

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW: PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical basis and framework for assessing host community perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of township tourism according to social exchange theory, and to identify key socio-cultural impact variables and concepts contained in the literature with a view to developing an appropriate research methodology and instruments that will direct and inform the research process.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the underlying cultural tourism motivators, with particular focus on the cultural tourism and authenticity debate. An extensive literature review covers the nature of the principal social and cultural interactions of hosts and guests, characteristics of host-guest relationships, and their associated socio-cultural impacts. The need for host perception research and the factors influencing host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts are extensively discussed. The chapter concludes with an exposition of a theoretical framework and two tourism models employed for assessing socio-cultural impacts in host perception research.

#### **3.2 SPECIAL-INTEREST TOURISM AND CULTURAL TOURISM MOTIVATORS**

Boniface (1995), Eagleton (2000) and Smith (2003) observe that tourists' attitudes and motivations for travel are changing, as demonstrated by the new forms of special-interest tourism, such as township tourism. Evidence suggests that tourists are less likely than before to view travel as simply a 'vacation', the principal goal of which is rest and relaxation (Poon, 1993). The majority of tourists today prefer to actively engage their minds or bodies; a change of this nature may help to explain the tremendous rise in both the volume and types of special-interest tourism (Richards, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Special-interest tourism in large measure entails contact with other cultures and learning about other ways of life, as in township tourism.

One could view cultural tourism as falling within the realm of special-interest tourism in that cultural tourism involves tourists travelling to particular locations for the express purpose of understanding and/or experiencing a culture that is somehow different from their own and to increase their appreciation of cultural resources (Boniface, 1995; Smith 2003). In fact, the term ‘cultural tourism’ is sometimes used synonymously with the term ‘special-interest’ tourism. Cultural tourism, with its subsets of heritage, ethnic and township tourism, is constantly growing, as more and more tourists seek to interact with other cultures and broaden their knowledge and personal experience base (Lubbe, 2003).

Every culture is different, and curiosity about our world and its many different peoples is a strong motivation for travel (Lubbe, 2003). Successful tourism management requires knowledge of exactly who the cultural tourists are and an understanding of their motivations. Since tourist behaviour patterns at destinations are generally shaped by their country of origin and their reasons for travelling, this is equally important in the context of township tourism. Boniface (1995), Brown (2000) and Smith (2003) suggest a number of motivations for cultural tourism based on the premise that those who travel do so either because they are attracted to something, or because they want to escape from something.

### ? **Escapism**

One of the most significant factors attracting a visitor to a cultural site is the extent to which it is different from daily life. Smith (2003:33) expresses this as follows: “The boredom, lassitude or monotony of everyday life that may hinder our ability to feel authentic in an existential sense are temporarily removed. This craving for difference and exoticism is perhaps stronger in the case of cultural tourists who will actively seek out remote locations, unusual experiences or close and authentic contact with indigenous groups”.

### ? **Status**

Status is an important motivation for visiting cultural sites. Paradoxically, status stimulates both the need to go where everyone else has been, and the need of those who

perceive themselves as ‘leaders’ to go where the mass tourist does not go and do what the mass does not do (Boniface, 1995). The goal is “to be seen in the most fashionable or exclusive places and to return home with the photos and souvenirs to prove it” (Brown, 2000:107). The consequence is the spread of the tourism industry to formerly remote or isolated areas such as townships, causing a growth in cultural tourism.

### ? **Religion and spirituality**

Tourists who travel for these reasons do so to “find something higher than oneself, either through a feeling of heightened solidarity with other holiday makers, through experience of a culture deemed more ‘authentic’ or through visiting a site considered meaningful or sacred” (Brown, 2000:107). A site such as Stonehenge, for instance, offers visitors historical and archaeological interest, but for many it is also a site of religious or spiritual significance.

Boniface (1995) suggests that one reason for visiting one place over another is the desire to satisfy spiritual needs that can be met only at the ‘real’ or original site rather than at a replica or substitute. A model of Stonehenge, for instance, is thus not likely to instil the same sense of awe and spiritual wonder as the original.

### ? **Research and education**

The range of visitor needs for research and education is too broad for a comprehensive discussion here, but in short it includes both formal and informal education of tourists and even entire societies. However, there is a real need for professionals to collect and draw upon primary data so that education can be geared to a particular target group and encompass the needs of the hosts (Smith, 2003). This would offer visitors the chance to learn about the community, or give them the opportunity to learn something about the significance of a place and its association with the local community, its heritage and a cultural or natural landscape (Urry, 2002).

? **Specialness and exclusivity**

An element of the travel experience is convincing yourself or others that you are having a better experience than you would have at home, and, ideally, that the experience is not one that others are likely to be able to replicate. This seems to bear out the suggestion made by MacCannell (1976) that travel allows us to enjoy and exploit simultaneously the exotic difference of ‘the other’ while discovering our own identity. Cultural tourism can help bring us into contact with our true selves (Stebbins, 1997; Smith, 2003).

**3.3 FACTORS FACILITATING THE GROWTH OF CULTURAL TOURISM**

Studies by Poon (1993), Boniface (1995), Keyser (2002), McKercher and Du Cros (2002), Smith (2003), Reisinger and Turner (2003) indicate that there are both several supporting and newly emerging trends contributing to the expansion of the market for cultural tourism across the world, namely:

- ? Rising education levels. Education is the single most significant factor influencing cultural participation. Affluence and travel are increasing as educational attainment levels rise (Keyser, 2002).
- ? Increasing economic role of women. Statistics reveal that women are participating more in cultural activities than men. Women control more income, are in positions of leadership and make decisions regarding children’s leisure activities and family vacations (Reisinger & Turner, 2003).
- ? Increasing demand for short, get-away trips. People are trying to pack more activities into more frequent trips of short duration. Convenience and quality are the key requirements (Boniface, 1995; Richards, 1997).
- ? Shifts in demographics. The tourists born between 1965 and 1977 are independent travellers who are mobile, highly educated, and looking for authenticity and adventure (Poon, 1993).
- ? Searching for meaning. Tourism is the means to this, and not the end in itself. Many tourists are finding the meaning they seek in nature, heritage and culture (Smith, 2003).

- ? Increasing numbers of events and festivals. The surge in events and festivals across the world increases expectations as well as opportunities for cultural tourism (Richards, 1997).
- ? Increased use of the Internet. Through this medium it becomes possible to spread information quickly and accurately all over the world (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002).

### **3.4 IN SEARCH OF AUTHENTICITY — A CULTURAL TOURIST MOTIVATION DEBATE**

Robinson and Boniface (1998) argue that the positive and negative consequences of contact fostered by tourism have been closely linked to debates about authenticity. It is well documented that the concept of authenticity in tourism studies has been shaped by the work of MacCannell (1973, 1976), who first made the connection between a formal concept of authenticity and tourist motivation, suggesting that tourists seek authentic experiences which they can no longer find in their everyday lives. MacCannell proposes that, for Western tourists, the primary motivation for travel lies in a quest for authenticity.

MacCannell (1973, 1976) notes that although tourists demand authenticity, it may be difficult to distinguish between true authenticity and what he terms “staged” authenticity, where a situation has been contrived so as to seem authentic. MacCannell argues that attractions vary in terms of the degree to which they are staged, and suggests that tourists today seek “backstage” (genuine or non-contrived) experiences, since modern tourists demand true authenticity (MacCannell, 1988). MacCannell further argues that “backstage” is where the real life of the community is carried out and authentic culture is maintained. The front stage, by contrast, is where commercial and modified performances and displays are offered to the mass of the visitors, and it is this area that tourists try to get beyond in their search for authenticity (Richards, 1997). Ramchander (2003) comments that in South Africa, both front stage and backstage authenticity are evident, for instance in cultural villages, where locals ‘perform’ culture for the tourist in the front stage area, returning to the backstage area when they return to their real homes at the end of the day and carry out their normal cultural activities.

Townships as destinations are intended to reflect what in MacCannell's terms is the backstage. In the South African context, a visit backstage reveals the effects of racially discriminatory laws on the past and present human experiences, while front stage experiences involve purely favourable images. However, Dondolo (2001) argues that not all of the township tour package is authentically based. Rather, part of the package is carefully constructed, structured, and well planned.

The link between the issue of authenticity in tourism and township tourism is the topic of active debate, and has a direct bearing on the manner in which residents perceive tourism in townships. It is necessary to distinguish, however, between township tourism situations that involve a purely visual display of arts, crafts and political landmarks and those that involve visitors in a genuine context, such as visits to people's homes, traditional healers and active dance (Ramchander, 2003). While the country often benefits by showcasing township communities, it is important to understand how tourists and the host community feel about such cultural experiences.

Pearce and Moscardo (1986) take the idea of authenticity one step further by suggesting that not only do people's perceptions of a situation play an important role in determining its authenticity, but also that people's needs or demands for authenticity vary. Thus, enjoyment of a situation will be mediated by people's preferences for authenticity as well as their perceptions of it. In recent years, however, growing concern has been expressed about the commodification of culture (Dogan, 1989; Akis, Peristianis & Warner, 1996; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Brown, 2000). Tourism in particular has been identified as major force for commodification. There is no doubt that the presence of tourists often leads to the creation of cultural manifestations specifically for tourist consumption (Cohen, 1988; Tomaselli & Wang, 2001). In these circumstances, culture as a process is transformed through tourism into a cultural product, as in the case of township tourism in South Africa.

This is supported by the argument that when tourists seek authenticity, they are in fact seeking the realisation of a myth that they have about a particular culture/society

(MacCannell, 1976; Boniface, 1995; Burns & Holden, 1995); this has given rise to the idea that some aspects of cultural tourism are in fact being sold in the form of myths in order to satisfy the expectations of myth-seeking cultural tourists. Weaver and Opperman (2000) point out that despite a genuine search for authenticity or myths, what tourists actually find is the staged authenticity. Tourists demand instant culture in a short time and limited space; their search for authentic experiences of another culture within those parameters leads to locals of that culture either providing those experiences or staging them to appear as realistic as possible (Robinson & Boniface, 1998; Tomaselli & Wang, 2001). This is clearly evident in the mushrooming of cultural villages all over South Africa.

According to Holloway (2000) staged authenticity is in effect a freezing of culture and art styles in pseudo traditional form. Staged authenticity has changed the way crafts and rituals are produced, the type of objects favoured and the meanings attached to them. Culture is in danger of becoming commercialised and trivialised, as when ‘authentic folk dances’ are staged for the benefit of tourists as in-house entertainment or as cabaret (Cohen, 1988; Tomaselli & Wang, 2001). This practice is quite common in Southern Africa, where certain leading hotel groups invite traditional dancers to dance and entertain the hotel residents. Traditional tribal dances are often arranged and presented in shortened form; an example of this is evident at the PheZulu Village in the Valley of a Thousand Hills in KwaZulu-Natal, where dancers are paid to go through the motions for the benefit of groups of tourists. In this manner an important ritual, such as the marriage alliance between two groups, is trivialised, as this performance is staged at least four times a day to make it a paying concern.

Brown (2000) comments that staged authenticity leads to a reduction or degradation of the quality of indigenous artistic work, as artistic efforts are downgraded to meet tourist demands. Staged authenticity thus ushers in the very real danger of performers or artists over time losing sight of the original significance of their practices, the basis of which will ultimately shift within the host culture (Sharpley, 1994). In South Africa the performance of sangomas as a public attraction, for instance, has done much to reduce the

original significance and value of the activities of these traditional practitioners (Ramchander, 2003).

Pizam and Milman (1986) and Allen *et al.* (1988) comment on the connection between staged authenticity and the erosion of local languages. The languages employed during staged performances of particular customs and traditions are being altered to accommodate the foreign language speaker (Tomaselli & Wang, 2001), and thus the original messages and meaning have been altered. The film and stage play 'ShakaZulu' is a striking example of language erosion; the indigenous language is barely used in the staging of indigenous culture and history.

Many souvenirs misrepresent indigenous cultures and lifestyles. Many tourists favour traditional items such as the African shield and spear, but find them too large and cumbersome to transport conveniently. In response, local craftspeople reduce the size of these and similar items for tourist convenience. Some tourists are in fact ignorant of the original use of the objects they acquire, as they are usually purchased during fleeting trips to curio shops, craft centres and in hotel foyers. These trends contribute to the loss of much of the authenticity of these objects. This is a common feature of international tourism, with locals being inaccurately portrayed as leading an authentic simple and traditional life no longer accessible to the modern world at large (Burns, 1999; Butler & Hinch, 1996). Actual observation by the researcher of deeply rural areas in South Africa such as Msinga and Nongoma in fact reveals very little evidence of a truly authentic traditional lifestyle (Ramchander, 2003).

### **3.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOST AND GUEST**

Mathieson and Wall (1982), Ap (1990), Allen *et al.* (1993), Ap and Crompton (1993) and Sharpley (1994) confirm that the key to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism appears to be the relationship between hosts and guests. Smith (1989) notes that contact between tourists and hosts of different cultural backgrounds takes the form of direct face-to-face encounters between tourists and hosts of different cultural groups. This type of contact is experienced by tourists when they travel from a home culture to the host culture, and by



hosts when they serve tourists from a foreign culture. Reisinger and Turner (2003) classify the interaction between tourists and hosts from two different cultures as intercultural contact, and the interaction between tourists and hosts from more than two cultural groups as cross-cultural contact. A full definition of who the tourist is can be found in Appendix B.

In routine tourism, opportunities for tourists and hosts to meet as equals and really learn to know each other are extremely limited. Instead, a master-servant relationship tends to develop between the relatively rich tourists and the relatively poor locals (Pizam & Milman, 1986; Husbands, 1989). Locals gain the impression that tourists from rich countries always have plenty of time for leisure and plenty of money to spend. The difference in material wealth may create feelings of inferiority among local people and the wish to be like 'them', the rich tourists (Pizam & Pokela, 1987). This could be one reason for the growing social ills characteristic of so many Third World destinations, viz. the degradation of traditional value structures, begging, prostitution, crime, and substance abuse (Pizam & Milman, 1986; Pizam & Pokela, 1987).

In the travel and tourism business, social and cross-cultural interactions will always occur. The tourist encounter is simply a series of transactions between hosts and guests, which is the essence of the tourism system (Smith, 1989). People approach each other as strangers who come from culturally different backgrounds because one is at work and the other is at leisure. Direct contact is not necessary for impacts to occur and the mere sight of tourists and their direct behaviour may result in behavioural changes on the part of permanent residents (De Kadt, 1979; Du Cros, 2001; Tosun, 2002). Socio-cultural impacts are the outcome of different types of relationships that occur between tourists and hosts as a result of their coming into contact (Tosun, 2002).

Keyser (2002) identifies the following contexts in which contact or interaction between tourists and host communities typically take place (table 3.1) .

<b>SOCIAL</b>	The interaction takes place while tourists and hosts share resources and facilities available to both tourists and host communities, such as beaches, public transport, and restaurants.
<b>ECONOMIC</b>	Tourists and hosts engage in the buying and selling of goods and services, such as arts and crafts, guiding services, and accommodation. Often, but not exclusively, these interactions occur within the confines of facilities created for the tourist.
<b>CULTURAL</b>	Many destinations feature organized displays and performances of indigenous culture, or offer opportunities for cultural exchange, such as visits to local villages, places of cultural significance, and meetings with community members. This requires tourists to venture beyond the range of tourist facilities, and into the sphere of living of the host community.

Adapted from (Keyser, 2002)

**Table 3.1 INTERACTION BETWEEN TOURISTS AND HOSTS**

The presence of large numbers of tourists, many from different cultures, will therefore unavoidably influence the societies they visit; the tourists, by the same token, will in all likelihood themselves be affected by these societies.

### **3.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIPS: KEY TO SUCCESS OR DISASTER?**

Interpreting host-guest relationships within the township tourism context necessitates a review of typical features of host-guest relationships as identified in the literature.

Mathieson and Wall (1982) characterise the relationship between tourists and local people as follows:

- ? It is transitory or short-term in that each tourist is generally present for a few days or a few weeks. Any relationships that develop tend to be superficial. A deeper relationship will develop only where the tourist returns to the same resort and accommodation frequently.

- ? Tourists are under pressure to enjoy a wide variety of experiences in a short time period, and so delays cause irritation. Residents may therefore exploit the time pressures under which tourists operate.
- ? Tourists are often segregated from local people and spend most of their time in and around tourism facilities with other tourists. They may rarely meet any local people other than those who are employed in the tourism industry.
- ? Host-guest relations tend to lack spontaneity, often being formalised and planned.
- ? Host-guest relations are often unequal and unbalanced in terms of both material inequality and differences in power; guests are generally able to impose their will on the hosts, who are seen as servers.

These characteristics can be perceived as negative impacts in the context of sustainable tourism, and are very typical of host-guest interactions in the townships (Swarbrooke, 1999). Tosun (2000) and Keyser (2002) note that most interactions between tourists and hosts are characterised by an ‘at arm’s length’ attitude, and remain fairly superficial. Keyser (2002) notes further that since tourism is commercial hospitality, the smiles of service staff and local residents may not be a true reflection of their true feelings about tourism, but for the sake of income, they remain hospitable.

### **3.7 HOST PERCEPTIONS OF IMPACTS AND THE NEED FOR HOST PERCEPTION RESEARCH**

Perceptions of various impacts of tourism have been extensively researched since the 1970s. Most studies have concentrated on how various segments of host communities respond to tourism impacts. Scholars suggest that although the socio-cultural impacts of tourism have been extensively studied, additional research on the subject should be conducted in other geographical locations so as to further the development of theory in this field (Sheldon & Var, 1984; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2002).

In the past, tourism leaders have strongly denied the negative impacts that the industry can introduce into host communities. This denial has been based on the belief that if such an admission were to be made, tourism would lose the vital support it has from residents, employees and politicians. For tourism to thrive in an area it needs the support of the

area's residents. This realisation has led to increasing attention being given over the past two decades to the perceived impacts of tourism. Mathieson and Wall (1982) presented a valuable synthesis of research findings current at the time relating to the perceived impacts of tourism within a conceptual framework designed to illuminate tourism as an amalgamation of phenomena and their interrelations. These authors grouped perceived impacts of tourism into the three traditional categories of economic, physical and social, but pointed out the artificiality of these categories, and their frequent overlap.

Economic impact studies have tended to emphasise the benefits that accrue to a destination area and to disregard the costs (Allen *et al.*, 1988; Sharpley, 1994; Smith & Krannich, 1998). There are two main reasons for this. First, many of the benefits, such as increased income and employment, are tangible and comparatively easy to measure, while many of the economic costs, such as noise, congestion, and pollution, are relatively intangible and difficult to measure in economic terms. Second, economic impact studies are frequently commissioned by tourism advocates to engender support for tourism. Brown (2000), Sharpley (2000) and Mason (2003) caution, however, that although many such studies are conducted with enthusiasm to make the economic case as strong as possible, they are methodologically flawed. Given their invariably positive results, economic impact studies tend to generate optimism regarding the potential of tourism among decision-makers and community residents.

Tourism is obviously not an evil in itself, but whether it always plays a positive role in the developing countries, or in the South African township context, for that matter, must be questioned. The problem is worth raising at a time when a great many states are pinning their hopes on tourism and affording it priority status in development plans. Yet does tourism not in some respects constitute a new form of economic domination, a new means of bringing about the cultural inferiority of 'exotic' peoples — in short, a new form of colonialism? (Cohen, 1979; Dann, 1981; Cohen, 1988; Dogan, 1989; Butler & Hinch, 1996). Although the latter question was first raised over 20 years ago and in the context of the Third World, it is equally applicable today in the context of local and regional communities in developing countries such as South Africa.

### 3.8 SYNOPSIS OF THE LITERATURE DEALING WITH THE PERCEIVED POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 present a synopsis of three major trajectories in the literature dealing with perceptions of the positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism development by encapsulating the range of opinions held by a number of authors in the field.

WRITER(S)	ISSUE / IMPACT
Mathieson and Wall (1982)	Tourism modifies the internal structure of the community, dividing it into those who have/have not a relationship with tourism/tourists.
Krippendorf (1987)	Tourism has colonialist characteristics robbing local populations of autonomous decision-making.
Allen et al (1988)	Lower/moderate levels of tourism development are more likely to be financial.
Crompton and Sanderson (1990)	Employment in tourism demands flexible working patterns which is eroding gender segregation.
Urry (1991)	There are more opportunities for women in tourism, which provides many with a greater degree of economic independence.
Harrison (1992)	Tourism provides new opportunities and instigates social changes.
McKercher (1993)	Preference for investment in profit centres (e.g., swimming pools) rather than cost centres (e.g., sewage systems).
Sharpley (1994)	Employment opportunities and the presence of visitors lure younger people to areas of tourism development. Conversion in retail sector to souvenir outlets. Tourism improves quality of life through improvements to infrastructure.
Burns and Holden (1995)	Tourism provides socioeconomic benefits at one extreme and dependency and reinforcement of social discrepancies at the other extreme. Biggest problem is congestion/overcrowding. Pressure for change is politically intercultural initiated by entrepreneurs or politicians in response to community pressure.

**Table 3.2 KEY SOCIAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT**

The perceived social and cultural impacts of tourism refer to the ways in which tourism is seen to contribute to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies, and community organisations (Walle, 1996). Pizam and Pokela (1987) and

Tosun (2002) contend that these perceived impacts on host communities or destination areas may be classified into two categories. The first relates to the characteristics of the destination area, which includes the perceived social impacts of the resident-visitor encounter; examples are cultural gap effects, crime, prostitution, and the demonstration effect (i.e. changes in values, attitudes, or behaviour of the host population that can result from observing tourists). The second category concerns social impacts on infrastructure development and their perceived effects on the local resources, for example, pressure on local resources and facilities, local versus imported labour, local language and cultural effects, and lifestyle changes (Pizam & Pokela, 1987).

Literature in the field acknowledges that from a social and cultural perspective, the rapid expansion of tourism in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is important because within individual destination areas or countries, its development has led to changes in the structure of society (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990; Urry, 1991; Harrison, 1992;). Social impacts involve the “more immediate changes in the social structure of the community and adjustments to the destination’s economy and industry while the cultural impacts focus on the longer-term changes in a society’s norms and standards, which gradually emerge in a community’s social relationships and artifacts” (Murphy 1985:117).

Research to date indicates that tourism as a factor of change can affect traditional family values (Knox, 1982), cause cultural commercialisation, increase the crime rate and lead to negative elements such as prostitution (Cohen, 1988) and gambling (Pizam & Milman, 1986). Further, tourism development may create social conflicts within the destination community due the socio-cultural differences, economic welfare, and purchasing power gaps between the host community and tourists (McIntosh *et al*, 1995). On the negative impact side of the spectrum studies have concentrated on such variables as an increase in the price of goods and services, inflation in property values, social disadvantages such as crowding, congestion, pollution and an increase in undesirable activities such as prostitution, gambling, alcohol and drugs and crime (Pizam *et al.*, 1982; Ap, 1992; Burns & Holden, 1995).



WRITER(S)	ISSUE / IMPACT
Doxey (1975)	Irridex model: worsening cumulative effect of host attitudes toward tourists.
De Kadt (1979)	Nature of contact with tourists can influence attitudes/behaviour/values towards tourism.
Mathieson and Wall (1982)	Tourism is a source of revenue for the church. Perceived safety and security maybe affected.
Pizam et al (1982)	Tourism is a potential determinant of crime.
Murphy (1985)	The Young locals are most susceptible to the demonstration effect caused by tourism. Languages are learnt through the demonstration effect.
Krippendorf (1987)	Real understanding/communication is seldom produced by tourist-host interaction.
Ryan (1991)	Erosion of the local language/dialect.
McKercher (1993)	There is always likely to be a certain degree of conflict due to incompatible demands of tourists and hosts.
Sharpley (1994)	Tourism instigates social interaction within host community. Tourism contributes to the preservation of religious and historic buildings. Hosts adopt foreign languages through necessity. Hosts develop stereotypical attitudes towards tourists. Commodification of religion and resulting conflict.
Burns and Holden (1995)	Hosts develop coping behaviors and avoid contact with tourists wherever possible.
McIntosh et al (1995)	Mixing socially is the most favourable situation. Resentment is generated by the economic gaps arising between the host and tourist. Local resentment is generated by inflated prices.

**Table 3.3 KEY SOCIAL IMPACTS OF TOURIST-HOST INTERACTION**

The views of the authors in table 3.3 reflect a significant correlation between the advancement of tourism and negative impacts in the host community. Pizam and Milman (1986) further indicate that tourism can contribute to social conditions that have the potential to cause serious problems in the host society. It is frequently asserted that the traditions of the host countries are weakened under the influence of tourism (Sharpley, 1994; Crick, 1997). Authenticity and the identity of the traditional cultures are lost as a consequence of the hosts' tendency to imitate tourists who represent for them a more advanced civilisation to which they aspire (Dogan, 1989; Greenwood, 1989; King *et al.*, 1993; Fladmark 1994; Craik, 1997). The authors listed in table 3.3 further assert that

these negative impacts may take the form of changes in value systems, lifestyle, ceremonies and community organisation.

The disruption of intimate and personal relations is associated with commercialisation and materialism, which are cited as being perhaps one of the most common consequences of tourism (Burns & Holden, 1995; Robinson & Boniface, 1998). If commercialisation is interpreted as demanding money for services previously provided free, this translates into the replacement of a value system based on moral values with one based on money. Tourism transforms human relationships into a source of economic gain, and the proportion of non-economic relationships diminishes (Cohen, 1995). Previously warm and intimate relationships are thus transformed into commercial forms (Dogan, 1989).

WRITER(S)	ISSUE / IMPACT
White (1974)	Hotel accommodation is a greater sociocultural threat.
De Kadt (1979)	Arts, crafts and local culture can be revitalized.
Collins (1978)	Hosts behaviour can be transformed temporarily.
Murphy (1985)	Attitude changes are an indication of acculturation.
Cohen (1988)	There are assumed negative impacts of commoditization.
Nunez (1989)	Acculturation process of the two cultures taking on aspects of each other likely to occur.
Browne (1993)	Tourism destroys traditional culture.
Sharpley (1994)	True culture adapts over time to the needs of tourism. Meaning/authenticity are not necessarily lost. Acculturation is linked to the nature of the encounters.
Burns and Holden (1995)	Culture is seen as a commercial resource.

**Table 3.4 KEY CULTURAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM**

While some of the authors in table 3.4 view the interaction between different societies and cultures as a threat to traditional cultures and societies, to others it represents an opportunity for peace, understanding and greater familiarity among different societies and nations (De Kadt, 1979; Rojek & Urry, 1997). Ratz (2003) suggests that tourism not only creates jobs and business opportunities and helps to stabilise the local economy, but also facilitates cultural exchange between hosts and visitor, brings about an improved



image of the host community and provides recreational facilities. Tourism has also been credited with improving the standard of living, increasing opportunities for recreation and entertainment, promoting cultural exchange, promoting the cultural identity of the host community, and increasing the demand for the preservation of historical and architectural monuments (Cohen, 1984; Mason, 2003; Ratz 2003). By exposing the host to other cultures, tourism is seen as introducing benefits such as tolerance and understanding; the act of presenting one's culture to outsiders strengthens the idea of what it means to live within a community, thus increasing identity, pride, cohesion, and support (De Kadt, 1979).

If any conclusion can thus be drawn at this point, it must be that authors in the field hold widely varying views concerning whether or not tourism offers benefits to host communities (King *et al.*, 1993; Pizam *et al.*, 1978).

### **3.9 A TYPOLOGY OF TOURISM-HOST COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS**

Typologies have been widely used within tourism literature as a useful way to establish broad classifications. Boyd and Singh (2003) have put forward four possible relationship scenarios that may develop in the cultural tourism context.

#### **? Win-win**

In the win-win scenario, both the community and tourism benefit. An example is community-based tourism, where the community is in support of tourism and participates in and benefits from it, and where tourism ensures the maintenance of the resource base of the community itself (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Significant examples of community-based tourism associated with indigenous peoples that have received considerable attention from tourism scholars are the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) projects in Zimbabwe, the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in Nepal, and Aboriginal tourism at Uluru (Ayers Rock) in Australia (Pearce *et al.*, 1996; Boyd & Singh, 2003).

? **Win-lose**

Where the community benefits but mass tourism does not necessarily do so, a win-lose scenario exists. This can arise in cases where tourist numbers are restricted to ensure that host-guest ratios are appropriate to cope with numbers (Boyd & Singh, 2003). The community benefits, as the emphasis is often on encouraging quality tourism, stressing meaningful interaction between residents and tourists, encouraging higher spending, minimal leakage and less negative impact (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Bermuda is a good example of a destination that has promoted quality tourism by restricting tourist numbers to the benefit of local communities (Pearce *et al.*, 1996).

? **Lose-win**

In the lose-win scenario the community loses, while tourism gains. Many tourist-gambling communities fall into this category, as gaming often destroys the fabric of communities in both physical terms (areas are destroyed to make way for more casinos) and social terms (increased deviant behaviour, addiction and organised crime) (Boyd & Singh, 2003). In contrast, tourism gains, as all-inclusive packages of gambling, entertainment, shopping and accommodation are offered to potential visitors.

? **Lose-lose**

Here both the community and tourism lose. An example of this would be uncontrolled mass coastal resort-based tourism where emphasis is on short-term economic gain at the expense of long-term community and environmental benefit (Pearce *et al.*, 1996). Resorts along the Mediterranean coast fit this scenario, where traditional fishing villages have been replaced with masses of visitors who have a superficial relationship with their hosts, and are low spenders with significant negative impacts (Boyd & Singh, 2003). This situation has improved somewhat recently with increased recognition of the need for a good relationship between residents and tourists.

Given these four scenarios, the ideal would be to move towards a win-win situation, yet unfortunately many destination communities throughout the world remain in a less than favourable situation (Boyd & Singh, 2003).

### **3.10 TOURIST-HOST CONTACT IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

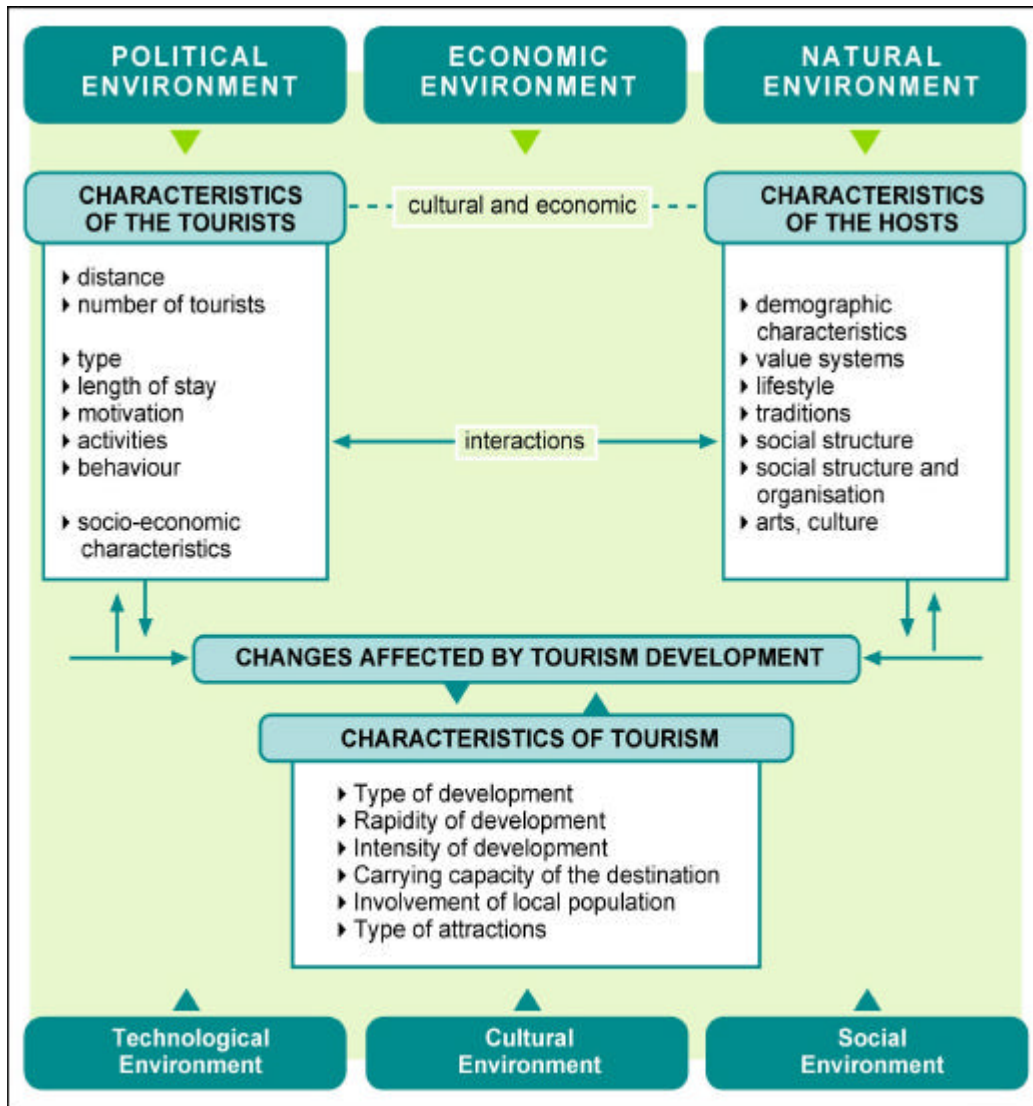
In less developed countries where cultural differences between tourists and hosts are greater than in more developed countries, the negative effect of direct tourist-host contact is increased (Pearce, 1982b; Ap, 1992; Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Rich tourists who visit Third World countries have little respect for local values, and are often perceived as aggressive and insensitive. Tourist-host contact often generates exploitation, assault, victimisation and numerous social problems. While all of these elements need not be present at once, they are nevertheless attributable to significant cultural differences that are important in shaping tourists' and hosts' perceptions of each other (Pearce, 1982b; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

### **3.11 DETERMINANTS OF HOST COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS (FACTORS INFLUENCING RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS OF IMPACTS)**

Research on environmental and personal characteristics contributes to identifying whether residents favour tourism or not. Ratz (2003) reports that the social and cultural characteristics of the host community are constantly influenced by the political, technological, social, cultural and natural aspects of their wider environment (see figure 3.1). The problem of separating tourism's impacts from these influences is as yet unresolved (Pearce, 1989; Crick, 1991; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000); in consequence, the present study focuses exclusively on resident perceptions of impacts. This decision was made in light of the main objective of socio-cultural impact analysis, which is to provide developers, local authorities and all other parties concerned with information on host communities' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism development with a view to reinforcing perceived positive impacts and minimising perceived negative impacts.

The degree to which socio-cultural impacts influence or are experienced by host communities may depend on a number of factors, including the number and type of tourists, the nature of tourism development in the area, the pace of development, and the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the host society (Ratz, 2003). Accordingly, the reactions of the local inhabitants to the impacts of tourism take various forms. However, the extent of residents' perceptions of and attitudes toward tourism can be

influenced by social and economic factors such as community attachment, duration of residence in an area, and economic dependency on tourism. McCool and Martin (1994), for instance, find that residents who are strongly attached to their community view tourism impacts with more concern than do those who are less attached to their community.



Adapted from (Ratz, 2003)

**Figure 3.1 TOURISM'S SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE WIDER SOCIAL CHANGE**

Several studies have shown that residents who benefit from tourism have a higher level of support for it and thus report more positive impacts (Husbands, 1989; Lankford, 1994). King *et al.* (1993) point out that those people who derive personal benefits from tourism are also less likely than others to report negative impacts. In other words, perceptions of

positive benefits are significantly related to personal benefits from tourism, but do little actually to explain the perceived negative impacts (Pearce *et al.*, 1996).

Ap (1992) finds that people living further from tourism areas are more negative about the impacts; as a corollary, it has been reported that residents in higher tourist-density areas are more positive about the industry (Sheldon and Var, 1984). Pizam *et al.* (1978) nevertheless record negative sentiments about tourism expressed by residents with more contact, although this appears contradictory to the findings of Pizam, Neumann and Reichel (1979) that residents with high contact have positive perceptions. This apparent contradiction, however, may be explained by the site-specific conditions under which tourists and hosts interact. Reisinger and Turner (2003) argue that the consequences of social contact between tourists and hosts depend largely on the social contact between individuals from different cultural backgrounds, and the conditions under which they interact. Social contact between individuals from different cultural backgrounds may result in negative attitudes, perceptions, and experiences.

### **3.12 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS**

Tourism management is a relatively new academic discipline, and sociology and anthropology, two of the academic disciplines from which it draws, are particularly relevant to this study. Much of the theory relating to cultural tourism and the impact of tourists on the host community has been contributed by sociologists and anthropologists who have been studying tourism for many years (Cohen, 1972; Greenwood, 1989; Smith, 1989; Nash & Smith, 1991; Graburn, 1993; Sharpley, 1994; Burns & Holden, 1995; Burns, 1999; Graburn, 2002).

A review of the work of these authors reveals that sociologists study the social aspects of tourism, whereas anthropologists view tourism as a cultural phenomenon. The patterns and influences of social interaction on residents and tourists, and the social factors affecting tourism demand are among the topics explored in the sociology of tourism. An obvious synergy thus exists between anthropology and the sociology of tourism, as both

seek to identify and make sense of culture and human dynamics. Because tourism is a global set of activities crossing many cultures, an understanding of the consequences of the interaction between managing, generating and receiving tourism societies is vital (Cohen, 1979, Greenwood, 1989, Sharpley, 1994; Burns & Holden, 1995).

Tourism as a social phenomenon involves social interaction between tourists and residents, and between tourists and the tourism industry (Cohen, 1979). This interaction may cause social change. Tourism is influenced by social factors such as fashion, social status, and the norms and values of a society. Sharpley (1994) lists four principal areas of analysis that have emerged in sociological treatments of tourism in the literature. These are: socio-economic impacts, tourists and their motivations, attitudes and perceptions, the tourist-host relationship, and the structure of the tourism system.

Tourism as a cultural phenomenon involves contact between the different cultural backgrounds of tourists and host communities, and the tourism industry and residents (Richards, 1997). This contact is sometimes referred to as a cultural exchange (Keyser, 2002). Many researchers believe that tourism is one of the factors causing cultural change in societies; in this regard, Burns and Holden (1995:119.) express the view that tourism is “a pan-human touristic process that originates with the generation of tourists in society, continues as tourists travel to other places where they encounter hosts, and ending as the give and take of this encounter affects the tourists, their hosts and their home culture”.

Therefore both sociology and anthropology remind us that tourism involves contact between two groups of people: the tourists and the host communities. Both point to change because of the interaction, and both are therefore applicable to the study of socio-cultural impacts in township tourism. Useful themes explaining cultural tourism and host-guest relationships derived from these two disciplines are further explored in chapter 4.

### 3.13 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: THEORIES AND MODELS

Studies of the impact of tourism on local communities elsewhere in the world have revealed that tourism has a specific, sociological effect on host communities (Cohen, 1988), and several models have been developed to help explain the impacts of tourism and the way in which these are perceived by residents. Doxey's Irridex model (1975), Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle (1980), and social exchange theory (Ap, 1992) are most often invoked to explain tourist-host relationships and their specific social and cultural impacts.

### 3.14 DOXEY'S INDEX OF IRRITATION (IRRIDEX)

In the Irridex model, Doxey developed a useful framework for the analysis of community attitudes towards tourists; the Irridex (derived from 'irritation index') represents the escalating irritation of residents as the impact of visitor numbers increases. From studies in South Africa it is clear that different regions in South Africa would feature at different positions on the Irridex, according to their level of exposure and the degree to which tourists and tourism are effectively managed.

Doxey (1975) cites the physical presence of tourists, the differences between tourists and locals and foreign ownership of local resources as possibly constituting the primary factors causing social impacts.

STAGE	HOST COMMUNITY ATTITUDE	CHARACTERISTICS
Stage 1	Euphoria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small number of visitors</li> <li>• Visitors seek to merge with the local community</li> <li>• Host community welcomes tourism</li> <li>• Limited commercial activity in tourism</li> </ul>
Stage 2	Apathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visitor numbers increase</li> <li>• Visitors are taken for granted</li> <li>• The relationship between tourists and the host community is more formalised</li> </ul>
Stage 3	Irritation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The number of tourists grows significantly</li> <li>• Increased involvement of external commercial concerns</li> <li>• Increased competition for resources between tourists and residents</li> <li>• Locals concerned about tourism</li> </ul>
Stage 4	Antagonism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open hostility from locals</li> <li>• Attempts to limit damage and tourism flows</li> </ul>

Adapted from (Keyser, 2002)

**Table 3.5 CAUSATION THEORY OF VISITOR-RESIDENT IRRITANTS: DOXEY'S IRRIDEX**



This model is a useful simplification of the complex relationships and sets of attitudes that develop between tourists and host communities. The specific ability of host communities to accommodate or tolerate tourism, and the attitudes that are formed in consequence, are known to differ from community to community, and are determined by a number of factors, including the number and types of visitors, length of visit, and cultural distance between hosts and guests (Doxey, 1975).

Doxey's Irridex model offers useful insight into what the expected attitudes of township residents may be as their community progresses through the phases listed above. Tourism management in the form of community involvement and consultative decision-making needs to be offered as a tourism development solution should residents exhibit any of the characteristics in stages 2–4.

### 3.15 BUTLER'S TOURIST AREA LIFE CYCLE MODEL

Butler (1980) proposes that tourism progresses through the stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and then decline; as can be seen from figure 3.2, there is a correlation between these stages and the attitudes of residents to tourists.

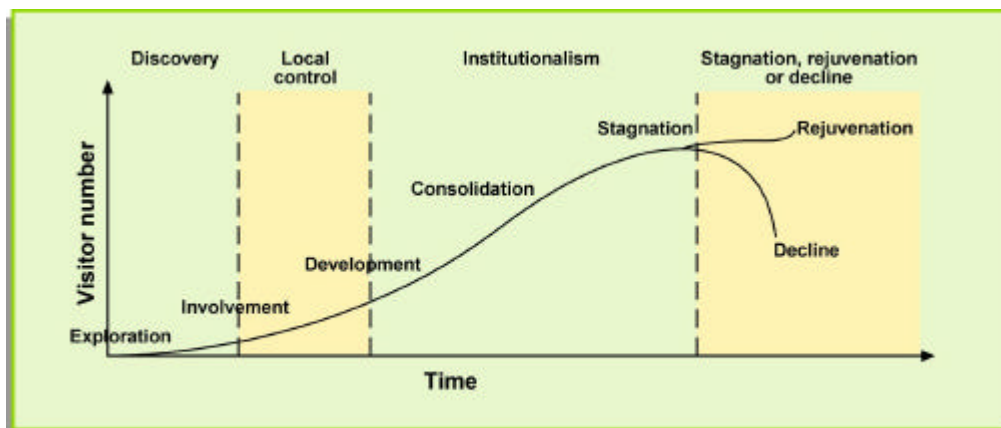


Figure 3.5 BUTLER'S TOURIST AREA LIFE CYCLE MODEL

The initial stage, or exploration, is typified by a new-found curiosity in travelling to the area. During the following stage, services are introduced to serve the needs of this travelling public. The third stage is characterised by robust physical development in area



products and services. However, this rapid development becomes an issue to the residents and to policy agents relative to host community impacts, and thus it is during the development phase that the economic, sociological, cultural, and ecological impacts become prominent. This phase is commonly characterised by considerable advertising and promotional efforts aimed at attracting tourists and maintaining a balance with available resources. In the consolidation stage the rate of increase of visitors declines though total numbers are still increasing and exceed permanent residents. At stagnation peak tourist volumes have now been reached and the destination is no longer fashionable, relying upon repeat visitors from more conservative travellers. The last phase is determined largely by the positive or negative impacts that have occurred during the development phase. Hence, the final stage of decline is largely contingent on the host community's ability to cope with identified tourism impacts. If the issues are insurmountable, decline occurs, with a concomitant drop in tourist arrivals to the area. However, if policies are enacted that sustain the balance between precious resources and tourist demands, decline will in all probability be averted (Butler, 1980).

As the number of visitors to a region increases, residents who were at first overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes towards their guests develop greater reservations concerning the long-term benefits brought by the visitors. This may be because the original expectations of the benefits of tourism were unrealistic (and so impossible to fulfil) or because the benefits are perceived to accrue to only a small number of people. Alternatively, although expectations of the benefits may be fulfilled, the environmental or social costs may initially have been overlooked, or excessively discounted, so that the local residents come to doubt whether their visitors are an unqualified blessing (Butler, 1980).

### **3.16 SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY**

Social exchange theory has been considered an appropriate framework for developing an understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism impacts (Nash, 1989; Ap, 1990; Allen *et al.*, 1993). A study by Ap (1992) drawing on social exchange theory sheds some light on this subject, and suggests that when an exchange of resources (expressed in terms of

power) between residents and tourism is high and balanced, or high for the host, tourism impacts are viewed positively by residents. On the other hand, when an exchange of resources is low or an unbalanced exchange that favours the tourist occurs, residents view the impacts negatively (Ap, 1990, 1992).

Social exchange theory suggests that individuals will engage in exchanges if (1) the resulting rewards are valued, (2) the exchange is likely to produce valued rewards, and (3) perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards (Ap, 1992). These principles suggest that residents will be willing to enter into an exchange with the tourists if they can reap some benefit without incurring unacceptable costs. Theoretically, residents who view the results of tourism as personally valuable and believe that the costs do not exceed the benefits will favour the exchange and support tourism development (King *et al.*, 1993).

Earlier research has recognised that the elements being offered by the host community include not only economic components but also social and environmental factors (Pizam & Milman, 1986, 1993; Allen *et al.*, 1993; King *et al.*, 1993). Residents appear to be willing to enter into an exchange with tourists if they feel the transaction will result in a gain; studies have shown that economic gain, along with social and environmental factors, affect resident perceptions of tourism and their support of or opposition to tourism (Pizam *et al.*, 1978; Tyrrell & Spaulding, 1984). These studies suggest that the value attributed to the elements of exchange affects the way tourism is perceived and the manner in which residents react to tourism.

Social exchange theory may thus explain why earlier research demonstrates that support for tourism is dependent on resident perceptions of tourism impacts (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Theoretically, the relationship holds true because the perception of tourism impacts is a result of assessing rewards and costs (Ap, 1992). Consequently, residents who perceive the exchange with tourists as beneficial will support tourism, while those who perceive the exchange as deleterious will oppose tourism development (Ap, 1992). The perception of tourism impacts is affected by the exchange the perceivers believe they

are making. Therefore, expressed support for tourism development may be considered as a willingness to enter into an exchange with the tourists.

Social exchange theory, which is generally concerned with explaining the exchange of resources (physical or symbolic) between people or groups of people, is similar to Nash's suggestion that the relationship between tourists and their hosts includes certain understandings that must be agreed and acted upon (Nash, 1989), which implies a form of transaction. When applied to tourism, social exchange implies that both tourists and hosts engage in a process of negotiation or exchange, the ultimate aim of which is to maximise the benefit to each from the encounter (Pizam *et al.*, 1978; Nash, 1989; Ap, 1992). For the tourist, the benefit may be the purchase of a product or service or, more generally, a desired experience; for local people, the benefit may be economic gain.

The exchange process itself follows a sequence of events, commencing with the identification of a need (Ap, 1992). Unless a need or a motivation exists, there is no reason for either party to initiate an exchange; thus, unless a community has a need to develop tourism or sees tourism as a means of economic and social improvement, it is unlikely to be willing to become involved in or to welcome the development of tourism (Ap, 1992; Ap & Crompton, 1998). The one exception may be where a community has a tradition of hospitality with no expectation of payment or reward, although such a tradition is likely to become rapidly commercialised with the advent of regular tourism (Ap, 1990, 1992).

Once needs have been recognised, both the tourist and the host enter into an exchange situation that must be rational and result in satisfactory benefits (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). In other words, both parties act in a rational manner that will result in the desired benefits, although those benefits will be satisfied rather than maximised. For example, tourism development is normally undertaken for the potential economic and social benefits that it will bring to a community, such as improved standards of living and better transport services (Pizam *et al.*, 1978; Allen *et al.*, 1988; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The greater the perceived benefits, the more positive local people's attitudes towards tourists

will be. However, certain costs are involved, such as having to put up with crowds or higher costs in the shops during the tourist season; once those costs begin to outweigh benefits, then attitudes towards tourism and tourists will become increasingly negative (Nash, 1989; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

What is important to note is that the social exchange, or tourist-host encounter, must be reciprocal. Reciprocity suggests that the resources exchanged should be roughly equivalent and, therefore, neither party should feel they are being exploited (Ap, 1992; Allen *et al.*, 1993; King *et al.*, 1993). Once either the host or the tourist recognises a lack of reciprocity, for example, when tourists feels that they are being taken advantage of by being charged an excessively high price for souvenirs or when hosts believe that they are being taken advantage of by having tourists intrude on their privacy by taking photographs, then the exchange becomes unbalanced (Nash, 1989; Ap, 1992;; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). In this situation, the host is more likely to adopt a more negative attitude towards encounters than tourists because what is 'business as usual' for local people is a one-off experience for tourists (Ap, 1992). However, if the conditions of rationality, the achievement of benefits and reciprocity are fulfilled, then the exchange will be perceived as fair and equitable; if the host and the tourist both feel that they have achieved a fair and satisfactory outcome, then each will have a positive perception of the encounter (Ap, 1992; Sharpley, 1994).

The advantages of using social exchange theory, then, are that it is able to accommodate explanations of both positive and negative perceptions and to examine relationships at either the individual or the collective level. Social exchange theory demonstrates that resident evaluation of the impacts of tourism and resident support for tourism are dependent on what residents value.

### **3.17 SUMMARY**

This chapter has provided a theoretical basis and framework for assessing host community perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of township tourism and identified a

useful corpus of socio-cultural impact variables and concepts. These will contribute to appropriate methodological instruments that will direct and inform the research process.

This chapter has also brought to the fore the most significant problem associated with assessing socio-cultural impacts, namely the difficulty in distinguishing these from other impacts, and hence in measuring them. This partly explains why these impacts have in the past been regarded as less significant than economic impacts. As a result, much research has relied on the perceptions of a range of respondents, particularly local residents, but also tourists themselves and other players in tourism. A good deal of research has also entailed an attempt to apply various theories, such as those of Doxey, Butler and Ap, to specific tourism development contexts.

Empirical research tends to suggest that local residents in many locations are willing to consider trade-offs with regard to tourism — they are willing to accept some negative consequences as long as tourism is perceived as bringing some benefits. However, as a consumer of resources, tourism has the ability to over-consume cultural and social resources, leading to negative impacts on societies and culture. Yet numbers alone do not determine socio-cultural impact. Other contributing factors, including type of contact, visitor and destination characteristics and local perceptions about the importance of tourism, were also covered in this chapter. It was also pointed out that tourism alone does not necessarily lead to negative impacts and conflict between tourists and host communities; these are more likely to be attributable to the inadequate management of tourism.

While the models of Doxey and Butler offer a reflection of resident perceptions of tourism and useful assessment criteria for exploring the community's attitude at certain stages of tourism development, social exchange theory as proposed by Ap was explored as a logically and intuitively appealing theory to form the basis of an investigation of the perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism of Soweto residents.