

# Development of Tourism Destinations in Gateway Communities, Northern Tanzania

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## Abstract

There is unclear understanding of tourism development beyond the borders of Sub Saharan African countries' protected areas, thus, uncertain about its potentials and sustainability. This study contributes to the body of knowledge by applying the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model to evaluate tourism development-path for 36 years in three tourism gateway community-destinations: Burunge, Lake Natron and Loliondo in northern Tanzania. This model has been massively applied worldwide, with exception to Africa and Tanzania in particular. Multi-method technique was employed to collect historical data featuring destination development indicators, followed by assessment of indicators compliance to the model. It was found that all three destinations have experienced exploration, involvement and are currently at the development stage of the model. Improvement of transport services, cultural program enhancement and integrated sustainable tourism development plan are recommended before these destinations move to consolidation stage.

**Keywords:** Tourism Area Life Cycle, Tourism Destinations, Gateway Communities, Northern Tanzania

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## 1. Introduction

The Global tourist flow portray an increase of 7.6%: 1.4 billion tourists in 2018 from 1.3 billion in 2017, while the international tourist arrivals in Africa grew by 7%: 67.1 million tourists in 2018 from 62.7 million recorded in 2017 (UNWTO, 2019). The wildlife protected areas (PAs) and adjacent areas of Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) attracted 64% of tourists in 2018, especially in eight countries: Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Manrai et al., 2019; UNWTO, 2019). The PAs in these countries hosts tourism activities such as game-viewing and camping within strictly exclusion of human activities in national parks, defined by International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) as category II and in the nationally controlled human activities (IUCN category V). Hunting tourism is the other activity which is conducted in Game Reserves (GRs) (IUCN category II) and in the Game Controlled Areas (GCAs), where there is multiple land use, allowing human settlement and livelihood activities such as, pastoralism and cultivation (IUCN category VI) (Chung et al., 2018; Dudley, 2008). However, the number of hunting tourists in SSA are very marginal with estimate of 18,500 annually (Price, 2017). Most of these PAs are not enclosed, thus allowing the natural movement of wild animals to adjacent areas (Chardonnet & Bel, 2011; Sulle et al., 2014). Adjacent to PAs are gateway communities that border and serve as entry points to PAs (Frauman & Banks, 2011). Joyner et

al. (2019) describe them as ‘natural amenity communities’. These communities have become destinations offering walking safaris, game viewing, cultural, trophy hunting and camping in SSA since 1980s (Jones et al., 2015; Manyara & Jones, 2007).

Significant portion of outskirt lands under gateway communities falls within PAs ecosystem and often provide habitats for wildlife migratory species (Shah & Mukhovi, 2019). Sulle et al., (2011) posits an overlap of village lands with GCAs in gateway communities where pastoralism, grazing and human settlement interacts with tourism activities in northern Tanzania. Therefore, gateway communities are very important because they sustain livelihoods at one hand, and on the other hand, biodiversity and cultural resources, which are crucial tourism attractions. For instance, tourism income in Kenya and Tanzania infiltrate gateway communities whose majority of its pastoral and agro-pastoral Maasai residents experiences low productivity due to semi-arid of typical Savannah rangelands (Shah & Mukhovi, 2019). Thus, tourism ensure an alternative and crucial livelihood source to residents.

Literature on tourism in gateway communities in SSA are featured with nexus between conservation initiatives and local development mediated by hunting and game-viewing tourism in the sanctuaries, conservancies and wildlife management areas. Thus, tourism conduct and its outcome is associated with running of hunting blocks, cultural products, low capacity-lodges, partnership approaches, village-land membership scheme, tourism revenue-sharing and effect on community development projects (see, Ahebwa et al., 2012; Jones et al., 2015; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Nelson, 2004; Snyman, 2013; Stone & Nyaupane, 2015). The major drawback of these studies is the fact that they are not informed by tourism destination development theory or model like Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC). This claim is asserted by Manrai et al (2019) contending that “there is inadequate academic research and theory application addressing tourism in Sub Saharan Africa” (p.1). At the absence of tourism development model, the gateway communities’ tourism development path in SSA is poorly understood, neither its prediction (prospects), nor effective planning can be determined with certainty. Moreover, while PAs like national parks are well documented and publicized, the destinations within gateway communities are often overlooked as support for conservation and not tourism spots despite their rich tourism potentials (Chardonnet & Bel, 2012).

After more than two decades of tourism conduct in gateway communities in northern Tanzania (Sulle et al., 2014), there is an outstanding question concerning how tourism has evolved in these destinations. This entails evaluation of tourism development in the destination which is believed to go through series of evolutionary stages as illustrated by famous Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (Butler, 1980). These stages are: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline or rejuvenation. Within these distinct stages, significant changes occur, featuring the number and types of tourists, the infrastructure, the marketing strategies, the natural and built environment, local resident’s involvement in tourism, and their attitudes toward tourism (Látková & Vogt, 2012). An “understanding the evolution of a tourism destination and the causes and consequences of changing supply and demand elements is a critical step toward sustainable tourism development” (Liu et al., 2016, p. 2). The model has been broadly applied in coastal and relatively mature destinations in developed countries compared to destinations in and adjacent the PAs of developing countries (Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Liu et al., 2016). Probably, due to the claim by Weizenegger (2006) that PA and adjacent areas are commonly oriented to conservation regulations (e.g. restricting number of visitors) that may interfere tourism growth and cause inconsistency of TALC propositions.

This study is set to make contribution to the body of knowledge by extending the application of TALC model to evaluate tourism development-path in 14 villages from three gateway community- destinations. These villages are the first to experience tourism conduct in northern Tanzania (Nelson, 2004). The destinations containing the

villages include: Burunge, Lake Natron and Loliondo, located adjacent to Tarangire-Manyara ecosystem, Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Serengeti National Park respectively. Studying multiple destinations enhance broader understanding on extent to which the model can be consistently validated. Through historical data and thorough analysis of indicators signalling change in TALC stages, this study provides detail understanding of tourism development in gateway communities. In the following, the contents of TALC model are explained followed by methodology, results, discussion, implications for planning and conclusion.

## 2. Literature Review

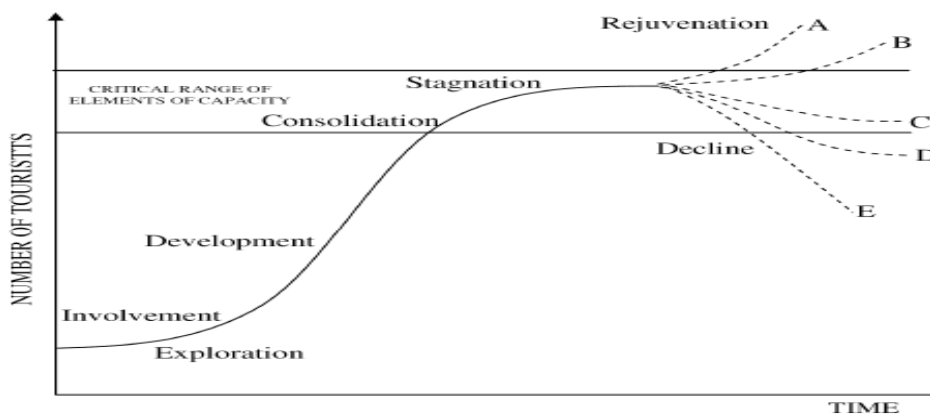
### 2.1 The TALC model

The origin of Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (1980) model is on product cycle concept where destinations as products are described through the evolution of attributes and characteristics through time. Streimikiene & Bilan (2015) posit that foundation of TALC model is on the evolutionary theory of tourism development, that can be seen as a process with defined stages. Stages are basically "theoretical units" whose identification, indicates variation exists in the pattern of product being studied (Johnston, 2001). The length of time for each stage is not fixed, but depends on conditions that create the changes leading to the next stage (Butler, 2006). To date, a well cited and popular destination development-path is Butler's Area Life Cycle model (Uysal et al., 2012). The Butler (1980) model is informed from previous work by Christaller (1963) who described development of tourism areas in three stages: discovery, growth and decline. Other contributors to the model include: Plog (1973) on tourist typologies (i.e. Allocentric to Psychocentric), "drifters" to "organized mass tourists" by Cohen (1972) and Doxey (1975) "irridex" (index of visitor-resident's interaction, i.e. euphoria to irritating).

Specifically, this model consists of six stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and post-stagnation (i.e. stabilization, decline, or rejuvenation). Beginning with the *exploration* stage: small number of visitors explore the area and are supported by limited facilities. There is often poor access and restricted local knowledge of their needs. At this initial stage, visitors are highly "explorers" (Cohen, 1972) and "allocentric" (Plog, 2001), looking for places that have not yet been 'ruined' by tourism. The *involvement* stage: as number of tourist increases, local residents get involved to provide facilities for the tourists, thus resulting in additional income while government agencies start to improve infrastructure to support tourists. Subsequently is *development* stage: this entail provision of up to date facilities and quality services from imported labour coupled with direct foreign investments and intensive marketing to promote the image of destination. Consequently, number of visitors exceed local population at peak-season, inducing disapproval or irritating attitude associated with impersonal contact by the latter towards the former (Doxey, 1975, 'irridex').

The *consolidation* stage: increase in number of visitors starts to decline, although the total numbers continue to increase as tourism becomes the dominant sector. The *stagnation* stage: repeat visitors with capacity levels for attractions and facilities reached or exceeded resulting in environmental, social, and economic problems. The *post-stagnation* stages: this is characterized by rejuvenation, or stabilization where the renovation or the reintroduction of the destination with new features are sought by relevant stakeholders to enhance the growth (i.e. curve A and B in Figure 1). On contrary, destination experience a period of slow down and finally decline as it no longer appeals to vacationers (i.e. curve C, D and E).

**Figure 1.** Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) Model (Butler, 1980).



Butler (1980) model is not exception to criticism. The model has been criticized with inconsistency as not all destinations experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others. Similarly, TALC model is criticized to assess the totality of market over time, of a given destination, rather than segments. This entails consideration of tourists as homogeneous group instead of heterogeneous which would portray multiple curves (i.e. curves for domestic and international tourists) with distinctive stages at the same destination (Piuchan, 2018). Despite these criticisms, TALC model has persisted over three decades, as useful framework, and a cornerstone for assessing tourism development (Yun & Zhang, 2017). Therefore, tourism researchers agree that the TALC model has played, a significant facilitative role in destination development through planning and management (Liu et al., 2016; Szromek, 2019). However, Butler (2006) called for more researches to test the model since a universal consensus about its validity and applicability is not yet completed.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Description of the study areas

The “tourism destinations could be on any scale, from a whole country to a village” (UNWTO, 2007, p. 1). Destinations enable visitors spend at least one night where an access to tourism services and attractions are managed to portray its market competitiveness (UNWTO, 2007). Tourism destinations are largely concentrated in the northern part of Tanzania, especially in PAs and gateway communities. Three gateway community-destinations were involved in this study: Burunge, Lake Natron and Loliondo. For the purpose of this study, the names of these communities are adopted from popular names of Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) which these communities interact. The Burunge GCA, changed in 2003 to 2006 to become Burunge Wildlife Management Area (WMA) (Burunge AA, 2011). The GCAs are primarily designated for hunting tourism (Sulle et al., 2011). The GCAs’ hunting blocks and village lands have been overlapping for many years (Sule et al., 2011). Thus, in this study, gateway community entail a destination containing a village or several villages sharing parts of its land with GCA.

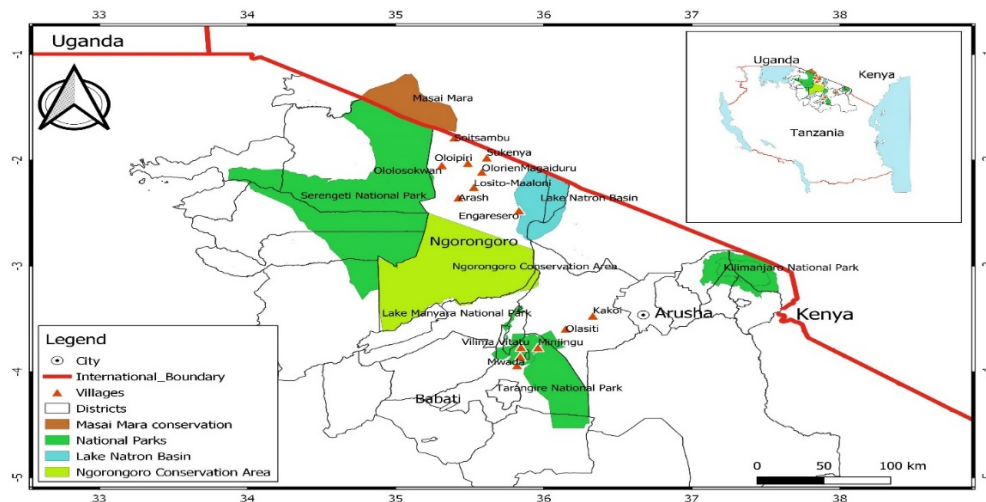
From aforementioned gateway community-destinations, a total of 14 villages constituted the study areas. In order to serve the purpose of assessing evolution of tourism in these destinations, it was deemed necessary to focus on villages with about or more than ten-year long experience of tourism investments. Therefore, these villages were purposely selected. The Loliondo destination constituted seven villages with required tourism investment history and also bordering with the famous, world natural heritage site, Serengeti National Park (SNP) to the west. Selected villages are: Ololosokwan, Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Sukenya, Olorien-Magaiduru, Maalon and Arash. The total residents for selected villages is 28,185 (village population data, 2018). These villages are part of 29 villages

forming Loliondo division. The large share of division is located at northern of Ngorongoro District and falls within the Loliondo GCA adjacent to SNP and Kenyan borders (Figure 2). The typical semi-arid lands of Loliondo are the home to 95% Purko, Laitayok and Loita clans of Maasai pastoralist, shared with minority agro-pastoral, Sonjo.

In the Lake Natron, a single village, Engaresero, bordering the world natural heritage site, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, was selected to represent the destination out of 17 villages constituting Sale division. This is the only village hosting substantial tourism investments in entire division within the Natron GCA. The total village residents are 6,491 (Engaresero village population profile, 2018). Engaresero is located south-east of Ngorongoro District, half way between SNP to the west and Kilimanjaro National Park to the east. The 95% of pastoralist, Salei Maasai clan dominates the area. The aridity of the land limit large scale farming (NDC, 2016).

From 28 villages of Mbugwe division, six tourism based-villages were selected to form Burunge destination. These villages are: Minjingu, Vilima Vitatu, Mwada, Sangaiwe, Olasiti and Kakoi. The total residents for selected villages is 24,237 out of approximately 37,000 residents of the 10 member-villages to WMA (village population data, 2018). Villages are situated in semi-arid low land of northern Babati District, bordering Tarangire and Manyara National Parks. The agro-pastoralism is popular among the 25% Kisongo and 3% Waarusha Maasai clans, 60% Mbugwe, 4% Iraque and 6% Warangi while 2% Barbaig are hunter-gather group (BDC, 2015).

**Figure 2.** Map showing studied villages in three gateway community-destinations.



### 3.2 Data Collection

This study employed a multi-method technique to collect primary and secondary data. Therefore, semi-structured interview, Focus Group Interview (FGI) and field observation were used to collect primary-data, facilitated with extensive field notes and audio recording when permission was granted. Both English and Swahili was used during interview, depending on preference of interviewee. Interview session lasted from 1 to 2 hours. Secondary data comprised the official reports of tourism revenues, number of tourists, investment trends and review of relevant literature on tourism development. Data were collected from July to October, 2019.

Total of 78 individuals were involved in interview. Number of interviewees involved depended on data saturation. The interviewees were purposely selected due to their experience in tourism conduct in the respective destinations. Therefore, they responded to questions, clarification, opinions and issue data relevant to TALC indicators. For

instance, two staff of Tanzania wildlife management authority (TAWA) were selected to represent a government agency responsible for issuing tourist permit in GRs, GCAs, WMAs and gateway communities as well as coordination of conservation and tourism investments. Thus, TAWA facilitated access to reliable records of the number of tourists with further compilation of records from the lodges, district and village offices. Respondents were also asked to provide information on occurrence of critical socio-economic events associated with tourism activities over the years up to 2018.

From three destinations the interviewees include: 5 camp/lodge owners, 3 chairperson of cultural tourism groups, 12 lodge managers, 2 District accountants, 2 hunting tourist and 8 game-viewing tourists with repeat-visit history, 6 tour guides and ethnic leaders involving 6 Maasai “Leigwanan” and 1 from Mbugwe tribe. Other interviewees were: 3 staff of Burunge WMA, 1 District cultural tourism officer, 2 retired camp managers, 2 ex-lodge managers, 2 ex-hunting outfitters, and 3 local residents with rich information on tourism investment in their villages. The FGI was conducted in each destination whereby, 7 Village Executive Officers (VEOs) were the participants in Loliondo and 6 in Burunge. In Lake Natron, FGI involved 5 participants: one VEO, a TAWA officer, a local villager and two leaders of Community Based Organisation, namely, Engaresero Eramatare Community Development Initiative (EECDI).

### **3.3 Data analysis**

The data were analyzed focusing on the notion of destination evolutionary stages, being the pillars of the TALC model. The determination of stage-sequence (Johnston, 2001) was deduced by considering destination development criteria (Berry, 2006). This means, a reflection on indicators and critical events (e.g. construction of tourism facilities and infrastructure) are used to interpret that one stage has succeeded another in the sequence. List of indicators of destination stage succession include: tourist numbers, available facilities, contact between host community and tourists, change in infrastructure, control of tourism activities and type of tourists (Figure 3).

In order to grasp the detailed understanding of tourism development, other relevant indicators such as: residents’ attitudes, status of nature and cultural attractions, accessibility, political influence and marketing strategies were also considered (see, Buhalis, 2000; Kubickova & Hengyun, 2017; Petrevska & Collins-Kreiner, 2017; Weizenegger, 2006). Table 2 contains 10 major TALC indicators with respective units of assessment used for analysis.

**Figure 3.** Indicators influencing movement of life cycle stages (Butler, 1993).

Stages	Tourist	Facilities numbers	Contact	Change	Control	Tourist Type	
						(Plog, 1973)	(Cohen, 1972)
Exploration	Very small	Few	Low	None	Local	Allocentric	Drifter
Involvement	↓	↓ Local	↓	↓	↓ + Regional	↓ Near-allocentric	↓
Development	Maximum	Non-local	High Impersonal	Major	National/International	Mid-centric	Individual Mass
Consolidation	↓	↓ Peak	↓	↓	↓ All Levels	↓ Near-psychocentric	↓
Stagnation	↓	↓	↓	↓ Stable	↓	Psychocentric	Organised
Decline	Small	Local	High Mechanical	↓	Increasing Local	↓	Mass
Rejuvenation	↓	↓ New	↓	↓ Relics	↓ National/International	↓ Mid-centric	↓ Individual Mass
Conversion	High	↓	Low	Major	↓	↓	↓

The combination of the model application and qualitative data collected in this study, culminated to deductive thematic analysis. Butler destination life cycle stages were treated as themes while observed indicators were labeled as codes. In this approach, destination development indicators such as: accessibility, change in tourism facilities and tourist's characteristics were extracted from transcribed verbatim and field notes as codes and narrated in orderly time-line manner. Themes (stages) were defined following the clustering of similar codes (indicators and sub-indicators) and how indicators changed in magnitude of their states (e.g. uneasy to very easy accessibility of destination) over time. In this way, evolutionary stages of tourism from exploration stage to whichever stage destination is at the present, is revealed.

## 4. Results

This study found that the selected destinations have experienced three stages: exploration, involvement and present, at development stage. The life cycle stages and the turning points are shown in Table 1. The overall years that takes the range of critical TALC periods across destinations is useful for guiding explanations because each destination had slight variations of timing in occurrence of major changes and activities that shaped a particular stage. In these destinations, local resident's involvement in tourism was found to be an endless process. Therefore, it should be noted that the years shown in the involvement row (Table 1) illustrates a range in years when earliest involvement activities occurred.

**Table 1.** Stages of destinations development.

Stage	Lake Natron	Loliondo	Burunge	Overall
Exploration	1982-1990	1985-1990	1988-1990	1982-1990
Involvement	1991-1999	1991-1998	1991-1999	1991-1999
Development	2000- to date	1999- to date	2000- to date	1999- to date

### 4.1 Exploration Stage (1982-1990)

In 1980s, all three destinations were under the jurisdiction of Tanzania Wildlife Corporation (TAWICO), a parastatal that supervised trophy hunting in Tanzania since 1978. Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism replaced TAWICO in 1988. This change in management regime contributed to the development of hunting tourism as effective administrative allocation of hunting blocks started in and adjacent GRs and GCAs. Although GCAs were designated for hunting-tourism (i.e. consumptive tourism), spectacular

unspoiled nature coupled with rich Maasai cultural attractions drew attention of non-hunters, adventurous game-viewing tourists (i.e. non-consumptive tourists) and tour operators in these areas. The availability of abundant Gazelle, Zebra and Wildebeest crossing these villages as they engage into seasonal migration between SNP and Maasai Mara reserve in Kenya was inevitably noticed and verbally communicated among tour operators. One ex-hunting outfitter in Loliondo said:

This area was for hunters...they [hunters] enjoy camping in the distant bush and always ready to face all the risks there, as long as there are plenty of wild animals to shoot. But we were surprised to see some game-viewing tourists preferring here instead of Serengeti...anyway, there were plenty of wildebeest to take pictures and they [game-viewing tourists] also loved Maasai. (Interview 9)

In the Loliondo GCA, six Maasai villages: Ololosokwan, Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Oloirien-Magaiduru, Maalon-Loioitho and Arash, were explored as one ethnic Maasai leader asserted:

...they came with the tour guides from Arusha, they looked like hunters...wandering around and ask to be taken in those strange bushes that we [natives] do not even go... but they [game-viewing tourists] liked to talk with us, unlike the hunters. (Interview 3).

In Lake Natron, a single village, namely, Engaresero was spotted by intruder adventurous-trekkers and bird-watching tourists who were attracted by an amazing 2 km pink-water out of 55 km-long soda lake, a breeding site of millions Lesser-Flamingo. Engaresero is also endowed with modest density of large mammals, herd of wild dogs and presence of active volcanic mountain (Oldoinyo Lengai, “mountain of God” for native Maasai). An ethnic Maasai leader explained:

In those days, we were young boys looking after cattle... at the shore of the lake we saw a truck and group of *wazungu* [white tourists] ...like six or seven. Some people said they came from Lake Manyara...there [Manyara] are birds as well. (Interview, 14).

In Burunge, the explored villages were those located in the wildlife-rich migratory corridor between Tarangire and Manyara National Parks (TMNP). The ‘allocentric’ tourists visiting these areas preferred to go beyond the border of PAs in search for unique or different tourism activities. The explorers took advantage of the fact that village lands overlaps with GCAs, enabling them to conduct walking-safari or night-drive as these activities were banned in the national parks and less restricted by TAWICO in the GCAs. The local villager said:

“we could hear sound of truck at night...it was them [tourists] searching for those wild animals they did not see during the day”. (Interview, 5).

By the end of year 1990, total number of hunting and game-viewing tourists were estimated to be around 25 in Lake Natron, 62 in Loliondo and 180 in Burunge (compilation of tourist arrivals from ex- hunting operator, Maasai leaders and local villagers). Lake Natron and Loliondo are the most remote destinations with 425 km from nearest major city, Arusha, while it takes 120 km to access Burunge. Generally, access to these areas was uneasy due to rough road (retired lodge manager, Interview 26). Moreover, in all three destinations there was no planned itineraries or permanent accommodation facilities as tourists used mobile camps with ordinary tents owned by tour-companies. One local tour guide highlighted:

...they slept in their [tour operators] tents...that we [two local tour guides] constantly re-arranged as they move from one spot to another depending on wild animals’ movement. After one week or two, they would leave. We did not know when they would come again. (Interview 7).



#### **4.2 Involvement Stage (1991-1999)**

Local resident's involvement in tourism activities started in early 1990s and continued as an endless process throughout these destinations. The involvement was possible through two ways: firstly, involvement in cultural and recreational activities. The 'allocentric' tourists and hosts (Maasai and Mbugwe natives) came into frequent contact through exposure visit to natives' life styles at their homesteads "Bomas" coupled with traditional dance entertainment. Women were involved in selling the handcrafts: traditional Maasai outfits, beaded-jewelry, Mbugwe pottery, baskets and carpets. In Lake Natron, Maasai male warriors participated in a tour guide role for tourists on a two-days of climbing Lengai mountain.

Secondly, involvement in tourism-investment agreements, "Joint Venture" (JV) with game-viewing tour operators. In all three destinations, the village councils, used their vested power emanating from Local Government Act of 1982 (URT, 1982) and Village Land Act of 1999 (URT, 1999) to execute matters that maximizes welfare of villagers, including investment decisions. The JV was associated with tour operator utilizing a portion of village land for camping and game viewing for five years with options for extension. The village would benefit with daily tourist bed-night fee and annual land fees as a compensation to villagers' restrictions to grazing (unless a dry season), cultivation and settlement in a concessioned area (Focus Group interview with VEOs, Interview 1). Loliondo destination was the first to experience JV in 1991 when Dorobo Safari Company signed an agreement with three separate village councils: Oloipiri, Oloirien-Magaiduru, and Maalon-Losoitho. One ethnic Maasai leader highlighted that:

"...the investor[Dorobo] was very fond of landscape of Soit Orgoss [wildebeest breeding site]. We made a decision to enter into that contract knowing village would get revenue...each side would get benefit" (Interview, 10).

In 1992, Mwada village of Burunge was involved in a JV with Sangado Safari. However, the JV decision was reached after consideration of opportunity cost of utilizing the sought land. The Mbugwe ethnic leader explained:

We and neighboring villages had not done this[contract] before, so there was sense of reluctance among some people because part of the land sought for camping was important for grazing during dry season...but later we agreed...village needed money for development projects. (Interview, 33).

From year 1995, several villages in these destinations had JVs with Arusha based tour companies. In the end of year 1998, through JV agreement with Sengo Safaris, Engaresero village in Natron accessed an estimate of US\$ 2,900 as accumulation of daily tourist bed-night fee. In the same year, Mwada Village in Burunge got US\$ 1,700 from daily tourist bed-night fee and annual land fee. The six villages in Loliondo accessed around US\$ 60,000 from the sum of daily tourist bed-night fees and annual land fees of year 1998. However, Ololosokwan village earned more with US\$ 36,000 out of US\$ 60,000 (compilation of tourism revenue records from village offices obtained in August 2019). Ololosokwan earned relatively more following a land-use contract involving large portion of village land (i.e. 25, 000 acres) with Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA) investor. The contract benefited village with annual land rent, starting at US\$1 per acre and increasing at 5% annually, in addition to bed-fee of US\$3 per tourist per night.

It should be emphasized that involvement of host residents in tourism activities was not extended to ownership and management of the then mobile-camps facilities. An exception was to only one village, Ololosokwan that was facilitated by SNP management to set a campsite in the end of year 1998. However, camping facilities like tents were owned by tour-companies. Similarly, there was no any involvement between hunting companies and

local residents as companies transacted (e.g. payment for hunting block and trophy fees) directly with Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The Division primarily focused on administering the conduct of hunting tourism in each destination, thus, was less involved in the popular JVs arrangements. Consequently, local villages, especially in Burunge and Natron had insignificant benefits from hunting, thus culminated into hostile relationships between them and hunters. For instance, it was found that trophy license holders are obliged to improve residents' livelihoods by financially support community development projects to villages surrounding the hunting block, infrastructure development, protection of environment and anti-poaching (TAWA officer, Interview 42). However, the compulsory amount of US\$ 1,200 annually per block from hunting outfitters failed to reach the targeted villages as expressed by one Mbugwe ethnic leader who was a member of Minjingu village council from 1995 to 2005:

"We did not receive any money we entitled to get from Northern Hunting Company...I don't know why they didn't deposit the money directly in the village bank account" (Interview 47).

In Loliondo, contrary to previous hunting company called Archers, Ortello Business Company (OBC) paid each of six villages (Ololosokwan, Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Oloirien-Magaiduru, Maalon-Losoitho and Arash), from year 1993 to 1999, directly US \$ 2,500, which is double the amount stipulated. (ex-hunting outfitter, Interview 9). Moreover, unlike other hunting outfitters in Tanzania, in 1993, the OBC became the only company ever to enter into a community development assistance contract with the six villages. Some terms in the contract was concerned with water projects, construction of health centres, schools and employment of local Maasai youths as camp managers, guards and porters to carry guns during hunting tour (ex-hunting outfitter, Interview 9).

Up to the end of 1997, there was neither a high-end luxury lodge nor air strips services for the game-viewing tourists in each destination, but for the wealthy United Arab Emirates royal-family based hunting-outfitter, OBC. The OBC conducted hunting safaris for the entire Loliondo GCA, leased from Central Government since year 1992, amid villages holding land-title deeds. The group of OBC hunting tourists and their observers were accommodated in the luxury caravans. OBC constructed its own airstrip in 1995 to address accessibility constraints.

In the end of year 1998, Loliondo became the first destination to possess a permanent luxury lodge that serve high-end game-viewing tourists following a JV between Ololosokwan and South African based company. Persistent of poor road condition compelled these destinations to be accessed by four-wheel trucks (retired lodge manager, Interview 26). Despite accessibility challenges, there were three tourism investors in Lake Natron, four investors in Loliondo while Burunge had one. Contrary to other destinations, Loliondo received about 400 hunters and their observers each year. Therefore, by the end of year 1998, total number of hunters and game-viewing tourists were estimated at 872, 541 and 311 for Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge, respectively (compilation of tourist arrivals from ex-hunting outfitter, Village offices, tour guides and local villagers). Tour operator's advertisement efforts and village involvement in conservation are considered to be the influential factors for tourist arrival (lodge owner, Interview 6).

#### ***4.3 Development stage (1999-to date)***

The three destinations moved to the development stage of TALC by the start of 1999/2000 and intensified from 2010s. This era was marked by advancement in the construction of permanent luxury lodges and modern tented camps suitable to affluent segment of customers (e.g. afford to pay 650-1,800 US\$ per night) who sought the exclusive 'wilderness', unpopular, discrete concession areas with night game-drive. Number of luxury lodges

increased from 1 to 3, 1 to 4 and 1 to 10 in year 2000 to year 2018 for Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge respectively (Babati and Ngorongoro District Investment profile and retired lodge managers, Interview 11 and 39). Several international tourism investors such as: And Beyond in Loliondo, Chem Chem in Burunge and Summit Africa in Lake Natron, constructed air strips in 1999, 2012, 2013 respectively, to facilitate easy tourist accessibility to destinations. Furthermore, tour operators' continuous on-line marketing efforts of branding these destinations as "Unique tourism paradise-dream", has surely created a favorable image among visitors. This can be evidenced from full occupied rooms of lodges and camps in these destinations, especially, within peak tourism seasons of June to end of August and December. Often, accommodation have to be booked at least two months before June (lodge manager, Interview 44). Similarly, the demand for skilled and competent camping and lodge managers prompted some investors to employ foreigners from Kenya and South Africa as indicated by one lodge owner in Burunge:

"Given the type of customers [high-end tourists] we serve... there are higher expectations on quality of services...we had to look outside [other countries] for the right people for the job...after all, everybody [facility owners] is doing that" (Interview, 52).

Consequently, the number of tourists changed from 939, 668 and 399 in year 2000 to 4,335, 5,805 and 27,693 in year 2018 for Loliondo, Lake Natron and Burunge respectively. (compilation of tourist arrivals from hunting outfitter, Village offices, tour guides and TAWA) (Figure 4).

Another form of resident's involvement emerged in 2006 to 2010 through wildlife management area (WMA) in Burunge. Residents of 10 villages, namely, Mwada, Sangaiwe, Ngoley, Vilima Vitatu, Kakoi, Olasit, Manyara, Magara, Maweni, and Minjingu contributed unequal proportion of their prime lands to form 283 Km<sup>2</sup> area for conservation (Burunge AA, 2011). Resident's restriction to grazing, settlement and cultivation in the conserved area became mandatory and in return, the village access to tourism revenue is considered to offset the sacrifice. Contrary to other JVs, game-viewing and hunting investment agreements abide to the directives of the TAWA national Director of the wildlife and implemented by village representative organ, Authorised Association (AA) and not village councils.

In this stage, the conduct of doing hand-craft business and tourist entertainment through cultural dance, continued, but, by well-organized registered groups. However, the capacity of local residents to own and manage lodges was undermined by the presence of international tourism investors who controlled the business. Furthermore, central government, through Wildlife Division exerted control by imposing the Wildlife Conservation (Non-Consumptive utilization) Regulation of 2008 (URT, 2008). Among other things, the regulation aimed at controlling mushrooming of game-viewing tourism and human activities adjacent to PAs. Also, it aimed to prevent likely disputes emanating from contested interests between hunters, residents and game-viewing tourists. Disputes associated with multiple land-use among stakeholders pose threat to sustainability of wildlife and tourism (TAWA officer, Interview 50). This regulation applied to all WMAs, GCAs and gateway community-destinations in Tanzania, whereby camping, game viewing and walking safaris was restricted unless approved by the national Director of wildlife, who in turn would grant permission and collect fees. Moreover, review of fees to all types of game-viewing activities was set and payment modality changed from village receiving direct payment from JV-investors to village receiving the after tax tourism fees from the central Government.

The implementation of the regulation interfered the JV agreements in gateway communities and affected the communal tourism revenue with the associated community development projects. For instance, in 2009, some tour companies had to dissolve their JV-agreements in three villages in Loliondo: Soitsambu, Olorien-Magaiduru and Maalon, causing a loss of estimated US\$ 45,000 (Focus Group interview with VEOs, Interview 1). On the other hand, the central and the district governments earned US\$ 560,000 and 109,000 respectively from OBC

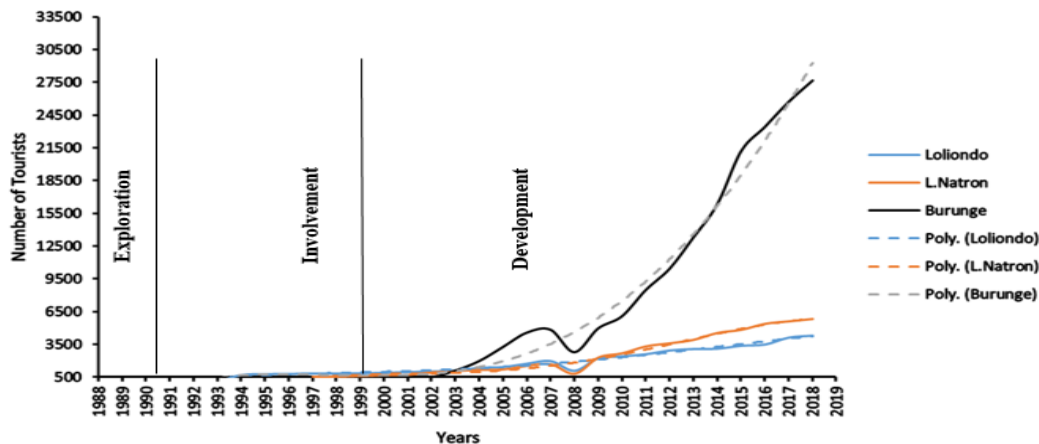
(Ihucha, 2010). Although, the OBC renewed its contract and paid each of the six village in Loliondo amount of US\$ 25,000 in year 2008, relationship between the company and villages turned sour. In 2009, OBC, like other hunting company in Burunge, used violence to evict thousands (approximately 2000) residents' settlement and prohibit grazing while employing district authority or court injunction to expel some game-viewing tour investors, especially those with mobile camps (lodge owner, Interview 48). However, game-viewing tourism activities continued and expand among the investors with permanent luxury lodges or those with private-land title. In line with the regulation, some companies had to conduct tourism business using the government preferred WMA-arrangements as it occurred in Burunge or sought approval from the government as one luxury lodge owner in Loliondo explained:

"That regulation showed the power of the government...but we knew what we[investors] had to do...we convinced the government that our presence meant a lot to the wellbeing of residents and wildlife[conservation]. They [government] understood...the business continued" (Interview 22).

Burunge destination, through WMA hosts six permanent lodges and enabled each of the 10 member villages to access US\$ 47,087 in year 2018 (Burunge WMA audited financial report, 2019). In the same year, Ololosokwan, an icon tourism-village for Loliondo destination earned the after tax total of US\$ 31,995 from tourist daily bed-night fee and annual land fee of US\$ 62,031. In Lake Natron, Engaresero village earned the after tax US\$ 80,904 of daily tourist bed-night fee while annual land fee was US\$ 15,702. The EECD, cultural tourism based organization in Engaresero earned the gross of US\$ 40,275 for providing Maasai museum and tour guiding services in the year 2018. Tourism revenues in these destinations are normally allocated for livelihoods enhancement to facilitate community projects such as: school-fee sponsorship to most vulnerable kids, construction of pit latrines, classrooms and school laboratories. Other projects include: water supply, construction of bridges, dispensaries, health centre, village offices and bore-holes.

The fact that these destinations moved to development stage of TALC at the turn of century does not imply they have experienced smooth transition. Disputes on land use within these destinations and Global economic crisis of 2008, were among the factors that threatened destinations development. The presence of agro-pastoral, hunting and game-viewing tourism activities in the same area, has resulted into increased pressure on land due to overlapping of village lands and GCAs. For instance, there has been constant internal strife between tourism investors and Maasai pastoralist grazing in a concession area since this encroachment is violation of terms in the JV agreements. From interview with local residents, it was learned that, resident's grazing in restricted areas is not reflecting their negative attitudes towards tourists (i.e. apathy). Nomadic grazing is a purely Maasai tradition in search for pasture. The Global economic crisis limited the flow of international tourists, thus, decrease in number of tourists in year 2008 (Figure 4). However, these destinations remained at development stage and did not jump into decline stage.

**Figure 4.** Tourism life cycle stages experienced in the study destinations.



The polynomial (i.e. poly in Figure 4) dashed lines illustrate the smooth curve for TALC purpose while the other lines show the actual total number of hunters and game-viewing tourists. Table 2 shows the results summary of 10 adapted major indicators with sub-indicators underline TALC model. Most of these indicators are relevant to the game-viewing tourists (i.e. non-consumptive tourists) because they are majority visitors. However, since these

**Table 2.** Test of indicators of TALC stages in the three destinations.

TALC indicators	Loliondo			Lake Natron			Burunge		
	Expl	Invo	Devl	Expl	Invo	Devl	Expl	Invo	Devl
<b>1.Area accessibility:</b>									
1.1.Uneasy access at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
1.2.Moderate access at Involvement		X			X			✓	
1.3.Very accessible at Development			X			X			✓
<b>2.Type of tourists:</b>									
2.1.Allocentrics at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
2.2.Allocentrics and near Midcentrics at Invo		✓ +			✓ *			✓ *	
2.3.Midcentrics at Development			✓ *			✓ *			✓ *
<b>3. Number of Tourists against residents:</b>									
3.1.Very few at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
3.2.Few at Involvement		✓			✓			✓	
3.3.Maximum at Development			X			✓			X
<b>4. Status of tourism attractions:</b>									
4.1. Highly unspoiled nature at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
4.2. Unspoiled nature at Involvement		✓			✓			✓	
4.3. Modifying nature at Development			X			X			X
4.4. Highly undiluted culture at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
4.5. Undiluted culture at Involvement		✓			✓			✓	
4.6. Modifying culture at Development			X			X			X
<b>5. Number of tourism facilities provided:</b>									
5.1.Very few facilities provided by residents at Exploration	X			X			X		
5.2.Fewer facilities provided by residents at Involvement		X			X			X	
5.3.Abandant facilities provided by non-residents at Development			✓			✓			✓
<b>6. Tourists contact with local residents:</b>									

6.1.High at Exploration	✓ *			✓ *			✓ *		
6.2.Higher at Involvement		✓ *			✓ *			✓ *	
6.3.Impersonal at Development			X +			X +			X +
<b>7. Change in quality of facilities:</b>									
7.1. Ordinary facilities at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
7.2. Standard facilities at Involvement		✓			✓			✓	
7.3. Up to date facilities at Development			✓ *			✓ *			✓ *
<b>8. Marketing-promotion strategies:</b>									
8.1 Awareness at Exploration	✓			✓			✓		
8.2.Inform at Involvement		✓			✓			✓	
8.3.Inform and persuade at Development			✓			✓			✓
<b>9. Control of tourism activities:</b>									
9.1. Local level control at Exploration and Involvement	X	✓ *		X	✓ *		X	✓ *	
9.2. International and National/Political level at Development			✓			✓			✓
<b>10. Resident's attitude towards tourism:</b>									
10.1. Euphoria at Exploration	✓ *			✓ *			✓ *		
10.2. Highly euphoria at Involvement		✓ +			✓ *			✓ *	
10.3. Apathy at Development			X +			X +			X +

Expl: Exploration; Invo: Involvement; Devl: Development; ✓: complied to TALC; X: not complied to TALC indicator; \*: not suitable to hunting tourism/tourists; +: suitable to hunting tourism/tourists.

destinations also host the hunting tourists, efforts to distinguish them from other tourists using symbol (i.e. \*, +) was deemed necessary, especially in some pertinent indicators, so as to ensure clarity and avoid considering tourists as homogenous group.

## 5. Discussions

Findings shows that three selected destinations have experienced three stages: exploration, involvement and present, at development stage. The fact that studied destinations have experienced Butler's three stages, contested the claim put forward by Weizenegger (2006) about difficulty in applying the model to protected areas and areas adjacent. According to Weizenegger (2006), these areas are commonly subjected to conservation regulations (e.g. set capacity limit by restricting number of visitors and types of accommodation facilities) which may cause destination development path to deviate from theoretical TALC stage sequence. In this study, the government regulation (i.e. Non-Consumptive utilization of 2008) to some extent limited the prosperity of the popular tourism activities through JVs. However, tour operators' strategy in targeting high-end game-viewing tourists guaranteed visitation with an increasing trend.

The information about camping and tourism facilities existed in the studied destinations during exploration stage are consistently match with the study by Jones et al., (2015) on growth of conservancies in Namibia. In that study it was reported that before national independence of 1990, tourism in communal areas, "took the form of camping freely in the bush without facilities" (p.18). In contrast to Namibia, the practices of JV employed by destinations in this study, did not advance to shift villages from being earners of land rents to become co-owners and managers of tourism enterprises.

Tourism income to study villages was found to increase significantly as destinations moves from involvement to development stage. However, at developments stage, communal income received from tourism was relatively

higher in villages with JV like Ololosokwan in Loliondo and Engaresero in Lake Natron, compared to villages involved in WMA in Burunge destination. This difference entails variation in the modality of earning tourism revenues to gateway communities in Tanzania. For instance, the member-villages in WMAs are entitled to get the equal portion of after tax tourism revenue regardless of the size of the land contributed for conservation under WMA. On the other hand, Ololosokwan village do not share its after tax revenue with neighboring villages because the JV agreement involved a particular village and investor(s).

Destinations information in Table 2 fitted well with Butler (1980) propositions in describing tourism situation existed in these destination for 36 years (1982 to 2018). For example, with regard to accessibility, all three destinations experienced uneasy accessibility at the exploration stage and continued without improvement in the subsequent stages, especially for the remote destination of Loliondo and Lake Natron. Similarly, these destinations received very few (not more than 200) allocentric visitors in late 1980s, at exploration stage, due to accessibility challenges and inadequate awareness of the scenic beauty of wildlife view and undiluted Maasai culture endowed in these areas. As these destinations moves from Involvement to Development stage, increased number of Midcentric and near Psychocentric visitors in late 1990s and 2000s was associated with improvement of air-transport services, increase in quality and quantity of accommodation facilities, coupled with informative and persuasion promotion strategies. Similarly, towards Development stage, the favourable trade liberalization environment from mid 1990s in Tanzania, stimulated the urge for private investments in tourism sector. Moreover, increase in facilities owned and controlled by international investors was inevitable at the Development stage of 2010s in order to respond to the needs of affluent tourists which local residents are incapable to provide.

In this study, as shown in Table 2, there were few scenarios that did not comply with Butler (1980) propositions. Butler posits that, at the development stage, number of tourists at peak periods exceeds that of the resident population, inducing disapproval or apathy attitude associated with impersonal contact by the latter towards the former. Similarly, there is a proposition that, natural and cultural attractions of the destination are modified at development stage due to the need of changing them from original form. Moreover, Butler (1980) contend that local residents control tourism activities at Exploration stage and tourists are served by inadequate facilities provided by local residents at Exploration and Involvement stages.

This study found that, the control of tourism activities was not under local residents at Exploration stage. This is because the study areas provide habitat to wild animals and were designated for sustainable consumption (hunting) under the TAWICO management. Also, the local residents did not provide any accommodation facilities for tourists because tour-companies provided facilities. Furthermore, all three destinations were observed to maintain instead of modifying natural resources and cultural-bond among the native Maasai. With exception to incidences of grazing at concessional areas, the local residents have a genuine interest for nature conservation, otherwise they could disagree to any conservation initiatives through JV or WMA. There is disapproval (i.e. apathy) with the conduct of hunting tourism following inadequate communal benefits from this sub sector. In contrast to Butler, there is sense of approval (i.e. euphoria feelings) among residents to the presence of game-viewing tourists This is evidenced by continued friendly cultural encounter despite steady increase of tourist's arrivals which has not yet surpassed the size of residents in each destination. However, in 2018, Lake Natron destination visitors approached 6,000 during peak tourism season compared to 6,491 number of village residents (Engaresero village population profile, 2018).

### **5.1 Theoretical Contributions**

This study contributes to the body of knowledge on destination evolutionary theory by validating applications of Butler (1980) model in gateway communities where the model had not been empirically tested by previous researchers. This entail significant contribution concerning TALC model relevance in describing life stages of emerging gateway destinations in developing country.

### **5.2 Practical Implications**

Several indicators including; accessibility, status of attractions, control of tourism and resident's attitudes to tourism were not only useful to define tourism development stages, but also provides important inputs to planning for sustainable tourism. For instance, with regard to accessibility challenges observed in Lake Natron and Loliondo destinations, this imply that Ngorongoro District Council should take action, like using the Public Private Partnership (PPP) mechanism to improve the transport infrastructure to efficiently link these destinations with potential market in Arusha city. Moreover, the District cultural officers can plan and implement feasible cultural and anthropology enhancement programs to take advantage of undiluted cultural bond of Maasai and Mbugwe natives. Similarly, there is a need to improve capacity of village councils and AA in WMA to be involved in effective co-ownership and management of tourism business before these destinations move to consolidation stage. Lastly, TAWA, Tanzania Tourist Board, Association of hunter outfitters and tour operators, Community Wildlife Management Areas Consortium, district and village councils should develop an integrated sustainable tourism development plan suitable to GCAs, WMAs and gateway communities. This plan should aim to extend promotion of the tourism image of these areas while issuing feasible solutions to multiple land use challenges.

### **5.3 Limitations and Future Research Recommendations**

Since the study was conducted in three gateway community-destinations of northern Tanzania, the results of destination stages of development can be limited to the studied areas. Hence, it is recommended that future research to apply the TALC model in other SSA countries' gateway community for further validity.

## **6. Conclusions**

This study has successful answered the outstanding question concerning how tourism destinations have developed in gateway communities. Development of tourism in gateway communities is a function of interface between regulations, infrastructure, conservation of resources (e.g. nature and cultural) and effects of positive returns from tourism investments to residents' livelihood, tour operators and institutions overseeing both game-hunting and game-viewing tourism activities.

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