) for their counterpart. This implies, half of the beneficiary household had moved from “poor” to “normal” category by the year 2018/19. On contrary, wealth trajectory among the households in “rich” category increased three times more (i.e. 36 in 2008/9 to 125 households in 2018/19) for beneficiary households while changed slightly (i.e. 60 in 2008/9 to 65 households in 2018/19) for their counterpart. The greater increase in number of “rich” households in beneficiary group is credited to the wealth trajectory from “normal” towards “rich” category. This trend in wealth among beneficiary group can be attributed to the increased

in number of residents’ involvement in tourism, thus, diversified their livelihood options and consequently increased household assets and wealth.

Estimating Average Difference in Household Wealth Trajectories

In the year 2008/09, beneficiary and non-beneficiary households had no significant difference in average wealth. However, there was significant difference in average wealth in the year 2018/19 as shown in Table 2. This indicates statistical difference in wealth between beneficiary and non-beneficiary households is not due to chance but was contributed by presence of tourism development over the years.

Furthermore, Table 2 illustrates a general increasing trend in wealth trajectory as adequate number of beneficiary compared to non-beneficiary households in Loliondo and lake Natron had attained values equivalent or approximately to 3, implying the level of “normal” in wealth-status

category in year 2018/19 from the level of “poor” wealth category (coded 2) in year 2008/09. In Burunge, the same was observed for beneficiary households, but, not for the non-beneficiary households, which, despite positive progress, on average, they are still poor (i.e. 2.4 mean value of wealth status). In general, there has been a remarkable trajectory of increased-wealth among beneficiary households, thus, implying the increased capacity in addressing livelihood vulnerability context and improved well-being. This is justified by

the following observation from in-depth interview by a beneficiary respondent in Engaresero village in Lake Natron destination:

Severe drought of year 2008 killed 14 cows. Only two remained. But, in the year 2011, I was employed as tour guide. From that job, I got income that enabled me to purchase 34 goats in the year 2012. In the same year, I put the iron-sheet roof on my house.

Table 2: Mean Difference of Wealth Status for the Year 2008/09 and 2018/19

Loliondo:	Mean of Wealth Status	Difference	S.E.	T-stat	Sig.
Beneficiary	2.96 in year 2018	0.258	0.107	2.405	0.008
Non-beneficiary	2.70 in year 2018				
Beneficiary	2.44 in year 2008	-0.008	0.107	-0.070	0.472
Non-beneficiary	2.45 in year 2008				
L.Natron:					
Beneficiary	3.07 in year 2018	0.404	0.123	3.287	0.000
Non-beneficiary	2.67 in year 2018				
Beneficiary	2.46 in year 2008	0.043	0.125	0.347	0.364
Non-beneficiary	2.42 in year 2008				
Burunge:					
Beneficiary	2.78 in year 2018	0.373	0.113	3.296	0.000
Non-beneficiary	2.41 in year 2018				
Beneficiary	2.33 in year 2008	0.118	0.115	1.024	0.153
Non-beneficiary	2.21 in year 2008				

Another beneficiary respondent in Olasiti Village in Burunge commented on the contribution of tourism revenue in addressing food shortage:

In the year 2011, shortage of rain caused hunger and prices for food commodities like sugar, wheat and maize to be higher. The situation was worse because we afforded only one meal per day. When tourists started visiting my ‘boma’ [culture-tour to Maasai household], I got money that enabled purchase of adequate food for the family for the entire year.

The in-depth interview solicited information that indicated the role of tourism revenue in transforming residents’ living conditions and the well-being especially through social networking and

friends’ support as explained by beneficiary respondent in Ololosokwan village in Loliondo:

My friend is working as driver at the Kleins Camp [a luxury tourism lodge]. In year 2016 he gave me a loan that I used to make major maintenance to my house. I replaced the walls made by clay to blocks and changed the thatched-roof to iron sheet...I had to do that because during rain-season the roof used to leak.

Increased in residents’ well-being at the GCs was also observe among the non-beneficiary respondents as one household head in Kisangaji village in Burunge destination contended that:

I had 14 cows in the year 2010. I sold 10 because I was afraid they would die from

diseases caused by tsetse flies [i.e. Trypanosomosis]. Then, I spent the money to purchase 9 acres where I cultivated sun-flower. Since then, my life changed because I got money through selling the sun-flower cooking oil. Then, I had the capital to start food vending business. The business profit has enabled me to build two blocked houses with iron-sheet roof in the year 2017.

Despite the general remarkable change in well-being among residents in GCs, this study observed that, some respondents' wealth status is static in a decade after failing to recover from livelihood shock. This is evidenced by the non-beneficiary respondent in Sarame Village in Burunge who posited that:

I lost the 4 cows I had in the year 2008 due to prolonged drought, ... and remained with only 5 goats. Today, I don't have any...I am earning my living through working as laborer in house construction activities. There is meagre income there, so I normally ask for help to get food for my family.

Theoretical Contribution

This study advances the asset-based theory within the context of Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) at household level, in GCs. In this study, the SLA application was revitalized to the aspect of "improved well-being" following observation that in previous tourism-impacts studies in GCs, this important aspect was given inadequate attention, thus, widening the SLA application-gap in the sustainable livelihood analysis. This study narrows the gap by providing findings that refute unclear understanding on extent of improved well-being through the course of development of tourism destinations over time, especially to agro-pastoralists enduring low productivity due to semi-aridity and Savannah grass-lands of Northern Tanzania.

Furthermore, this study has made a significant contribution in the methodological approach used to estimate relationship between household assets, wealth and well-being in a decade of tourism development. This study employed the PWR approach based on household livelihood asset-ownership and used as a proxy of household wealth to predict well-being conditions. A PWR lets community members rank each other according to

their own perceptions of well-being, thus more effective than conventional wealth ranking methods that focused on standardized income or consumption pattern of self-reported household heads (Van Campenhout, 2006).

PWR was crucial in determining wealth trajectories covering year 2008/9 to 2018/19 while tourism destinations were experiencing a development stage of their life-cycle. The results from this "people-centered approach" showed general increase in household wealth over time similar to the results of household consumption expenditure approach which indicated that in Tanzania, poverty has decreased by 8% points in 10 years, down from 34.4% in 2007 to 26.4% in 2018 (World Bank, 2019).

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has established findings which are needed to provide an answer to the contested observation leading to a question whether tourism development over the years has any significant impacts to resident's access to livelihoods assets. The key concluding remark from this study is on the interface between livelihood assets (human, social, physical, natural and financial) accessed through a decade of tourism evolution within a destination development-life-cycle stage and how accumulated assets define wealth through the eyes of local residents at the household level. For example, access to financial resources from tourism at individual level (i.e. earning income through involvement in tourism activities such as tour-guide and offering cultural products to tourists) and communal level (i.e. village revenue from tourism investors through annual land-rent) can activate other livelihood resources like physical (e.g. access to productive assets and improved housing structures), human (e.g. access to education and health services following spending of tourism receipts on construction of class-rooms and health centers projects) and social (e.g. membership to social groups like saving and credit groups which provides safety-nets against shock events). Combined initiatives to conservation of natural resources which is the base of tourists' attraction results into effective synergy that translate to improved well-being conditions.

With this regard, residents' access to more financial (i.e. monetary assets) and human (i.e. education, skills and ability to manage other resources) are recommended to tourism stakeholders and community development practitioners to be among

the priority strategic policy-areas to ensure further reduction in vulnerability to livelihood shocks and poverty. This can be achieved through increased spending of tourism revenue on health and formal education projects at one hand while using another share of tourism revenue or individual savings to establish community banks or savings and credit Co-operatives (SACCOs) to enable individuals to access credits to establish small business enterprises so as to diversify livelihoods activities instead of relying merely on agro-pastoralism. These recommendations are likely to produce positive results given the fact that the studied destinations are still at the development stage of destination life-cycle. At this stage, communal residents' access to tourism revenue is ensured given the continued flow of tourists to these destinations in contrast to a decline life-cycle stage where tourism revenue can hardly contribute to residents' livelihoods as revenue is constrained following loss of destination appealing features to attract tourists' visitation.

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