

A close look into the socio-economic effects of tourism in a Bangwaketse village, south-western Botswana

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Abstract

This paper draws on the Doxey's Irridex Model, the Butler's Tourist Area Lifecycle Model, and the Social Exchange Process Model as well as several literary sources to determine the socio-economic effects of tourism development on the livelihood of the indigenous population of Kanye village, south-western Botswana. The paper adopted a cross sectional survey design whereby various segments of the population were sampled and data was collected at a single moment in time. The research approach adopted for the study was mixed methods whereby both quantitative and qualitative techniques were applied. Primary data was collected through the guestionnaire and interviews with the selected respondents. The population of this study was the local community of Kanye village, south-western Botswana, and the sample was selected from the human resources (HR) managers from tourism enterprises for the interviews, and the general local community for questionnaire completion. Utilising both primary and secondary sources, the results of the study indicate that tourism development in the village had both negative and positive social and economic effects on the lifestyle of the local population, although on the negative side, the social effects were much more dominant than the economic ones. The prevalence of tourism activities in the village resulted in an increase in social vices such as prostitution, alcoholism, reduced respect for elders, adoption of improper language by the youths, inappropriate dress code, theft, and general social and cultural disorientation. On the other hand, the local population's economic livelihood was enhanced by tourism business through participation in small businesses to serve tourists, leading to an increase in disposable income and the development of infrastructure.

Keywords: Kanye village, tourism, socio-economic effects, livelihoods, Botswana.

Introduction

Kanye is a town located in south-western Botswana and is the administrative capital of the Southern District. It is the home of Bangwaketse people who settled in the area in the 1790s (Schapera, 1954; Ngcongco, 1977; Parsons, 1993; Ramsay, Morton & Mgadla, 1996). There are several interesting places for tourists to visit in Kanye such as historical buildings which include the former residence of Kgosi Bathoen 1, several old churches to explore, the oldest London Missionary church built in 1894 and a museum which holds artifacts from the area. These facilities entice tourists to visit Kanye as a tourist destination and other tourism facilities are provided to tourists. This can benefit the local community of Kanye and even the country of Botswana at large. By the year 2000, tourism had grown to be the second largest economic sector in the country, contributing 4.5% to Botswana's Gross Domestic Product (Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa, Bernard, & Orford, 2002). The tourism industry has been identified as an alternative



source of economic growth and diversification, particularly due its interaction with other sectors in the economy such as, for example, manufacturing, transport, health, and banking.

Tourism is usually facilitated by a nation due to its ability to promote and spread economic development thus reducing economic inequalities in terms of income distribution. This is done through the provision of employment to people in a particular geographical area (Pearce, 1988; Coccossis & Parpairis, 1995; Wahab & Pigram, 1997). Tourism should contribute to the development and improvement of the livelihood of the local population. Not much is known about the socio-economic effects of tourism in sSouth-western Botswana with most of the research undertaken so far focusing on the north-eastern region, (e.g. Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Chobe and Ngamiland) (Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa, 2002; Mbaiwa, Bernard, & Orford, 2002). The aim of this study was therefore to investigate the socio-economic effects of tourism in the south-western Botswana village of Kanye.

Literature review

This section examines what other authorities have written on the socio-economic effects of tourism on the well-being of the host community as well as community participation in tourism and tourism development. Social effects of tourism are analysed using a number of models such as the Doxey's Irridex Model (1975), the Butler's Tourists Area Lifecycle Model, and the Social Exchange Process Model. Social effects of tourism are highlighted below.

Social effects of tourism

Social effects of tourism relate to how tourism affects the quality of life of the local population (Bersales, 2005; Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006; Suntikul, Pratt, Kuan, Wong, Chan, Choi, & Chong, 2016). Tourism activities which cause positive or negative effects on local communities must be considered and addressed for sustainable development of the industry. The social effects of tourism can be classified as guest interaction and relationships, social cultural effects of tourism in general, the effects of tourism on the host communities, and response and adjustment strategies to the effects of tourism (Mason, 2003; Doxley, quoted by Fennel, 2007; Reisinger, 2009).

The effects of tourism development on the social lives of local inhabitants can be positive, but there are also negative consequences which must be taken into consideration. Hudson and Townsend (2008) and Lea (2009) argue that some of the positive social effects include income generation and employment opportunities from both community-based projects and camping companies. Other benefits include infrastructure development such as airports, tarred roads, hotels, lodges and camping sites and the improvement of social services such as banking, health, telecommunication and access to electricity (Mbaiwa, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Fennel, 2007). The negative social effects include relocation of traditional communities, breaking up of family structures, increases in crime, prostitution, the adoption of the western safari style of dressing and use of traditionally unacceptable vulgar language by young people (Bersales, 2005; Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006; Reisinger, 2009).

Social effects of tourism include labour force displacement, changes in the form of employment, increased land prices and change of ownership, increased standard of living, and changes in the economic and political system (Burns & Holden, 2007; Hudson & Townsend 2008; Lea, 2009). More social effects of tourism on the local inhabitants identified by researchers are increasing female participation in the tourism activities, the seasonal nature of employment, low



wages and the social status of tourism jobs, and development of infrastructure (Gierald, 2005; Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006; Suntikul et al, 2016).

To reinforce the effects of tourism on local communities and how these effects are perceived by the host population, several models have been developed. Some of these models are Doxey's Irridex model (1975), Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle Model, and Social Exchange Process Model. These models are briefly discussed below.

Doxey's Irridex Model

Allen, Long, Perdue, and Kieselbach (1988) and Fridgen (1991) postulate that the Doxey's Irridex Model (1975) presents an analysis of the effects of tourism development on the social relationship between the host and tourists. This relationship is shown in Table 1.

Stages	Host community attitude	Characteristics
1	Euphoria	 Small number of visitors Visitors want to merge with local community Host community welcomes tourism
2	Apathy	 Visitor numbers increase Visitors are taken for granted The relationship between tourists and the host community is more formalised
3	Irritation	 The number of tourists grows significantly Increased involvement of external commercial organisations Locals concerned about tourism
4	Antagonism	 Open hostility from locals Attempts to limit damage and tourism flows

Table 1: Doxey's Irridex Model (Source: Fridgen, 1991, p.26)

Table 1 above shows the four stages of tourism development as well as the attitude of the host community and characteristics of each stage. The table indicates that, during the interaction between the host community and the tourists, there are some positive and negative consequences that are brought by the tourists to the local community and the destination area.

Butler's Tourist Area Lifecycle Model (1980)

According to Butler (1980), the model proposes that tourism is developed through the stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline. At the exploration stage, the destination area is discovered by independent or explorer-type tourists and commercial activities in the destination area are usually minimal (Cooper, 1994; Haywood, 2006; Bamba, 2018). At this stage, the contacts between the tourists and the local residents are frequent and little or no marketing activities take place. At the involvement and development stages, robust infrastructural development occurs, and services are established to serve the growing number of tourists. Initially, locally-owned businesses are set up to provide tourism services but gradually control of tourism is transferred to external business participants (Butler, 1980; Bamba, 2018). Mass tourists replace explorer-type tourists and the relationship between tourists and hosts becomes more commercial.



Butler (1980) further asserts that at the consolidation stage, the social effects of tourism emerge as the large numbers of visitors and the facilities provided for them begin to elicit some opposition and discontent among the host communities.

At the stagnation stage, the maximum number of tourists is achieved, and the destination area is no longer perceived as an attractive place. At this stage, larger tourist businesses transfer their investments from the destination area while in the rejuvenation stage, an alternative to the decline stage, new markets and new sources of investments are sought to reposition the destination area (Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1994).

According to Butler's Tourists Area Lifecycle Model, local people venture into tourism and the hospitality business as they get involved in the development of infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, and other service businesses (Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1994; Haywood, 2006; Bamba, 2018). While this involvement can benefit the local people economically, it can also result in cultural disorientation when the number of tourists exceeds the local population and locals start copying foreign life styles from the tourists. Such negative lifestyles include the adoption of the western safari style of dressing and the use of traditionally unacceptable vulgar language by young people (Bersales, 2005; Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006).

Social Exchange Process Model

Modern social exchange theory has evolved through the works of researchers such as Homans (2008) and Ap (2009) who denote that the theory involves the exchange of resources between individuals or groups in the process of interaction. For example, there is exchange during the processes of interaction between host residents and tourist visitors (Ap, 2009). The basic assumption of social exchange theory is that individuals create and continue social relations on the basis of the belief that such relations will be mutually advantageous (Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejjia, & Porras-Bueno, 2009).

Gursoy, Jurowski, and Uysal (2002) further posit that Social Exchange Theory is a general sociological theory concerned with understanding the exchange of resources between individuals and groups in an interactive situation. This view is buttressed by Ap (2009) who contends that interactions are treated as a process in which 'actors' supply one another with valued resources, herein the term 'actor' refers to a person or a group that behaves as a single unit.

The Social Exchange Process Model highlights how individuals, or the local community, become engaged in tourism exchanges, how this relationship continues, and how the local community may eventually become disconnected from the exchanges once they realise that there are no more benefits to be derived from continued exchange (Ap, 2009; Woodley, 2009; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejjia, & Porras-Bueno, 2009). This is the beginning of the negative effects of tourism on the host community.

To further reinforce the negative effects of tourism on local communities, Woodley (2009) argues that tourism development may result in barriers to local community participation, conflict between local and foreign employees, pressure on local community social services and the inability of the local community to maximise benefits.



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Economic effects of tourism

It is recognised in some of the tourism literature that tourism earnings positively contribute to the balance of payments (BOP) of a country (World Tourism Organisation, 2009; Airey, 2009). Most of the developing countries face the problem of generating enough foreign currency because they do not have a competitive advantage over developed countries. Therefore, the tourism industry provides them with a chance to earn foreign currency. According to Airey (2009), tourism's contribution to BOP can be put into three categories - primary effects which refer to actual tourist expenditures incurred by foreign tourists in the host country, expenditure incurred by the residents of the destination country, and income emanating from foreign ownership of tourist facilities in the host country (foreign direct investment - FDI). For example, according to the World Bank report (2000), FDI to Jamaica in the tourism sector increased from 6 million dollars in 1981 to 523.7 million in 1999. All in all, research has shown that foreign currency earnings from tourism have provided the much-needed capital for developing countries for their economic and social development, with tourism amounting to some 40% of total exports in some developing countries (Cater 2007; Airey, 2009; Dwyer & Forsyth, 2009).

Further support for tourism's contribution to the economic development of host countries is provided by Ardahaey (2011) who sums up the benefits as comprising direct, indirect, and induced economic effects as briefly discussed below:

Direct effects - are changes in production linked with the immediate effects of enhanced tourism expenditures such as the effect an increase in the number of tourists staying in hotels overnight has on hotel business in the hospitality sector.

 Indirect effects - are the production changes emanating from various rounds of re-spending of the hotel industry's receipts in other backward-linked industries, for instance, industries supplying products and services to hotels.

Induced effects – are the benefits from economic activity emanating from household spending of income that is earned directly or indirectly due to tourism spending, for example, hotel employees spend their income locally on housing, food, transport, and other household products and services.

Other researchers have identified more induced benefits from tourism that include salaries and wages from employment, foreign currency inflows, capital investment and development, tax revenues, and so on (Dwver, 2000; Brohman, 2008; Chase & McKee, 2008; Sadler & Archer, 2009).

Research methodology

The study adopted a cross-sectional survey design whereby various segments of the population were sampled and data was collected at a single moment in time. This design is like taking a snapshot of the current situation, carrying out the research once with no follow-up taking place. This is efficient in terms of cost and time.

The research approach adopted for the study was mixed methods whereby both quantitative and gualitative techniques were applied. Quantitative research focused on establishing the percentages of respondents who participated and benefited from tourism activities in the area under study, while qualitative research focused on determining how the community benefited (or not) from tourism socially and economically. Primary data was collected through the



questionnaire and interviews with the selected respondents after the attainment of ethical clearance. No respondents were coerced to participate in the study, and were free to withdraw at any time they chose to do so.

The population of this study was the local community of Kanye village, south-western Botswana, and the sample was selected from the human resources (HR) managers from tourism enterprises for the interview, and the general local community for the questionnaire. Interviews were also conducted with ten respondents who were already part of the sample in order to confirm and corroborate the quantitative findings. All in all, the sample size came to 38 (three HR managers and 35 members of the local community).

The sampling methods that were used in this study were probability sampling for quantitative research and non-probability sampling (convenience sampling) for qualitative research.

Research findings

This section presents and discusses the findings of this study on the economic and social effects of tourism on the indigenous communities of Kanye village, south-western Botswana.

Economic effects

Findings on the economic effects of tourism in Kanye village are divided into two – positive and negative effects.

Positive economic effects

The study sought to establish the extent to which tourism contributed towards employment creation in Kanye village. Figure 1 below shows the contribution of tourism towards job creation in the village and the respondents' employment status.

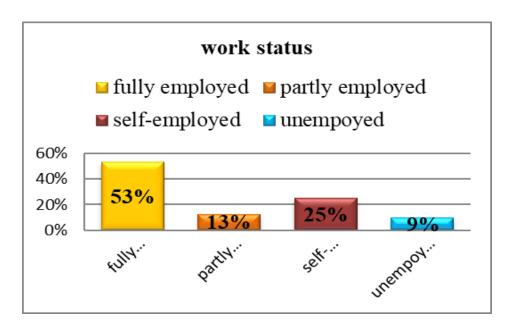


Figure 1: Tourism contribution to employment and work status



Figure 1 indicates that 53% of the respondents were employed on a full-time basis in the three tourism enterprises located in Kanye, while 25% of the respondents were self-employed. Another 13% were in part-time employment in one of the three enterprises, while 9% were unemployed. These figures show that 66% of the respondents in the village were direct beneficiaries of tourism development as they were employed in tourism enterprises either fulltime or part-time. This was corroborated by the HR managers of the enterprises during interviews.

The managers indicated that a big number of Kanye villagers were employed by tourism businesses both full-time and part-time and that at times seasonal employees earned more money than full-time employees as they could work longer hours and could take up more than one job at a time.

The study also sought to determine the extent to which tourism activities indirectly played a role in the economic livelihood of Kanye villagers, whether the respondent was in full-time employment, part-time employment, self-employment, or was unemployed. The results are shown in Table 1.

Extent of tourism influence on livelihood	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	18	56.3
Strongly agree	9	28
Disagree	3	9.4
Strongly disagree	2	6.3

Table 1: Extent to which tourism activities influenced economic livelihood of Kanye villagers

Table 1 above shows that 84% of the respondents believed that tourism positively impacted on the economic livelihood of Kanye villagers while only about 16% believed otherwise. These findings were corroborated by the interviewees who confirmed that indeed tourism created many employment opportunities in Kanye village, making a significant contribution towards household incomes, infrastructure such as houses, and local community investments in the form of small businesses such as shops and bars. Some direct quotes from the respondents are shown in Table 2 below.



Resp.	Quote from the interviewee
A	"I am better off than my friends. My friends said I am doing well in my job and financially I am better than them".
В	"I look back and think about my childhood and teenage memories. I cannot believe I overcame all the hardships and poverty. Now at the age of 35 I am working as a housekeeper."
C	"Tourism development provided me a job here. The tourism industry is a broad sector with many job opportunities for local people. It creates different job opportunities not only in hotel operations but also transporting staff and transferring tourists to other destinations. In this village, we are totally dependent on tourism". "Jobs are scarce here. Lots of people in our community do not have jobs. I am very happy because I have a job and earning money to feed my family"
Е	"I have been working in this hotel for the last 2 years, but I did not get involved in any
	decision-making process throughout my working life. I do not want to get involved as I believe that it is not my responsibility. I am happy to follow the order of my manager"
F	"Now we realise that tourists bring good luck for us. Earlier on, Kanye was a sleeping village and there were few opportunities for us. Now you look around and see what is happening here! We have to welcome tourists and have to be more involved with tourism to get benefits like job opportunities and development infrastructure."
G	"I believed our standard of living has been enhanced."
Н	"Hotels and lodges created employment for me and my children. They are working in the other lodge here in Kanye".
I	"I am happy to be an employee of this lodge as a Security Guard. I can pay water bills and I am praising the tourism industry."
J	"I left school at the age of 16 to find a job but could not find any. I was frustrated and then found the local restaurant to work in as a cook. I am earning a reasonable amount of money and planning to invest in catering business. Moreover, tourism employs more women than other economic sectors so has greater impact on the livelihood of poor people."

 Table 2: Interviewees' responses on the contribution of tourism to employment creation

The quotes recorded in Table 2 above are a confirmation that tourism had a significant impact on the economic livelihoods of the indigenous people of Kanye village. These results resonate with the views of Hudson (2000) who contends that in Cox's Bazar, on the southeast coast of Bangladesh, tourism created 3000 full time and part time jobs in accommodation-related businesses and the food sector. This is reinforced by Cooper and Ruhanen (2005) who postulates that approximately 10,600 people worked in the tourism sector (60% on a full-time basis and 40% at least nine months a year).

Negative economic effects

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they felt that, despite the obvious benefits of tourism to the economic development of their area, there were also negative effects. Some of the responses are indicated below.

• Increase in income disparity

One respondent retorted: "We are helpless. There are few jobs here but lots of unemployed people. We have accepted whatever money they offer us because we have no choice. There is



no negotiation. Some people have become wealthier while others remain poor, leading to the poor making allegations of witchcraft practices against the rich.".

Another respondent indicated that disparity is not only limited to income. The respondent reckoned that most tourism businesses were owned by outsiders from other parts of Botswana and a few wealthy locals while a significant number of villagers were actually losing their land and livestock. Villagers lost land due to the establishment of new tourism businesses as well as the expansion of existing ones, while cattle were lost through traffic accidents due to increased traffic volumes and stock theft emanating from the presence of illegal immigrants coming to try and make a living from tourism business. Therefore, the majority of the members of the local community were now mainly dependent on wage-based jobs in the formal and informal sectors of the economy as they cannot compete with outsiders and the local elites to obtain and control tourism resources.

High price of essential commodities and services

Another respondent stated: "Prices of almost everything are guite high here because of the presence of tourists who have high incomes. Sometimes the prices are higher than in Gaborone. People who have limited income face difficulty in maintaining a reasonable standard of living due to high prices of goods and services".

Some respondents indicated that transports costs increased due to tourism development in the village. One respondent retorted: "Many private transport companies have introduced luxurious bus services to transport passengers from the village to other areas around Kanye and their target customers are tourists who are willing to pay high fares for their comfort". This issue was confirmed by the majority of the interviewees stating that most of the local people were finding it difficult to afford such high transport costs.

Still on the issue of price increases, another respondent indicated that house rentals were also high as many non-locals were now living in the village working or doing tourism business which has raised demand for accommodation, resulting in high rentals. One respondent retorted that high rentals were a result of shortage of land as foreigners managed to buy residential plots in the village. Table 3 sums up the concern residents had on price increases.

Commodity	Percentage of respondents who felt prices were too high
Food	100
Rentals	57
Transport	78
Clothing	100

Table 3: R	Respondents'	views on	prices
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The findings in Table 3 reveal that 100% of the respondents were of the view that food and clothing prices in Kanye were much higher than they ought to be if there was no presence of tourists in the village, while 78% felt the same for transport costs.

Results in Table 3 are an indication that the issue of prices of essential goods and services due to tourism development in their village was a major concern to most of the respondents. This



view is buttressed by Akam and Kiet (2007) who contend that, due to tourism development, the prices of essential food items and other commodities tend to increase sharply. **Social effects of tourism on the local community**

This study sought to establish the social effects of tourism on the lives of members of the local community focusing on variables such as crime, provision of facilities, moral and social values, behaviour of community members, and infrastructure development. The results are shown in Figure 2 below.

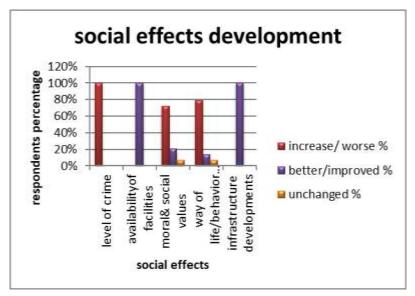


Figure 2: Social effects of tourism on the local community

The findings in Figure 2 reveal that respondents were of the opinion that crime rate and provision of facilities in Kanye village increased by 100% as a result of tourism activities, representing a positive and negative effect respectively. The figure also indicates increased moral decadence among members of the society which denotes a negative effect. There was a 100% improvement in infrastructure development indicating that socially members of the community derived immense benefits from tourism business. However, the findings in Figure 1 reveal that tourism development in Kanye resulted in more negative social effects as only two out of six social effects studied were positive.

The quantitative results shown in Figure 2 were confirmed by the interviewees and several reasons were cited especially for the negative social effects. These are briefly outlined below.

• Level of crime

All the respondents (interviewees) were deeply concerned about the steep increase in criminal activities in the village as a result of tourism development. The respondents cited factors such as proliferation of unemployed youths, most of whom came from outside Kanye to try to eke out a living from tourism. Some of these youths, both male and female, came from as far away as Zimbabwe and Nigeria.



One of the respondents retorted: "Hotels here hire Batswana people from outside Kanye and non-citizens for high positions, leaving locals disillusioned. Most locals are employed in low level positions with low salaries which are inadequate for a living. This situation therefore leaves the unemployed with no option except to depend on criminal activities for a living". The view of this respondent was confirmed by the three managers of tourism firms covered in this study who indicated that indeed most of those employed at supervisory level and above were foreigners due to their qualifications and work ethics, and they did not demand high salaries unlike their local counterparts.

Another respondent stated that because tourists owned expensive gadgets and brought a lot of money when visiting tourist destinations, many criminals have migrated to Kanye village to target the rich tourists. It was alleged that these criminals ended up stealing not only from tourists but also from locals.

Moral values •

Figure 2 shows a 72% increase in moral decadence in the village. This was corroborated by most of the interviewees who felt that the Setswana moral values were no longer respected as before. The respondents argued that the local population was adapting to the moral behaviours of tourists and other people who have settled in Kanye to make a living from the tourism business. One area of moral decadence cited by all interviewees was prostitution. They posited that this immoral activity was initiated by young ladies from Zimbabwe who were escaping deeprouted poverty at home and ended up illegally settling in the village. The respondents were concerned that this vice was increasing as some young Batswana ladies were joining this oldest profession and the police, instead of arresting the perpetrators, were actually becoming clients and some of them were said to be soliciting for free sex from the offenders in exchange for freedom.

Findings on the negative effects of tourism development on the moral values of the local community resonate with the views of Cohen and Cooper (1986) and Fisher (2004) who note that interactions between tourists and host communities are reflections of power relationships thus influencing change in values, norms, and lifestyles of members of the local community.

General conduct and behaviour

Another interesting finding shown in Figure 2, though also related to moral values, was a deterioration in general conduct and behaviour, especially of the youths in the village. This was confirmed by all the interviewees. They indicated that there was a radical change in social norms of the locals due to the presence of tourists and settlers from outside the village and the country. They cited aspects such as the youths no longer respecting their elders, often shouting at or even fighting with elders in public, unpalatable dress code of young Batswana ladies (a lot of them moving around semi-naked), use of inappropriate language, heavy drinking even by school children, and so on. All these resulted in the distortions of the cultural dictates of the Bangwaketse tribe.

Community involvement in tourism business

The study also sought to determine the extent of involvement of the local community in tourism business as entrepreneurs. The findings are indicated in Figure 3 below.



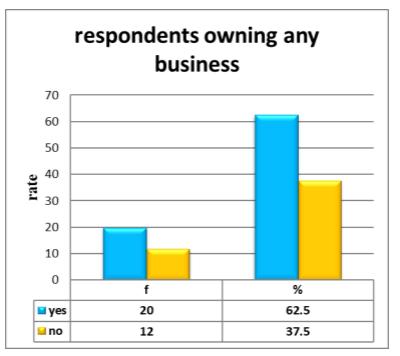


Figure 3: Involvement of the local population in tourism business

Figure 3 above shows that out of 32 respondents who successfully completed the questionnaire, 20 of them owned small businesses that were meant to augment other sources of income such as full-time or part-time employment. This figure indicates a good rate of entrepreneurship in the local community. The business sectors locals were involved in are shown in Figure 4 below.

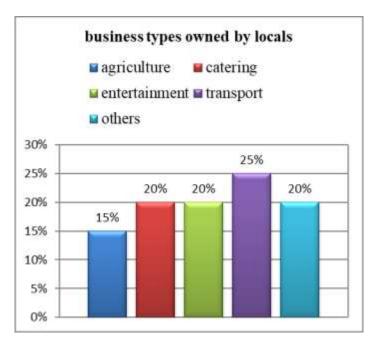


Figure 4: Business sectors locals were participating in



Figure 4 above shows that most local entrepreneurs were involved in the transport business, followed by catering, entertainment, others, and lastly agriculture.

Conclusion

This paper sought to determine the socio-economic effects of tourism in the village of Kanye, south-western Botswana. Based on the findings of the study, it was observed that tourism development in this village culminated in both positive and negative social and economic effects on the livelihood of the local communities. Most notable positive economic effects included significant infrastructural development, employment creation resulting in increased incomes and purchasing power of the local population and hence improved standard of living. Increased foreign direct investment was also a positive economic effect emanating from enhanced tourism development in the village. It was also observed that tourism development resulted in some negative economic effects on the local population. The most notable effects included an increase in income disparity among the local population and high prices of essential goods and services.

The study also revealed some positive and negative social effects resulting from development in tourism. Notable positive social effects included community involvement in tourism business thus enhancing the social status of some local members of the community, and provision of facilities to local members of the community for recreation and other social activities. The study findings revealed that tourism development resulted in more negative social effects than positive ones. The negative effects included an increase in the levels and complexity of crime, and erosion of moral values of local members of the community particularly the youths. It was observed that, due to acculturation by the local youths, their general behaviour was no longer in tandem with the norms, values and belief systems of the indigenous population as evidenced by high levels of prostitution, theft, dress code issues, polluted language, excessive alcoholism, failure to respect elders, and so on.

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