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Title

**THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON CULTURE: EMPIRICAL
EVIDENCE FROM VICTORIA FALLS**

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ABSTRACT:

The study sought to establish the impact of tourism on culture in and around Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. An accidental sample of 104 respondents living in the town comprising employees in the tourism, leisure and hospitality industry, community leaders, and members of the public was surveyed to fulfil the study's objective. Descriptive statistics and factor analysis were employed to analyse the data. A total of seven factors, which influence the impact of tourism on culture, were extracted from the dataset. All but one of the seven factors concerned the negative impacts of tourism on culture. This is consistent with findings in other countries where tourism has been found to have more negative than positive impacts on culture. The implications for the study are that national tourism policy makers should redefine policy to ensure that the factors impacting negatively on culture are addressed.

Key words: Culture, tourism, Zimbabwe, ethnicity

INTRODUCTION:

The impact of tourism on culture has been researched in a number of countries. Conceptual and empirical literature from Thailand, India, Hawaii, Jamaica, Dominica, South Korea, Botswana, Indonesia, and Australia indicates that tourism has both negative and positive effects on culture (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2009; Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia, undated; Bhattacharjee, 2008; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Pearce, 1996; Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997; Backman and Backman, 1997; Tanah Lot Official Website, 2010; TransAfrica Forum, undated; Tourism Sustainable Development, undated; King, Pizam and Milman, 1993). The negative impacts of tourism are particularly more visible in regions populated by ethnic minorities, which receive huge numbers of tourists.

While tourism contributes significantly to the economic welfare of countries by way of revenue and employment provision, some empirical studies have shown that it has more negative than positive impacts on culture. International tourism is a big industry in Zimbabwe. With a growth rate of 6.9 percent per annum and annual revenue earnings of over US\$850 million, Zimbabwe's tourism and hospitality industry is expected to become one of the world's fastest growing sectors

between 2011 and 2021 (Mutenga,2011).A reflection on this forecastshows it is time the effects of tourism on cultures of citizen ethnic groups in the country's tourist destinations such as Vitoria Falls, which receive large volumes of foreign visitors, are assessed.

The Victoria Falls is one of the most popular destinations for international tourists targeting Zimbabwe. Victoria Falls and nearby Binga districts are home to Tonga and Nambian ethnic groups. Tongas and Nambians are among some of the few groups that have kept their ethnic traditions unspoilt by modernisation and other external influences. Nonetheless, the ethnic groups are increasingly being exposed to tourism and external influences, which are diluting their cultures.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

The primary objective of this study was to assess the impact of tourism on culture in Zimbabwe with special reference to ethnic groups in and around Victoria Falls. The secondary objective was to gather information that could be used to inform national tourism policy formulation in Zimbabwe.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Tourism and culture defined

Tourism is "the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non-residents, insofar as they do not lead to permanent residence and are not connected with any earning activity (Hunziker and Krapf, 1941). People who visit are bound to impact on the cultures and traditions of those who host them. Clarke and Chen (2007) define culture as a set of accepted behaviour patterns, values, assumptions and shared experiences.

Researchers and writers who have extensively studied tourism development globally often refer to the self-destructive nature of tourism. Practical cases often prove the tendency of tourism to significantly alter and even destroy the environment in which it thrives leading to reduced competitiveness and in some cases total collapse of the industry (Mathieson, 1982; Butler, 1980).Experiences and other studies, however, acknowledge the positive impacts of tourism on

culture. Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia (undated) says a growing number of cultural celebrations are emerging highlighting important events and paying homage to ancestry. As such, conceptual and empirical literature on impacts of tourism on culture falls into two strands—negative impacts and positive impacts. Nonetheless, it appears there is more literature on negative than positive impacts of tourism on culture.

Negative impacts of tourism on culture

Amongst the key problem areas that researchers reveal is the relationship between tourism development and the socio-cultural environment of the destination (Husband, 1989). Though tourists tend to have a strong affinity for the unspoilt material and intangible cultures of the communities in and around the destination, research has shown that their presence has contributed to the destruction and distortion of cultures around the world (Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997). Tourists, who come from different cultures and environments, tend to influence the development of hybrid cultures which are not sustainable and compatible with conservative members of communities (Pearce, 1996). Tourism is also known to inspire the tendency to transform local cultures into ‘commodities’ with little value and in some cases modifying it to suit the needs and expectations of tourists. This phenomenon is known as ‘reconstructed ethnicity’ which often leads to the total distortion of rituals and rites. Among the key negative impacts of tourism is the loss of traditionally valuable artefacts, erosion of cultural values and extinction of local languages, which tend to be main causes of irritation in host communities (Backman and Backman, 1997).

To attract tourists, destinations often engage in tourism development. This involves building infrastructure such as hotels, restaurants, golf courses, and other facilities to provide for the needs of the anticipated visitors. As the infrastructure takes shape Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia (undated) notes that tourism infrastructure takes “best sites” and local secrets. The complaint is also being echoed in Hawaii. The ever increasing development of Hawaii combined with the strengthening tourism industry has led to Native Hawaiians struggling to preserve their culture (Darowski *et al*, 2006). To meet the demand of this industry new hotels are continuously being built and expanded (*ibid*). Almost every major resort development has been built on some culturally significant sight (Darowski *et al*, 2006). A prime example of this is the

Keonaloa development site where twenty two acres of burial grounds were relocated to a one acre plot on the property.

A destination may want to portray itself as 'world class'; Delhi, India, did this as it prepared to host the 2010 Commonwealth Games. This is, of course, a little more problematic in third world conditions as it requires a further marginalization of the poor to portray this 'image' to the world (Bhattacharjee, 2008:93). The poor might be moved to a location where they cannot be seen by the visitors.

In the extreme, tourism has contributed to a wide range of issues – many of which seem insignificant but detract from the quality of life of local residents. Intrusion on daily life, loss of privacy, and a sense of crowding contribute to ill feelings towards tourism development (Gawler Visitor Information Centre (www.gawler.sa.gov.au) undated).

Tourism promotes intrusion on daily life [of host communities] (Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia, undated). For example, tourists are either negligent or ignorant about local customs and moral values, hence some of them snoop into the houses of local folk without permission from the owners (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia and UNESCO Bangkok concur that such behaviour leads to have a feeling of loss of privacy.

Usually when tourists return home from a destination they look for something special to take back home, which will remind them of their visit. This desire has encouraged commodification of material culture, which is the mass production of wood carvings that used to have cultural significance among the local folk. Traditional crafts and skills lose their authentic value and would only be left with a market value (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Bhattacharjee, 2008). In addition, host communities lose valuable artefacts, ancestral heirlooms and other movable tangible cultural heritage (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008).

Culture has also been negatively affected from the contexts of cultural festivals, ceremonies and rites. UNESCO Bangkok (2008) notes that cultural performances and rituals are presented out of context, for example ethnic songs, dances, and themes are often changed and abridged to suit tourists' expectations, thereby conveying a false message to visitors. In addition, cultural performances are losing their authenticity as some performances are staged even when there are

no appropriate occasions to justify their performances. As an example agricultural rituals are staged at the wrong times of the year, just for tourist consumption (*ibid*).

In the Caribbean islands such as Dominica and Jamaica, some researchers have argued that tourism has reinvigorated racial and gendered labour divides, relegating Black people and women to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs (TransAfrica Forum, undated). Research in other multicultural countries is yet to prove if this phenomenon is common.

The deterioration of host cultures as tourists import their culture into the destination (Bhattacharjee, 2008; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008) is one of the key impacts of tourism on culture. Tourists come from a culture and the destinations they visit have people who have their own cultures too.

Citing the Caribbean Islands, TransAfrica Forum (undated) note that the influx of luxury goods and services along with the tourists has changed the consumption needs and desires of the island populations, causing many to claim an increase in materialism. Due to increases in prostitution, availability of drugs and abuse, tourism has also had a negative impact on the small islands (*ibid*). Tanah Lot Official Website (2010) concur that tourism promotes begging, vending and prostitution. At the same time tourism has been known to damage traditional family structures and subsistence food production (Tourism Sustainable Development, undated).

In the context of the Caribbean, some argue that tourism has had a detrimental effect on the social and moral fabric of the region. TransAfrica Forum (undated) laments that this has allowed for the development of a largely uncontrolled criminal sector, including prostitution and drugs barons, that are attached to the tourist industry.

Positive impacts of tourism on culture

Culture, however, can also positively influence tourism. The unique cultural resources of a territory serve as a basis for the cultural supply required by the local community, as well as contributing to increased tourism attractiveness (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2009). Although the commoditisation of traditional crafts and ceremonies to meet demand of tourists robs them of their authentic cultural value (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Bhattacharjee, 2008), it is also important to realise that commodification also helps to rescue

some of the crafts and festivals from extinction as a result of Christianity and modernisation (Gawler Visitor Information Centre, undated). A growing number of cultural celebrations are emerging highlighting important events and paying homage to ancestry. Cultural events assert cultural identity and help preserve local traditions in younger generations while influencing visitors first-hand (*ibid*). At the same time, cultural exchange between hosts and tourists promotes better understanding between the two (Bhattacharjee, 2008). Tourism may encourage attempts to keep culture and traditions alive (Tourism Sustainable Development, undated; TransAfrica Forum, undated; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). It is also known for fostering peace and social harmony and strengthening communities (Backman and Backman, 1997) and preservation and promotion of local culture, traditions and broadmindedness (King, Pizam and Milman, 1993). Tourism also presents young generations with an opportunity to re-learn their cultural values through festivals and performance done for tourists (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008).

METHODOLOGY:

Research strategy

The researchers employed the survey research strategy and the questionnaire technique to gather data to fulfil the study's objectives. Surveys gather data by asking questions to respondents.

Data gathering technique: Questionnaire

The questionnaire was informed by tourism variables that impact on culture as cited in the literature review. Our research instrument had two parts all of which had close end questions. This was necessary to enable the research team to generate results which, if the sampling technique had been random, one could generalise to the population.

The first part of the questionnaire had six questions. The first five questions focused on respondents' demographic characterisation in terms of residence status with respect to Victoria Falls, length of period living in Victoria Falls, respondent's mother tongue, occupation, and age. The sixth question dealt with respondents' perception on whether 'tourism has had more negative or positive impact on culture in Victoria Falls' based on 'true' or 'false' optional answers. The second part of the questionnaire had one question based on 24 variables or

statements informed by the literature. Attitudes on the 24 statements were measured on a five-point Likert scale with possible answers ranging from Strongly Agree (1) to Strongly Disagree (5). The questionnaire was distributed to a convenience sample of respondents in Victoria Falls.

Population, sampling technique and sample size

Residents of Victoria Falls and surrounding communities constituted the targeted population. The team distributed the questionnaire to a convenience sample of residents of the town. In accidental or convenience sampling, as its name suggests, sampling units are selected out of convenience, for example, in clinical practice, researchers are forced to use clients who are available as samples, as they do not have many options (Singh, 2009). The team of researchers took advantage of the business trips they took to Victoria Falls during the months of June, July and August 2011 to gather data to fulfil the study's objectives. They distributed the questionnaire to the people they met during their trips to the town hence the sample can be regarded as accidental or convenience. The challenge with accidental sampling is that it is a non-probability sampling technique. In *non-probability sampling* the probability of selecting population elements is unknown (Kothari, 2004). Thus results generated from non-random samples cannot be generalised to the population but would still be useful as exploratory scientific evidence to make tentative decisions including policy formulation. The results of this study are based on the 104 useable questionnaires returned to the researchers by respondents during their trips to Victoria Falls.

Data analysis

Data generated by the study were inputted into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and analysed using percentages, descriptive statistics (i.e. mean scores and standard deviation), reliability tests and factor analysis. Kothari (2004:322) states that factor analysis seeks to 'resolve a large set of measured variables in terms of relatively few categories, known as factors'. Adams *et al.* (2007) says factor analysis is widely used in business research to reflect hidden or latent variables which cannot be directly measured, but tend to be indirectly measured by other measures such as a bank or series of questions. This technique allows the researcher to

group variables into factors (based on correlation between variables) and the factors so derived may be treated as new variables (often termed as latent variables) and their value derived by summing the values of the original variables which have been grouped into the factor (Kothari, 2004). The meaning and name of such new variable is subjectively determined by the researcher (*ibid*). In the present study, we extracted the factors using the Principal Component Analysis method and rotated them using Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation.

FINDINGS:

Demographic characterisation of respondents

Table 1 below presents information on the demographic make-up of respondents. Of the 104 respondents who returned useable questionnaires an overwhelming majority, 98.1 percent, were residents of Victoria Falls while a minority, 1.9 percent, were tourists. This is an ideal composition for the sample given the research objective. Over 43 percent of the respondents were between 26 and 35 years old and 30.8 percent were aged between 36 and 45 years. Only 21.2 percent were aged 25 years and below.

Table 1: Demographic characterisation of respondents

Demographic variable	Percentage distribution	Demographic variable	Percentage distribution
Residence status		Age	
Tourists	1.9%	Under 25 years	21.2%
Residents	98.1%	26-35 years	43.3%
		36-45 years	30.8%
Mother tongue		Occupation	
Tonga	5.0%	Manager in Tourism	33.3%
Nambia	5.9%	Staff in tourism	49.4%
Ndebele	23.8%	Other (traders, dancers, etc.)	16.8%
Shona	48.5%		
English	5.9%		

Tonga	5.0%
Nambia	5.9%

Most of the respondents were Shona (48.5 per cent) and Ndebele (23.8 per cent), the two largest ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. Tongas and Nambians only constituted 10.9 per cent. Ironically, the Tongas and Nambians are minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe but are historically the original inhabitants of Victoria Falls and the neighbouring Binga district. Since the study sought to measure the impact of tourism on culture in Victoria Falls with emphasis on Tonga and Nambian cultures that are considered indigenous to the region, the study's results should be interpreted with this sampling weakness in mind. Ideally, the sample needed to have representative samples of the Tonga and Nambia. Shona and Ndebele people would probably not appreciate the impacts of tourism on ethnic cultures in question as they may not know the traditions and norms.

The distribution of respondents by occupation showed that an overwhelming majority were managers (33.3 per cent) and staff of tourism-related businesses in the town (49.4 per cent). Only 16.8 per cent were in other occupations such as informal trading, traditional dance and some were ordinary residents. The domination of the sample by people employed in tourism may have led to some bias in the results with respect to descriptive statistics. Ideally, there should have been representative samples of those in the minority vis-a-vis those directly employed in tourism.

Validity and Reliability of Questionnaire: Construct Validity and Overall and Item Cronbach alphas

We checked the reliability and validity of our research instrument for the benefit of users of our research—researchers and practitioners alike. We measured the reliability of our research instrument by overall Cronbach alpha and item Cronbach alpha. *Reliability* refers to whether or not the same results would be achieved if the instrument was applied repeatedly (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). The rule of thumb is that an alpha value of 0.60 is considered low, while alpha values in the range of 0.70–0.80 are considered optimal (Singh, 2007). The overall Cronbach's alpha based on standardised items was .762 and the alphas for the 24 variables ranged from a

lowest of .761 for the item ‘Tongas and Nambians are losing valuable artefacts, ancestral heir-gifts and other movable tangible cultural heritage to tourists’ to a highest of .802 for the variable ‘cultural exchanges between locals and tourist promotes better understanding between the two groups’ (Table 2 below). Therefore, our questionnaire is highly likely to produce consistent results if used in similar studies in future.

Table 2: Research instrument reliability

Variable	Cronbach alpha
Tourists are overcrowding Victoria Falls	.780
Tourism infrastructure has taken the “best sites” and local secrets	.775
Projection of Victoria Falls as a world-class attraction pushes ordinary local people to fringes of the social hierarchy	.776
Mass production of local traditional crafts for sale to tourists robs the crafts of their “authentic” cultural value	.779
Tonga and Nambian traditions have diluted due to tourism	.768
Begging, vending and prostitution have increased due to tourism	.784
Poor residents of Victoria Falls have no access to recreational areas and facilities in the town	.767
The risk of contracting HIV, hepatitis, and malaria increases due to tourism	.772
Tourism promotes drug trafficking, drug abuse and other crime in the town and surrounding communities	.783
Tourism commercializes local traditional welcome and hospitality customs hence demeans them	.772
Tourism damages traditional family structures and subsistence food production	.771
Tourism reinvigorated racial labour divide, relegating black people to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	.771
Tourism perpetuates Shona and Ndebele dominance over Nambian and Tonga people relegating the latter to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	.773
Tourism has reinvigorated gendered labour divide, relegating women to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	.778
The influx of luxury goods and services to cater for tourists changes consumption needs and desires of local residents	.772
Cultural performances, sacred rituals, ethnic songs and dances performed to satisfy tourists’ needs and often at inappropriate occasions lose their significance	.779

Tongas and Nambians are losing valuable artefacts, ancestral heir-gifts and other movable tangible cultural heritage to tourists	.761
Female tourists offend locals by wearing short-trousers and short-dresses in public	.777
Tourists often offend locals by hugging and kissing in public	.775
Tourists often enter or peep into houses of local people and take photographs of locals and their houses without permission	.788
Cultural exchanges between locals and tourists promotes better understanding between the two groups	.802
Tourism has restored some traditional ways and goods because tourists are interested and willing to buy them	.795
Festivals staged for visitors help to keep local cultures alive	.793
Young generations are re-learning their cultural values through festivals and performances done for tourists	.793
Overall Cronbach Alpha Based on Standardised Items	.762

Validity is present when the approach to measurement used in the study actually measures what it is supposed to measure (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger, 2005). We applied construct validity to ensure the validity of our instrument. Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger state that *construct validity* assesses the extent to which the test or measurement strategy measures a theoretical construct or trait. So we reviewed suitable literature to infer on the 24 variables or statements constituting our Likert scale as summarised in the first column of Tables 2 above and 3 below.

Tourism has had more negative than positive impacts on ethnic cultures in Victoria Falls

As evident in Figure 1 below, 59.6 per cent of the respondents said it was true that tourism had had more negative than positive impacts on cultures in Victoria Falls and only 39.4 per cent indicated that the statement was false. This shows that there was an overwhelming agreement among the 104 elements constituting our accidental sample that tourism, indeed, does have more negative than positive impacts on culture. This finding corroborates results of studies carried out in other countries such as Thailand (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008), India (Bhattacharjee, 2008:93) and Jamaica and Dominica (TransAfrica Forum, undated).

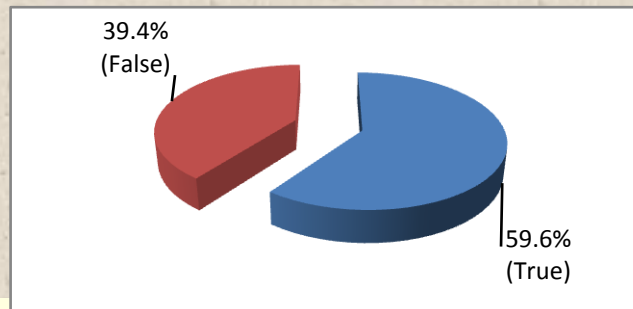


Figure 1: Tourism has more negative than positive impacts on culture

The impacts of tourism on ethnic cultures in Victoria Falls

Table 3 below presents the findings of the study by percentage and descriptive statistics—i.e. variable or statement mean score and standard deviation. The results were generated by a five-point Likert scale ranging from Agree Strongly (1) to Disagree Strongly (5). Mean is the appropriate measure of central tendency (Kothari, 2004). Given the five-point Likert scale, a statement had to score up to 2.5 to be concluded as having been significant impact on culture. Hence any variable mean score above the 2.5 cut-off point denotesthe statement was not seen by respondents as having a significant impact.

Of the 24 variables or statements on our Likert scale, six had mean score between 2.09 and 2.5 and one had a score of 2.6 (Table 3 below). We accepted the statement with the 2.6 mean, ‘young generations are relearning cultural values through festivals and performances done for tourists’, because of its closeness to the cut off point. As such, there are seven variables in all that prove that tourism has indeed, had an impact on culture in Victoria Falls. The seven variables also had more respondents agreeing strongly or simply agreeing that they were impacting on culture. The findings on the very statements based on percentage points also suggest the same. For example, 38.6 per cent and 35.6 per cent of the respondents agreed strongly and agreed respectively that ‘begging, vending and prostitution have increased due to tourism’. Of the very seven variables three fell in the cluster of those with negative impacts on culture and four on those with positive impacts on culture. The variables showing that culture

had a negative impact on culture are ‘begging, vending and prostitution’, ‘access to recreational facilities’ and ‘risk of HIV, hepatitis and malaria’. The four statements showing that tourism had had a positive impact on culture in Victoria Falls are those concerned with ‘cultural exchange promoting understanding between tourists and locals’, ‘tourism restoring traditional ways and goods’, ‘festivals performed for tourists keeping local cultures alive’ and ‘young people relearning cultural values through festivals done for tourists’. These results are consistent with findings in extant studies in other countries(Mathieson, 1982; Butler, 1980; Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia, undated; Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997; Backman and Backman, 1997; Bhattacharjee, 2008:93; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008).

Table 3: Impacts of tourism on culture in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe

Variables/Statements	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Tourists are overcrowding Victoria Falls	5.1%	6.1%	10.1%	42.4%	35.4%	4.00	1.097
Tourism infrastructure has taken the “best sites” and local secrets	15.8%	37.6%	13.9%	22.8%	9.9%	2.73	1.256
Projection of Victoria Falls as a world-class attraction has pushed ordinary local residents to the fringes of society	11.2%	30.6%	25.5%	24.5%	8.2%	2.88	1.151
Mass production of local traditional crafts for sale to tourists has robbed the crafts of their “authentic” cultural value	14.7%	30.4%	11.8%	32.4%	10.8%	2.94	1.288
Tonga and Nambian traditions have diluted due to tourism	9.9%	30.7%	20.8%	22.8%	16.8%	3.08	1.254
Begging, vending and prostitution have increased due to tourism	38.6%	35.6%	12.9%	7.9%	5.0%	2.05	1.135
Poor residents of Victoria Falls have no access to recreational facilities in the town	39.2%	30.4%	9.8%	13.7%	6.9%	2.19	1.280
The risk of contracting HIV, hepatitis, and malaria has increased due to tourism	30.1%	28.2%	16.5%	13.6%	11.7%	2.49	1.357
Tourism has promoted drug trafficking, drug abuse and other crime in the town and surrounding communities	8.7%	16.5%	22.3%	33.0%	19.4%	3.38	1.222
Tourism has commercialized local traditional welcome and hospitality customs hence demeaning them	12.9%	34.7%	24.8%	23.8%	4.0%	2.71	1.089

Tourism has damaged traditional family structures and subsistence food production	7.8%	21.6%	23.5%	31.4%	15.7%	3.25	1.191
Tourism has reinvigorated racial labour divide, relegating black people to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	15.8%	21.8%	17.8%	25.7%	18.8%	3.10	1.368
Tourism has perpetuated Shona and Ndebele dominance over Nambian and Tonga people relegating the latter to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	12.7%	27.5%	10.8%	31.4%	17.6%	3.14	1.343
Tourism has reinvigorated gendered labour divide, relegating women to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs	3.9%	11.8%	20.6%	37.3%	26.5%	3.71	1.104
The influx of luxury goods and services to cater for tourists has changed consumption needs and desires of local residents	9.7%	32.0%	18.4%	24.3%	15.5%	3.04	1.260
Cultural performances, sacred rituals, ethnic songs and dances performed to satisfy tourists' needs and often at inappropriate occasions have lost their significance	13.6%	31.1%	19.4%	22.3%	13.6%	2.91	1.277
Tongas and Nambians are losing valuable artefacts, ancestral heir-gifts and other movable tangible cultural heritage to tourists	14.9%	25.7%	21.8%	22.8%	14.9%	2.97	1.300
Female tourists offend locals by wearing short-trousers and short-dresses in public	17.6%	17.6%	20.6%	25.5%	18.6%	3.10	1.375
Tourists often offend locals by hugging and kissing in public	12.7%	12.7%	26.5%	28.4%	19.6%	3.29	1.279
Tourists often enter or peep into houses of local people and take photographs of locals and their houses without permission	8.7%	11.7%	15.5%	30.1%	34.0%	3.69	1.291
Cultural exchanges between locals and tourists promote better understanding between the two groups	28.2%	48.5%	13.6%	5.8%	3.9%	2.09	1.001
Tourism has restored some traditional ways and goods because tourists are interested and willing to buy them	24.5%	43.1%	17.6%	12.7%	2.0%	2.25	1.029
Festivals staged for visitors help to keep local cultures alive	23.5%	49.0%	17.6%	8.8%	1.0%	2.15	.916
Young generations are re-learning their cultural values through festivals and performances done for tourists	14.4%	43.3%	19.2%	18.3%	4.8	2.56	1.096

The results also show that the statements that had mean score between 2.7 and 3.1 had respondents either roughly splitting equally between those strongly agreeing or agreeing vis-a-vis those strongly disagreeing or disagreeing. Nine such statements ranged from 'tourism infrastructure has taken the "best sites" and local secrets' (mean score 2.73), 'the influx of luxury goods and services to cater for tourists has changed consumption needs and desires of local residents' (3.01) to 'projection of Victoria Falls as a world-class destination has pushed poor local residents to the fringes of society' (2.88). While results on these statements are indecisively agreeing or disagreeing on the impacts on culture, the generally equal split shows that they are potentially critical areas of tourism public policy.

Only five of the 24 statements were absolutely rejected they had mean scores above 3.1 and more people either disagreed strongly or disagreed that they were impacting on culture. The five statements are 'tourists are overcrowding Victoria Falls' (4.00), 'tourism promotes drug trafficking...' (3.38), 'tourism re-energizes gendered labour divide' (3.71), 'tourism damages traditional family structures and subsistence food production' (3.25), 'tourists enter or peep into houses and take photographs of locals without permission' (3.69). The findings on these five variables are inconsistent with findings of similar studies done in other countries where these have been established to be key issues (Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997; Mathieson, 1982; Butler, 1980; Gawler Visitor Information Centre Australia, undated; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Backman and Backman, 1997; Bhattacharjee, 2008:93).

The standard deviation per statement ranged from a lowest of .916 for the statement "Young generations are relearning their cultural values through festivals done for tourists" to the highest of 1.375 for the variable 'Female tourists offend locals by wearing short-trousers and short-dresses in public'. Generally the lowest standard deviations were in statements on the positive impacts of tourism on culture which range from .916 and to a maximum of 1.096 as already reported. Overall, the highest standard deviation of 1.375 is recorded on the statement 'Female tourists offend locals by wearing short trousers and short dresses in public'. Standard deviation is a descriptive statistic used to measure the degree of variability within a set of scores (Singh, 2007). Thus, the lower the standard deviation the narrower the dispersion of respondents' views on a variable and the higher the standard deviation the wider the dispersion of views.

Factors influencing the impact of tourism on culture: Component factor

We subjected the 24 statements constituting Part B of our questionnaire to the Principal Component Factor Analysis method and rotated them using Varimax with Kaiser Normalization and seven factors shown in Table 4 below were extracted. The meaning and name of such new factors is subjectively determined by the researcher[s] (Kothari, 2004). This means that three of the statements were dropped because they had component factor loading below the cut off point of .500. Overall, six of the seven factors are on negative impacts of tourism on culture and only one is on positive impacts. This echoes findings in other studies that have established that there are more negative than positive impacts of tourism on culture (Butler, 1980; TransAfrica, undated; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Backman and Backman, 1997; Bhattacharjee, 2008; Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997; Mathieson, 1982)

Factor 1, ‘Negative impacts of tourism’ and Factor 2, ‘Culture dilution, disease risks and drugs’, consist of four and three statements each respectively with the Component Factor Loadings shown in Table 4 below. Factor 3, ‘Loss of artefacts and heritage and disrespect of host cultures by tourists,’ comprises four variables. The three factors are all on negative impacts of tourism on culture. Factor 4, namely ‘Positive impacts of tourism on culture’ is made up of the four statements in our questionnaire with component factors loading ranging from .590 to 707. All four statements deal with positive impacts of tourism on culture.

Table 4: Factors influencing impact of tourism on culture in Victoria Falls

Variables	Component Factor Loadings						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tourism infrastructure takes “best sites” and local secrets	.742						
Projection of Victoria Falls as world-class attraction pushes its ordinary local citizens to fringes of the society	.614						
Tourism commercializes local traditional welcome and hospitality customs hence demeans them	.616						
Tourism reinvigorates racial labour divide, relegating black people to stereotypical, low-	.603						

paying, low-skill service jobs						
Tonga and Nambian traditions have diluted due to tourism		.57 9				
The risk of contracting HIV, hepatitis, and malaria increases due to tourism		.71 0				
Tourism promotes drug trafficking, drug abuse and other crime in the town and surrounding communities		.83 3				
Tongas and Nambians are losing valuable artefacts, ancestral heir-gifts and other movable tangible cultural heritage to tourists			.54 3			
Female tourists offend locals by wearing short-trousers and short-dresses in public			.75 7			
Tourists often offend locals by hugging and kissing in public			.82 0			
Tourists often enter or peep into houses of local people and take photographs of locals and their houses without permission			.64 4			
Cultural exchanges between locals and tourists promote better understanding between the two groups				.59 0		
Tourism restores some traditional ways and goods because tourists are interested in and willing to buy them				.70 7		
Festivals staged for visitors help to keep local cultures alive				.74 8		
Young generations re-learn their cultural values through festivals and performances done for tourists				.66 3		
Tourism reinvigorates gendered labour divide, relegating women to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs					.62 9	
The influx of luxury goods and services to cater for tourists changes consumption needs and					.69 4	

desires of local residents							
Cultural performances, sacred rituals, ethnic songs and dances performed to satisfy tourists' needs and often at inappropriate occasions lose their significance					.58		
Tourism perpetuates Shona and Ndebele dominance over Nambian and Tonga people relegating the latter to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs						.673	
Begging, vending and prostitution increase due to tourism							.784

Key: Factor 1 (Negative impacts of tourism on culture),Factor 2 (Culture dilution, disease risks and drug abuse),Factor 3 (Loss of artefacts and contempt of host cultures by tourists),Factor 4 (Positive impacts of tourism on culture),Factor 5 (Gender, luxury goods and sacred rituals),Factor 6 (Domination of ethnic minorities),and Factor 7 (Poverty, informal trading and prostitution)

Extraction method:Principal Component Analysis method and rotated using Varimax with Kaizer Normalisation

The fifth factor, 'Gender, luxury goods and sacred rituals', is made up of three statements. Factors 6 and 7 all comprise of one statement or variable each. All three factors, 5 to 7, are based on negative impacts of tourism on culture.

DISCUSSION:

Principal Component Factor Analysis employed in this study extracted seven factors comprising 21 statements or variables in all from the second part of the research instrument. This means that only three of the 24 statements in the questionnaire were rejected by factor analysis due to low factor loadings—that is below .500. The rejected variables are 'Tourist overcrowd Victoria Falls', 'Mass production of local traditional crafts for sale to tourists robs the crafts of their "authentic" cultural value' and 'Tourism damages traditional family structures and subsistence

food production'. This is inconsistent with experiences in the Caribbean islands of Jamaica and Dominica (TransAfrica Forum, undated).

Six of the seven factors extracted all concern negative impacts of tourism on culture while only one factor, Factor 4, is based on positive impacts. Therefore, our findings are generally consistent with the trend in previous studies where tourism has been revealed to have more negative than positive impacts on culture (e.g. Mathieson, 1982; TransAfrica Forum, undated; Butler, 1980; Ashley and LaFranchi, 1997; Backman and Backman, 1997; Bhattacharjee, 2008:93; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Darowski *et al*, 2006).

Factor 1, 'Negative impacts of tourism', constitutes four statements—'Tourism infrastructure takes "best sites" and local secrets', 'Projection of Victoria Falls as world-class attraction pushes its ordinary local citizens to fringes of society,' 'Tourism commercializes local traditional welcome and hospitality customs hence demeans them', and 'Tourism reinvigorates racial labour divide, relegating black people to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs'. Given the concern that tourism infrastructure takes "best sites" in a destination, tourism public policy makers need to formulate policies that will ensure investors in the industry carry out comprehensive stakeholder consultations before their tourism development plans and projects can be approved.

As Victoria Falls was at one time listed among the Seven Wonders of the World, it is positioned as a world-class attraction. The effect of this position is that prices for accommodation and other recreational facilities in the holiday resort may be beyond the reach of locals in particular and Zimbabweans of modest means in general. It is fundamental that locals have access to and benefit from tourism facilities available in their region and country.

Zimbabwe has an equitable labour policy barring race and gender biases. However, the fact that the study's findings have suggested that tourism can reinvigorate race- and gender-biased labour practices means that the sector should be monitored. One of the components in Factor 5 is 'Tourism reinvigorates gendered labour divide, relegating women to stereotypical, low-paying, low-skill service jobs'. Zimbabwe has an equitable national gender policy. That gender policy should be extended to the tourism sector as well.

The second factor – ‘Culture dilution, disease risks and drugs’ – comprises three negative variables. While tourism is a major industry in Zimbabwe, it is time the country perhaps establishes the maximum number of tourists it can sustain per annum without risking the erosion of cultural heritage.

Tourism may be a vehicle for drug trafficking, drug abuse and other crimes because of its dependence on attracting visitors to a destination. The presence of tourists from various countries provide fertile ground for trafficking of drugs as some tourists may be drug pushers and barons in their home countries. Thus it is imperative that as the country’s tourism industry expands, there is a strict boarder control regime to keep drugs out.

Zimbabwe has a high rate of HIV-infection. Tourism presents a number health risks to a destination, including HIV. The possibility of some international tourists visiting in order to engage in sex tourism cannot be ruled out especially given the high levels of poverty in the country. Therefore, it may be reasonable to encourage players in the tourism industry to invest some resources in HIV campaigns targeting tourists and host communities.

Factor 3 concerns the ‘Loss of artefacts and contempt of host cultures by tourists’. With the high levels of poverty in Zimbabwe, locals may be tempted to sell priceless cultural artefacts they have inherited to tourists at ridiculously low prices to raise money for their upkeep. Thus it is imperative that players in the tourism industry are encouraged to invest in community income generating projects.

Given that tourists are likely not to be aware of local cultural values and norms, the possibilities of tourists offending their hosts cannot be overemphasised. For instance, female tourists may put on bikinis at swimming pools and partners may display affection in public – kissing and caressing – which may be offending to locals especially if they are in the company of children.

Besides the variable ‘gender stereotypes’, Factor 5 comprises two other components which are all evidence of negative impacts of tourism on culture—‘The influx of luxury goods and services to cater for tourists changes consumption needs and desires of local residents’ and ‘Cultural performances, sacred rituals, ethnic songs and dances performed to satisfy tourists’ needs and often at inappropriate occasions lose their significance’. As the numbers of foreign tourists visiting a country soar, the need to import foreign cuisine and other luxury goods to cater for the visitors cannot be underplayed. Locals would end up liking the exotic products.

Factors 6 and 7 – namely ‘Domination of ethnic minorities’ and ‘Poverty, informal trading and prostitution’ – like all other factors in this study, except Factor 4, concern negative impacts of tourism on culture. They are each composed of a single variable i.e. ‘Tourism perpetuates Shona and Ndebele dominance over Nambian and Tonga people...’ (Factor 6) and ‘Begging, vending and prostitution increases due to tourism’ (Factor 7).

The variable in Factor 6 is confirmed perhaps because 82.7 per cent of respondents were employed in tourism yet in the sample only 10.9 per cent of them were Tonga and/or Nambian and the majority were Ndebele (23.8 per cent) and Shona (48.5 per cent), the two largest ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. While Factor 6 may be questionable given the accidental nature of sample, the factor may still be confirming that local ethnic groups whose ancestral homes are in Binga and Victoria Falls districts are not sufficiently benefitting from employment opportunities in the local tourism industry. Therefore, there might be need to redefine tourism policies to boost the employment prospects of local ethnic groups for them to benefit from the industry effectively.

The variable constituting Factor 7 – ‘Begging, vending and prostitution increases due to tourism’ – raises fundamental questions about corporate social responsibility for both the private and public sectors in respect to elements related to beginning and vending. The tourism industry is obviously the biggest employer in Victoria Falls. Given the distribution of respondents in our sample, it is critical that policy makers find out who the beggars and vendors are and then redefine tourism policy as necessary.

Factor 4 is the only factor that is based on positive impacts of tourism on culture. Tourism can promote cultural exchanges between tourists and locals which promotes better understanding between the two groups’ (Bhattacharjee, 2008). It can also restore some traditional ways and goods because tourists are interested in and willing to buy them. Tourism may also help keep local cultures alive through festivals staged for visitors. As the festivals and performances are done young people get to relearn their cultural values. Therefore, it is critical that tourism policy in Zimbabwe is defined in such a manner as not to overlook the positive impacts of tourism on culture.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS:

From the findings of the study it can be concluded that tourism does have significant negative and positive impacts on culture in host communities. The case in point shows that there have been more negative than positive impacts in communities in and around Victoria Falls. Respondents from the different social strata gave feedback which calls for the need to incorporate the negative implications of tourism development on culture in the national tourism policy framework. The original dwellers of Victoria Falls confirmed the gradual erosion of authenticity in their cultures, traditional norms and values. In keeping with findings of the research, though exploratory, and trends in tourism destinations around the world, tourism policy formulation and development in Zimbabwe needs to take into consideration the negative impacts of tourism on culture in order to preserve local heritage. It is also critical that the public and private players in the tourism industry support research efforts in tourism in order to inform policy development.

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