Tourism is not just about the Money: A Comparison of Three South African Communities

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Abstract

South Africa remains a developing country which is known to have one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world, as well as continued cultural, political and economic restraints. As a result of these constraints, community residents do not derive a significant number of tangible social impacts (such as job creation or higher income) from the tourism industry. However, local residents of these communities continue to support this vital industry, indicating that intangible social impacts influence their perceptions. The tangible and intangible social impacts of three South African communities with established tourism economies were measured. The results revealed that in some instances, intangible social impacts are perceived as even more important than tangible. It was also found that communities are not homogeneous, implying that one cannot assume a “one-size-fits-all” approach will work when it comes to managing these communities during tourism development.

Keywords: tourism; social impact; tangible; intangible; community

Introduction

The importance of residents’ goodwill and support for the tourism industry cannot be overestimated, as their support is vital for sustainability (Gursoy et al., 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Williams & Lawson, 2001; Park et al., 2012). Tourism development and expansion will be hindered if the local communities do not feel part of it or if they feel that the industry threatens their personal lives (Kreag, 2007). Due to the immense size of the tourism industry, it is inevitable that it will have an impact on residents as well as the environment. In 2013, the tourism industry’s contribution to the global GDP grew for the fourth consecutive year, contributing 9.5% to the global GDP (US$7 trillion) and supporting approximately 266 million people with jobs (WTTC, 2014). South Africa is no exception; the tourism industry has been the strongest contributor to the country’s GDP (8.6%) in 2012 with R251.8 billion and 13.8 million tourist arrivals (which is a 10.4% increase from the 2011 numbers) (StatsSA, 2013). With these numbers, it is inevitable that the industry will have an impact on South African communities and it will become more evident, because this industry is expected to grow.

Researchers have explored this social phenomenon in communities and a multitude of studies have previously been conducted in this regard. The greatest number of these studies were
done to determine to what extent tourism can influence job creation as well as how significant its income-generating power is (Simpson, 2008; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Cook et al., 2010; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003; Slabbert & Saayman, 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Atkinson et al., 2008). The studies are more focused on developed countries, where it has been found that local residents support the tourism industry on condition that the industry is perceived as an economic development tool (Tsundoda & Mendlinger, 2009; Kibicho, 2008; Muganda et al., 2010; Saarinen, 2010; Lapeyre, 2010; Tinsley & Lynch, 2008; Hritz & Ross, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). Collectively, these studies therefore focus on the tangible social impacts of tourism. The Oxford Dictionary (2013a) states that the word ‘tangible’ means ‘to touch’ and refers to an entity that possesses physical properties such as money or infrastructure (Wren, 2003).

This realm of thought is also evident in South African tourism research, where the majority of social impact studies focuses mainly on measuring the tangible social impacts of tourism (Tsundoda & Mendlinger, 2009; Kibicho, 2008; Muganda et al., 2010; Saarinen, 2010; Lapeyre, 2010; Tinsley & Lynch, 2008; Gu & Ryan, 2008, Hritz & Ross, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Allen et al., 1988; Andreiotis, 2008; Davis et al., 1988; Dyer et al., 2007; Haley et al., 2005; Esu, 2008; Binns & Nel, 2002), which is understandable, as tangible social impacts can include aspects such as job creation. It is, however, possible that an altered approach is required in a developing country such as South Africa.

Following South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994, this country has experienced strong, sustained growth in tourism, eventually becoming a top tourist destination; however, certain challenges prevail (Saayman & Saayman 2008). According to Tosun (2000), South Africa is commonly seen as an upper middle-income, third-world country in ‘per capita’ terms, but its distribution of income remains one of the most unequal in the world. With 24.1% (12.74 million) of the country’s residents being unemployed (SouthAfrica.info, 2014), as well as very limited access to education, health care and employment opportunities for those living in rural areas, it seems as though South African residents, in general, do not derive the needed tangible benefits from tourism (Kuvan & Akan, 2005). Tosun (2000) adds that prevailing socio-political, economic and cultural limits in many developing countries hinder the extent to which the tangible social benefits of tourism affect communities. Research by Mahoney and Van Zyl (2002) has also revealed that very few residents in developing countries derive tangible benefits from the industry. If residents, therefore, do not benefit from the industry, they might be deterred from supporting the industry. This, however, does not seem to be the case in South Africa, as residents appear to continue their endorsement of the industry (Heere et al., 2013).

Less studies have explored the intangible impacts together with the tangible social impacts of tourism (Fennell, 2007; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Gu & Ryan, 2008; Cornelissen & Maennig, 2010; Amsden et al., 2011; Atkinson et al., 2008). It was found that residents continue to support the industry due to aspects such as community pride and the protection of cultures that is derived from tourism. Wren (2003) stated that the word ‘intangible’ refers to something that does not physically exist in the sense that it can be quantified, but exists nonetheless; it can include feelings such as pride or an increase in knowledge. According to The Oxford Dictionary (2013b), the word ‘intangible’ refers to something that does ‘not have a physical presence’. Something that is intangible is difficult, or even impossible, to define. It thus seems as though the intangible social impacts of tourism make a stronger contribution to the sustainability of this industry than has previously been thought. Proving this assumption will have implications for the way in which social impact studies are done, as well as for the way in which they are managed. If intangible social impacts play a significant role in community support, more can be done to enhance these impacts while continuing to manage the tangible impacts of tourism.
Archer & Cooper (1998), however, caution that South Africa is a country with people from diverse cultural backgrounds and different ways of living. This implies that communities are not homogeneous and should therefore be approached as different entities that might have varying views pertaining to the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism (Okten & Osili, 2004; Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000). Aspects such as differences in age, attachment to the community and length of stay can, for instance, influence the way in which these impacts are viewed. Differences among communities with well-developed tourism industries were also revealed in a few other studies of researchers such as Tosun (2002), who did a comparative study of Urgup in Turkey, Nadi in Fiji and Central Florida in the USA and found clear differences among these communities pertaining to the perceptions towards the social impacts of tourism. Similar results were found in a comparative study of community differences pertaining to the perceptions of tourism in China and the West (USA) by Jingang and Jiyxia (2006). In their comparative study of two famous Chinese rural villages (Xidi and Hongcun) that are located adjacent to one another, Ying and Zhou (2007) provide one of the most interesting findings. Although these communities have high levels of similarity pertaining to their tourism settings, the outcomes of the tourism industries, according to the perceptions of the local residents, were significant. Although few in numbers, these studies clearly illustrate the importance of regarding communities as heterogeneous instead of homogeneous entities.

The heterogeneity of communities implies that the importance and perceptions towards tangible and intangible social impacts might differ among communities due to different phases of tourism development in them, as well as the unique characteristics of residents residing in these communities, meaning that it will directly influence tourism planning for each community. This brings two questions to mind: What are the real benefits (tangible or/and intangible) that South African residents receive from tourism and do they vary between communities?

It is thus the purpose of this study to determine the value of tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism on selected communities with established tourism industries, as well as to measure the similarities and differences among these communities. The results will help tourism marketers and managers to better understand the communities in a developing country such as South Africa, which will lead to improved management of the tangible and intangible social impacts on these communities. It will also empower the government to manage legislation and other management aspects of tourism development through which sustainability will be endorsed. This will be done by achieving the following: determining the profile of local residents; determining their perceptions towards the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism; and comparing these communities.

**Literature review**

The purpose of this literature review is to provide a holistic understanding of what the tangible and intangible social impacts are, as well as the significance of measuring this in a South African context.

**Tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism**

According to Saayman (2000), social impact is the effect of tourism, seen from a sociological perspective. Social relations form between people who meet and interact with one another. These social relations include the confrontation of diverse cultures, ethnic groups, lifestyles, languages and levels of prosperity. An example of this includes the behaviour of people who are free from the social and economic constraints of everyday life, as well as the behaviour of the host population that receives an economic gain, but at the cost of strangers who are visiting their communities. Residents can experience both positive and negative social impacts and it is important to maximize the positive and minimize the negative impacts (Archer et al., 2005). According to Gursoy et al. (2002), Jurowski and Gursoy (2004) as well as Deere et al. (2012), understanding how social impacts affect local communities help in managing the local...
residents’ support for the industry, without which the industry would surely fail (Gursoy et al., 2002; Slabbert and Saayman, 2011; Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004).

In order to understand the social impacts of tourism, researchers have developed various models that help to predict these impacts by examining local residents’ feelings or perceptions towards the impacts of tourism (Akis et al., 1996). One of the earliest models, Doxey’s Irridex, measures residents’ different mental phases as tourists cross the threshold of their communities (Doxey, 1975; Holden, 2006; Cooper, 2007; Hall & Page, 2005). Butler’s model of intercultural perception adds to the latter by revealing that community members are not only influenced by the volume of visitors, but also by their contact with them (Saayman, 2000; Colantonio & Potter, 2006). However, these models do not capture the understanding of communities’ feelings and reactions towards tourism and tourists quite as well as the social exchange theory that was developed by George Homans in 1958 (Devan, 2006). This theory measures negotiated exchanges between parties (Homans, 1961; Zafirovski, 2005); in other words, if local residents derive benefits from the tourism industry, they will give their support in return, whereas if the impacts are negative, they will be equally negative towards the industry (Wischnewski et al., 2009; Ward & Berno, 2011). This interaction has been measured in various studies, revealing the benefits that residents receive from tourism such as infrastructure development, improved economic conditions as well as the power that tourism has when it comes to generating job opportunities (Tsundoda & Mendlinger, 2009; Kibicho, 2008; Muganda et al., 2010; Saarinen, 2010; Lapeyre, 2010; Tinsley & Lynch, 2008; Gu & Ryan, 2008; Hritz & Ross, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2010; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Saayman & Saayman, 2009; Allen et al., 1988; Andriotis, 2008; Davis et al., 1988; Dyer et al., 2007; Haley et al., 2005; Esu, 2008; Binns & Nel, 2002).

It is clear that these studies exhibit the power of tourism in rewarding local residents with tangible social impacts, thus fostering community support for the industry through tangible means, whereas the intangible social impacts are not portrayed in a meaningful manner. In order to ensure the sustainability of the tourism industry, it would be more beneficial for researchers if they would take both tangible and intangible social impacts into account.

For the purpose of measuring the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism, the social impacts of tourism were identified and analysed in literature and categorized according to the definitions of the concepts ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible in the paper by Scholtz and Slabbert (2015). When referring to the tangible social impacts of tourism, positive impacts may include infrastructure development (Simpson 2008; Godfrey & Clarke 2000), strengthening of the local economy (Cook et al., 2010; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003) and the production of new recreational facilities (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003), whereas negative tangible social impacts may include an increase in undesirable activities such as crime, vandalism, prostitution, child pornography and alcoholism (Kim & Petrick, 2005; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000), as well as excessive use of facilities such as traffic congestion, crowding of public places and longer queues in local shops (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003; Timothy, 2011).

From an intangible social impact perspective, positive impacts may include the strengthening of local culture and traditions by revealing the communities’ importance, thus fostering community pride (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Weaver & Lawton, 2010), or exposure to new ideas by means of globalization and modernization through education (Cooper & Hall, 2008; Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997), whereas negative impacts may include the commodification of culture, religion and art (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Weaver & Lawton 2010), or even xenophobia, where community members become hostile towards tourists, as they feel threatened by them (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Timothy, 2011).
The extent to which both tangible and intangible social impacts can influence the perceptions of the community members towards the tourism industry becomes apparent. Therefore, the authors suggest amendments regarding the way in which researchers utilize the social exchange theory (see Figure 1) in that intangible social impacts should be weighted equally as tangible impacts and not be neglected. However, in a developing country such as South Africa, it is not clear whether community support is solely driven by tangible social impacts or if there are also intangible social impacts providing benefits to the communities.

**State of matters in South Africa**

Some studies have indicated the growing importance of understanding the intangible social impacts of tourism, especially in developing countries. Research that had been conducted by Hermann et al. (2012) for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa discovered that local community members were supportive of the industry, regardless their perceptions of not receiving significant tangible benefits from the increased number of tourists in the country. This was also found in studies on developed and developing countries by authors such as Gu and Ryan (2008), Cornelissen and Maennig (2010), Amsden et al. (2011), Atkinson et al. (2008), Haley et al. (2005) as well as Ntloko and Swart (2008); these studies revealed that even when residents receive less tangible social impact benefits such as improved income, they still continue to support the tourism industry. These studies furthermore revealed that intangible social impacts such as the 'feel good effect' and the development of community pride are important, and in some cases outweigh the tangible social impacts of tourism, in fostering community support for the tourism industry. Richards and Palmer (2012) also highlight the fact that recent research began emphasizing the intangible benefits of tourism, including community pride and upliftment. It seems that South African residents who are living in communities with established tourism industries are mostly rewarded with significant levels of intangible benefits from the tourism industry. Less tangible benefits are experienced as a result of tourism activity (Mahoney & Van Zyl, 2002).

The reasons why these residents perceive lower levels of tangible benefits are understandable. Compared to more developed countries, South Africa is a country with continued challenges such as economic, cultural and socio-political confines (Tosun, 2000) and thus the trickle-down effect of tangible social impacts to community level is hindered. The latter is further aggravated by this country’s lack of equality in terms of income and by a high unemployment rate (SouthAfrica.info, 2015), as well as limited access to education, healthcare and employment opportunities for those living in rural areas (Kuvan & Akan, 2005). It is thus of paramount importance for the South African tourism industry to understand clearly both

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**Figure 1: An adaption of the social exchange theory (tangible vs. intangible perspective)**

*Source: Authors’ own compilation*
the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism and how the perceptions towards these impacts differ among communities, as this industry is one of the most influential in terms of economic contributions to the GDP of the country as well as to the general quality of living in South Africa. A further complication in measuring, understanding and managing the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism becomes apparent when taking into consideration that South Africa is a country with a wealth of people from diverse backgrounds. This implies that communities are not homogeneous, neither from an inter-community nor an intra-community perspective; residents might therefore assess the benefits of tourism differently. Thus, local residents’ perceptions towards the tangible and intangible social impacts might differ among communities. Research by authors such as Okten and Osili (2004) as well as Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) further proved that communities are not homogeneous; the authors stated that communities can vary in terms of demographic aspects such as average age and length of stay in the community, as well as psychographic aspects such as community attachment.

It becomes apparent that developing countries such as South Africa cannot rely solely on the tangible social impacts of tourism, but should rather examine the influence of the intangible social impacts also in order to better manage this industry with its sustainability in mind. It is also understood that communities are not homogeneous and should, therefore, be measured comparatively.

Methodology

Due to the nature of this research, a standardized survey was not available for measuring the wealth of tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism in an integrated manner. As a result, the researchers started with an exploratory research design to determine the categorization of the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism, as well as the latent variables. This was followed by a confirmatory approach in which the measuring instrument was standardized and the latent variables confirmed. This allowed for further analysis in which residents’ perceptions towards tangible and intangible benefits were compared. The method of research will be discussed according to the study areas, the sample, the questionnaires, the survey and the statistical analysis.

Study areas

Three South African communities with established tourism industries were selected for this study, namely Clarens (Free State province), Soweto (Gauteng Province) and Jeffreys Bay (Eastern Cape province). Clarens is a popular tourist destination due to its locality in a picturesque setting (surrounded by the Maluti Mountains) and its location close to the Golden Gate National Park. This town is a breakaway hotspot with many visitors from Gauteng who travel here to enjoy the art galleries and street cafés while escaping the busy city life (Clarens Tourism, 2007). Whereas Clarens focuses on leisure, Soweto has a strong focus on history, heritage and culture. Members of the Soweto community played a significant role in the abolition of Apartheid, which makes this area with its museums, monuments and cultural heritage sites (such as the late Nelson Mandela’s house) very attractive to visitors who want to see and experience South Africa’s history. Visitors furthermore want to experience the local cultures by visiting shebeens1 or by visiting people at their homes during township tours (SA-Venues, 2012). Known as the ‘home of the best right-hand surf break in the world’, the Jeffreys Bay’s community was selected to be part of this study, as this town is world-renowned for its surfing opportunities and is bordered by nature reserves and rivers on both sides, thus rendering the town as very attractive to tourists (Jeffreysbaytourism, 2013). All three these communities thus receive tourists and are, to a certain extent, dependent on the development of tourism industry, but with the differences among communities, these study areas allow for comparative analyses.

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1 Previously unlicensed bars that operated in informal settlements
Questionnaire
As no standardized survey existed, the researchers developed an exploratory questionnaire by making use of questions and statements that were found in previous studies such as those conducted by Monterrubio et al. (2011), Gursoy et al. (2010), Mahony and Van Zyl (2002), Ntloko and Swart (2008) and Higgins-Desibioelles (2006). The statements pertaining to the social impacts of tourism were then categorized according to the definitions of the concepts ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’. The questionnaire measured the following variables: Section A contained close-ended demographic questions such as age, occupation, length of stay in current town and level of education, followed by Section B with close-ended as well as Likert-scale questions that measured the effect of tourism on the individuals and their community (on a seven-point scale question where -3 = very negative and 3 = very positive), the communities’ involvement in the tourism industry as well as their attachment towards their communities. Section C consisted of social impact statements, categorized according to tangible and intangible impacts. This section measured a list of social impacts, which included both tangible (for example The environment looks better) and intangible impacts (for example My everyday lifestyle has improved). Tangible and intangible social impacts were listed in random order to limit variable bias. A total of thirty-one statements were listed on a Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree somewhat; 3 = agree; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = fully agree).

Sample
Krejcie and Morgan (1970) recommend that the sample size of a population (N) of 1 000 000 should be (S) 384 in order for it to be representative. In South Africa’s census survey of 2001 (StatsSA, 2001), it was found that Soweto had a population of approximately 858 644 residents, Clarens had 4 084 residents and Jeffreys Bay had 14 775 residents. It was therefore decided to distribute approximately 400 questionnaires per town/township, as it would be sufficient for all sampling areas that were selected. A screening question was posed to possible respondents in order to determine whether they were permanent residents of these communities. Upon a positive answer, fieldworkers explained the purpose of the research and requested respondents to complete a questionnaire. Stratified sampling was applied to the surveys where strata were selected based on the prevalence of tourists and tourism activities in the areas. Fieldworkers were present to assist residents where necessary. A total of 1 043 questionnaires were completed in the three selected tourism communities, with a total of 251 in Clarens, 417 in Jeffreys Bay and 375 in Soweto. The surveys were conducted during the following periods: Clarens (24-26 August 2012); Jeffreys Bay (7-13 October 2012); and Soweto (13-16 September 2012).

Data analysis
Microsoft® Excel® was used to capture the data and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (IBM® SPSS), version 20.0 (SPSS Inc., 2012), was used to analyse the data. The analyses took place in the following three phases:

Phase 1: Exploratory phase
The data of the three communities were pooled in order to determine whether the combined data could be categorized according to tangible and intangible social impacts. Thereafter, two principal component exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) were done on thirty-one social impact criteria of the pooled data, which were divided into tangible (17 items) and intangible (12 items) social impacts in order to explain the variance-covariance structure of a set of variables through a linear combination of these variables. Two intangible social impact items in the questionnaire illustrated a lack of correlation and were therefore omitted (Churchill, 1983) from the factor analyses.

Phase 2: Confirmatory phase
Confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) were used in this phase to determine whether the data could be pooled. The results indicated that the pooled data fit the exploratory factor analysis
(EFA) model. According to Arbuckle (2012) as well as Hooper et al. (2008), the model-data-fit for the combined data of the three communities fit, as the absolute fit measure, the minimum value of discrepancy divided by value of freedom (CMIN/DF), obtained a value of 4.555 (which is between the suggested values of 2 and 5), the relative fit measure, the component fit index (CFI), obtained a value of 0.860 (the closer to 1, the better) and lastly, the fit measures based on non-central chi-square distribution, the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), obtained a value of 0.058 (below 0.08 is good). The lower and higher limit of a 90% confidence interval for the population value of the RMSEA was 0.055 and 0.062, respectively (see Table 1).

**Table 1: CFA fit for merged data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>CMIN/DF</th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>LO 90</th>
<th>HI 90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default model</td>
<td>4.555</td>
<td>0.860</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>0.062</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After determining that the combined data fit the model, the CFA could be done separately on each community in order to compare the three communities and determine if differences exist in their perceptions regarding the tangible and intangible impacts. When the separate communities’ data were applied to the CFA model, it became clear that the fit was significantly better than when the data were combined. This meant that the same factor analysis could be applied to each community, after which comparisons could be drawn between the different communities’ tangible and intangible social impact factors that had been obtained from the CFA. According to Table 2, the absolute fit measure, CMIN/DF, obtained a value of 2.426 (which is between the suggested values of 2 and 5), the relative fit measure, CFI, obtained a value of 0.810 (the closer to 1, the better) and lastly, the fit measures based on non-central chi-square distribution, RMSEA, obtained a value of 0.037 (below 0.08 is indicated as good) (see Table 2). The lower and higher limit of a 90% confidence interval for the population value of the RMSEA was 0.035 and 0.039, respectively (Arbuckle, 2012; Hooper et al., 2008).

**Table 2: CFA fit for separate communities’ data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>CMIN/DF</th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>LO 90</th>
<th>HI 90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measurement model</td>
<td>2.426</td>
<td>0.810</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The principal component factor analyses were done to determine the tangible and intangible latent variables (pattern matrix). For the factor analysis on the tangible social impacts, an oblimin rotation with Kaiser’s Normalization was applied. This resulted in four tangible factors that were named according to similar attributes: Factor 1 = *Environmental improvement*; Factor 2 = *Environmental degradation*; Factor 3 = *Cost of daily living*; and Factor 4 = *Community upliftment*. The four tangible social impact factors accounted for 55.6% of the total variance. All tangible social impact factors had acceptable reliability coefficients, ranging from 0.65 (the lowest) to 0.77 (the highest), respectively, for the factors. The average inter-item correlation coefficients varied between 0.32 and 0.45 for the factors, and this also implies internal consistency for all factors. The Kaizer-Meyer-Olkin measure of sample adequacy of 0.84 also indicated that patterns of correlation are relatively compact and thus yield distinct and relative factors (Field, 2005). Moreover, all items loaded on a factor with loadings greater than 0.3 and relatively high factor loadings indicated a reasonably high correlation between the delineated factors and their individual items.

The same methodology was applied to the intangible social impacts. The factor analysis (pattern matrix), using an oblimin rotation with Kaiser’s normalization, identified three factors that were named according to similar attributes: Factor 1 = *Cultural protection and education*; Factor 2 = *Cultural disruptions*; and Factor 3 = *Cultural upliftment and pride*. The three
Intangible social impact factors accounted for 50.37% of the total variance. Two of the intangible social impact factors had relatively high-reliability coefficients, ranging between 0.4 (the lowest) and 0.72 (the highest), respectively, for the factors. The average inter-item correlation coefficients varied between 0.25 and 0.34 for the factors. During the exploratory phase, two aspects, The lives of local residents are disrupted and Cultural traditions are fading, obtained a low-reliability coefficient of 0.4 and therefore these items could not be considered as a factor and were not used in further analyses. These items need to be reviewed in future research; it was clear that standardization for intangible items is challenging.

**Phase 3: Community comparisons**

In order to compare the differences in community perceptions towards the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was done, followed by Tukey’s post-hoc multiple comparisons analysis for indicating where the differences are located as well as indicating the effect sizes of the differences. Cohen (1988) as well as Ellis and Steyn (2003) offer the following guidelines for the interpretation of the effect sizes: small effect: $d = 0.2$; medium effect: $d = 0.5$; and large effect: $d = 0.8$.

**Results**

The results will be discussed in three sections: First, the profile of the respondents of the three communities is established; second, the results of the analyses of the tangible and intangible factors for the three communities are discussed; and third, a comparison of the communities’ social impact perceptions is drawn.

**Profile of local residents**

On average, residents of Jeffreys Bay and Clarens are significantly older (39 years and 37 years, respectively) than residents of Soweto (27 years), whereas on average, Soweto residents have been staying in their community longer (19 years) than those living in Jeffreys Bay (12 years) and Clarens (12 years). Half the residents of all three communities have obtained at least a matric certificate as their highest level of education. Respondents from Clarens indicated that tourism has a positive impact on their personal quality of life, while Jeffreys Bay and Soweto respondents felt that tourism has a slightly positive impact on their personal quality of life. When it comes to the impact of tourism on the quality of life of the communities, the residents from all three communities perceived tourism to have a positive impact on the communities (Table 3).

**Table 3: Profile of respondents per community**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Clarens</th>
<th>Jeffreys Bay</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Average of 37 years</td>
<td>Average of 38.92 years</td>
<td>Average of 26.62 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of stay in community</td>
<td>Average of 12 years</td>
<td>Average of 12 years</td>
<td>Average of 19 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No school</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma/degree</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of tourism on personal life</td>
<td>Average 5.87 (positive)</td>
<td>5.31 (slightly positive)</td>
<td>5.31 (slightly positive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tangible and intangible social impacts factor analyses

Factor scores were calculated as the average of all items contributing to a specific factor so that it can be interpreted on the original five-point Likert scale of measurement (1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree somewhat; 3 = Agree; 4 = Agree somewhat; 5 = Fully agree).

Pertaining to the tangible social impacts, Table 4 shows that **Cost of daily living** (Factor 4) obtained the highest mean value (\( \bar{x} = 3.73 \)) and was the clearest perceived tangible social impact. This was followed by **Environmental improvement** (\( \bar{x} = 3.18 \)), **Economic improvement** (\( \bar{x} = 2.89 \)) and **Environmental degradation** (\( \bar{x} = 2.79 \)). When looking at the intangible social impacts, **Community upliftment and pride** obtained the highest mean value (\( \bar{x} = 3.88 \)), followed by **Community protection and education** (\( \bar{x} = 3.09 \)). It is clear that **Community upliftment and pride**, which is an intangible social impact, obtained the highest mean value.

**Table 4: Tangible and intangible social impacts factor analyses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tangible social impacts</th>
<th>Mean value</th>
<th>Reliability coefficient</th>
<th>Inter-item correlation</th>
<th>Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1: Environmental improvement</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>There are too many visitors in the area. Local areas, services and infrastructure (such as roads) are maintained. The environment looks better. There are more tourist developments in the area. New infrastructure is developed. The natural environment is protected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2: Environmental degradation</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>My environment is noisier. Vandalism has increased. There has been a rise in crime. There is more pollution. There are more traffic problems. My environment looks dirty/ugly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3: Cost of daily living</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.482</td>
<td>The prices of properties and homes have increased. The total cost of living has increased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4: Economic improvement</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>More jobs are created in the area. There are more opportunities for local businesses. The community earns more money.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intangible social impacts</th>
<th>Mean value</th>
<th>Reliability coefficient</th>
<th>Inter-item correlation</th>
<th>Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1: Community protection and education</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>My everyday lifestyle has improved. There are opportunities for you to learn more about your community. I learn more about other cultures. The local cultures are protected. There are opportunities for residents to be part of tourism planning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2: Community disruptions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>The lives of the residents are disrupted. Cultural traditions are fading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3: Community upliftment and pride</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>My community has become well-known. I am proud to stay in my community. My community has a positive image. I developed respect and understanding for visitors. Businesses are only doing good at certain times of the year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Cronbach’s alphas for two other items obtained a reliability coefficient of 0.40 and an inter-item correlation of 0.25, which indicated that these aspects are not reliable and will thus be discussed separately. The mean value for The lives of local residents are disrupted was 2.41 and for Cultural traditions are fading 2.89.

**Communities’ social impact perceptions comparison**

Tukey’s post-hoc tests (Table 5) revealed that there were statistical significant differences (p < 0.005) between the selected communities, based on all the tangible and intangible factors. The following factors all differed at a significance level of p = 0.000: Environmental improvement (Tang1), Environmental degradation (Tang2), Economic improvement (Tang4), Community protection (Intang1) and Community upliftment and pride (Intang3). Cost of daily living (Tang3) differed at a significance level of p = 0.004. When considering the effect sizes, it is clear that Environmental improvement (d = 1.41) and Community protection and education (d = 0.87) had large effect size differences between Soweto and Jeffreys Bay (d = 0.87) as well as Jeffreys Bay and Clarens (d = 1.20), whereas Environment degradation had a large effect size between Soweto and Clarens (d = 0.89) as well as Jeffreys Bay and Clarens (d = 1.09). Furthermore, Community protection and education had a large effect size between Soweto and Jeffreys Bay (d = 0.87). The following are the medium effect sizes that were obtained (d = 0.5-0.8): Economic improvement had a medium effect size between Soweto and Jeffreys Bay (d = 0.69) as well as Jeffreys Bay and Clarens (d = 0.58), whereas Community protection and education had a medium effect size between Soweto and Clarens (d = 0.40) as well as Jeffreys Bay and Clarens (d = 0.41). Community upliftment and pride had a medium effect size between Soweto and Jeffreys Bay (d = 0.41) as well as Jeffreys Bay and Clarens (d = 0.45).

**Table 5: Tangible vs. intangible social impacts between communities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tangible &amp; intangible factors</th>
<th>Soweto residents (1) (n = 372)</th>
<th>Jeffreys Bay residents (2) (n = 402)</th>
<th>Clarens residents (3) (n = 248)</th>
<th>F-ratio</th>
<th>Sig. level</th>
<th>Effect sizes (d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Communities 1 and 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment improvement</td>
<td>3.64 b</td>
<td>2.56 a</td>
<td>3.50 c</td>
<td>221.660</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>1.41***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tang1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental degradation</td>
<td>2.93 b</td>
<td>3.01 b</td>
<td>2.14 a</td>
<td>95.814</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tang2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of daily living</td>
<td>3.76 ab</td>
<td>3.60 a</td>
<td>3.88 b</td>
<td>5.599</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tang3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic improvement</td>
<td>3.20 b</td>
<td>2.47 a</td>
<td>3.12 b</td>
<td>53.798</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>0.69**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tang4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community protection and</td>
<td>3.47 a</td>
<td>2.74 b</td>
<td>3.11 c</td>
<td>72.317</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>0.87***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education (Intang1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community upliftment and</td>
<td>4.00 b</td>
<td>3.68 a</td>
<td>4.03 b</td>
<td>23.851</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>0.41**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pride (Intang3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: * Statistically significant difference: p ≤ 0.05

- *a* Group differs significantly from type (in row) where b and c are indicated.
- **Effect sizes: medium effect, d = 0.5**
- ***Effect sizes: large effect, d > 0.8***
From the above results, it is clear that differences and similarities exist between communities; this fact holds management and development implications for the way in which tourism should be viewed by communities as well as how it should be developed.

**Findings and implications**

Based on the results of the research and the literature review, four significant findings and implications were identified. These findings will be categorized according to similarities and differences among communities.

**Socio-demographic similarities and differences**

From a socio-demographic point of view, it was found that communities differ in the percentage of residents who are actively involved in the tourism industry. Through this finding, researchers identified a positive relationship between respondents’ involvement in the tourism industry and their perceptions towards the influence of tourism on their personal quality of life as well as its influence on their communities’ quality of life. This finding implies that managers and marketing should do more to engage local residents in becoming part of the tourism industry. It could be done by promoting the benefits of employing local residents in tourism establishments or by helping local entrepreneurs to establish their own tourism businesses. One can furthermore teach local residents through workshops to generate income from this growing industry. A differentiated approach to this should be developed for the various communities, as their level of involvement in the industry influences their views.

When examining the three communities’ perceptions towards the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism, findings were made regarding the similarity and differences.

**Similarities amongst communities**

The first finding is that all three communities indicated that they perceived an increase in the tangible social impact, Cost of living, which was also found in studies by Godfrey and Clarke (2000), McClary (2008) and Simpson (1993). Keeping in mind that respondents do not necessarily receive tangible compensation from the tourism industry, the perceptions regarding an increase in the negative social impact such as an increase in everyday prices are alarming. One would therefore expect local residents to become less supportive of the industry, yet this is not the case. The finding furthermore indicates the strong influence that intangible social impacts play in fostering community support. This was the only view that all three communities shared, thereby showing that this tangible social impact might be common in South African communities.

**Comparison between Soweto and Jeffrey’s Bay**

When examining the differences in perceptions of residents of Soweto and Jeffrey’s Bay towards tourism, the second finding becomes clear. It was found that the communities’ perceptions varied in terms of *Environmental improvement* (tangible), *Economic improvement* (tangible), *Community protection and education* (intangible) and *Community upliftment and pride* (intangible). In all cases, Soweto residents experienced the social impacts significantly stronger than Jeffrey’s Bay residents. A possible explanation for this is that Soweto is still developing from a previously disadvantaged background into a prosperous tourism region; as a result, they perceive the value of tourism as higher. Jeffrey’s Bay residents might have become accustomed to tourism in their area and therefore do not experience tourism on the same level as Soweto residents. This implies that differentiated marketing and management approaches should be developed for each community.

A tourism regeneration plan for Jeffrey’s Bay should perhaps be developed with the aim of regaining local residents' excitement and interest in tourism. As part of the tourism regeneration project, local government should ensure the maintenance of this community by improving infrastructure and supporting local businesses. Workshops should be hosted where
academics and industry experts could educate local residents on the importance of tourism as well as the role that community members play in this industry. Further developments such as festivals, showcasing the unique attributes of the local communities, should be considered for the off-peak season. With Soweto in mind, more should be done in marketing and management to get local residents involved in the tourism industry through education and marketing in the communities. By being aware of the importance of their cultural heritage and culture, especially for tourists, they might also become more supportive of the industry as a result of community pride (intangible social impact). Soweto should consider hosting special events, showcasing the history and heritage of the areas. Local residents should be encouraged to open their homes to visitors, because domestic as well as international tourists want to experience the South African culture first-hand.

**Comparison between Clarens and Jeffrey’s Bay**

The third finding comprises the differences between Clarens and Jeffrey’s Bay residents. When examining these two communities with regard to differences in perceptions towards tangible and intangible social impacts, it becomes clear that the Clarens residents perceive more positive social impacts from tourism. In terms of Environmental improvement (tangible), Community protection and education (intangible), and Community upliftment and pride (intangible), Clarens perceived these positive impacts much stronger than Jeffrey’s Bay. Pertaining to the negative tangible social impacts, Jeffrey’s Bay residents perceived the environmental degradation (tangible) as a result of tourism much higher than Clarens residents. A reason why Jeffrey’s Bay perceives these social impacts to a lesser extent can be attributed to the fact that Jeffrey’s Bay is a community with a diversified economy; this means that the community has various different income-generating industries, making residents slightly less dependent on tourism compared to Clarens residents, who are dependent on tourism. Jeffrey’s Bay is a small coastal community that receives a great number of visitors during holiday seasons and as a result, residents experience the tangible social impact, Environmental degradation, to a more significant extent.

A different approach is needed in Jeffrey’s Bay; it must focus on educating local business owners on the benefits that tourism might attract to their communities such as more sales, or other job opportunities such as providing specific services that cater for tourists during peak seasons. The fact that this community has a diversified economy means that it currently softens the effects of seasonality; however, as previously mentioned, more should be done to grow tourism in this community. Residents have a significant role to play in creating a value-added experience for visitors and this should be explored.

In Clarens, the clear focus is currently on tourism; however, more can be done to involve local residents in order to provide a more diversified offering to tourists. This can be done through the promotion and sales of local arts, crafts, foods and drinks, as inspired by the town’s beautiful surroundings. The latter can be done through education and involvement of local residents. The tourism area should perhaps be expanded into the informal settlements, thereby creating a more authentic visitor experience as well as a more ‘hands-on’ experience for local residents. From this it is clear that the development level of the destination, the type of industries as well as the development level of the tourism industry influence the perceptions of local residents towards tourism, showing that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to tourism would be insufficient. This furthermore means that regular research should be done on communities to keep up to date with changes that might take place.

**Comparison between Clarens and Soweto**

Lastly, the manner in which local residents from Clarens and Soweto perceived the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism was quite similar. Both communities did not perceive Environmental degradation (tangible) as a result of tourism, whereas both communities did perceive Community protection and education (intangible) as a result of tourism. However, Soweto residents’ perception of both these impacts was a little stronger than Clarens.
residents’ perception. The fact that Soweto residents experience an Environmental improvement rather than an Environmental degradation (both tangible) can be ascribed to the fact that funds have been spent in Soweto to encourage tourism developments with the community’s rich history in mind. These developments and upgrades took place around areas that were neglected during the country’s turbulent Apartheid times. Clarens is very different from Soweto in that Clarens is a small picturesque town, whereas Soweto is a city. With a very beautiful natural environment, it is understandable that Clarens will be well looked after in order to protect the town and its surroundings.

Tourism managers and marketers should use Soweto’s improvements as an attraction for visitors to see how the residents used to live and how they are living presently. This will also promote local cultures by escalating the importance thereof in the minds of local residents and visitors. The importance of preserving places such as Clarens should be made clear to both visitors and residents by means of advertisements on billboards or signs in town that will direct people to dustbins or inform them on how they can conserve the town and its natural surroundings.

Limitations

This research also has a few limitations. Measuring community perceptions towards the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism was challenging, as South Africa is a multi-cultural country with people of diverse backgrounds, beliefs, languages and levels of education that influence their awareness levels regarding tourism.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to determine the value of tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism on selected communities with established tourism industries as well as to measure the similarities and differences among these communities. This research revealed clear differences between the ways in which different communities perceive the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism. It was found that the percentage of residents who take part actively in the tourism industry, the different industries per community as well as the level of development within these communities influenced the manner in which the residents perceived the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism.

Comparative studies of this kind between communities are scarce and the biggest contribution of this study is that it proves that communities, especially in a developing country such as South Africa, are not homogeneous. This implies that diversified tourism management and marketing strategies are needed for each type of community, taking the community’s specific attributes into consideration. Closer cooperation with community members is furthermore needed in order to better understand their needs and capabilities. Tourism managers can then capitalize on that.

The research makes a novel contribution to literature as well as research methodology pertaining to measuring and understanding the tangible and intangible social impacts of tourism in developing countries such as South Africa by creating a clear understanding of how these impacts influence the communities and how these impact perceptions vary among communities. The study does not claim to be a solution to poverty in communities with established tourism industries, but rather an improved way of measuring and counteracting negative impacts on the communities while maximizing all forms of positive impacts. It is clear that government cannot follow a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to tourism, but should allow for and assist in the development of unique destination development plans.
References


Statistics South Africa See StatsSA.


World Travel and Tourism Council See WTTC

