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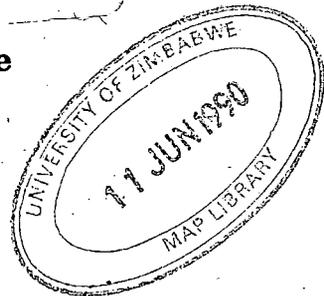


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Edited by: R.A. Heath
Department of Geography
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
MOUNT PLEASANT
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EDITORIAL

It is with pleasure that I resume the editorship of the Geographical Education Magazine. This edition combines 'something old and something new'. The 'something old' is the continuation of the policy that G.E.M. will endeavour to provide resource materials for secondary school teachers, wherever possible, as well as notes on teaching techniques and examples of successful lessons or field excursions. However, the value of the resource materials to you, the teachers, depends essentially on a feedback from yourselves. Any indication of areas where you find information and up-to-date statistics difficult to acquire or of topics which you would like to see covered, would enable the Geographical Association to provide a Journal more relevant to your needs. We look forward to hearing from you during the coming year.

The 'something new' is our new-look typeface. Being able to 'borrow' a desktop publisher has meant that this journal will now come to you with a more professional appearance than before. We hope that you find the type and layout more attractive and easier to read than has been the case in the previous issues.

R.A. Heath
Department of Geography
University of Zimbabwe

March 1989

THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN DEVELOPMENT

by

Robin Heath

Department of Geography, University of Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION

Increasing leisure, affluence, education and mobility in the developed world has led to a rapid increase in tourism since the end of World War II and especially since the 1960s. North America, Western Europe and, recently, Japan have been the major tourist generators. Similarly, Western Europe and, to a lesser extent, North America (especially the Caribbean) have been the major tourist destinations. This means that developed countries receive about 70% of world international tourism receipts (Murphy, 1986).

International tourism is big business. The World Tourism Organisation estimates that 300 million international travellers spent US\$100 billion in 1984 (Lonati, 1985) and this is likely to be a conservative estimate. It also estimates that tourism is the second largest item of world trade, surpassed only by oil. For example, in 1977 tourism was the top foreign currency earner in the United Kingdom, where 11,5 million visitors spent £2 750 million and provided employment for 1,5 million people (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Furthermore, domestic tourism is estimated to be more than four times the amount of international arrivals in the developed countries.

In recent years, Africa, Australia, Asia and the Middle East have been picking up some of the market at the expense of North America. However, generally, the developing countries are still in considerable deficit in the tourist industry, with tourists still moving largely from the developing countries to the developed countries. This is due to the often very uneven distribution of income in the developing countries, which enables the more affluent inhabitants of Africa, Asia, South America and Eastern Europe to take their holidays in developed countries.

Improvements in air transport were instrumental in the rapid increase in inter-continental air travel in the 1960s. The earth literally shrank for the tourist, bringing distant, exotic places closer together. Drakakis-Smith (1984) points out that, by the late 1960s, gross receipts from tourism were becoming almost as important as earnings from manufacturing in some less developed areas such as Spain and the Caribbean.

Most governments of developing countries encouraged tourism at first. It was viewed as being a renewable natural resource industry with visitors coming to admire, but not consume, resources such as the landscape, buildings and culture. It was a growth industry and was expected to bring economic benefits to the host country. As a labour intensive industry, it was both politically and economically appealing.

However, as tourism grew in size, it became apparent that it competed for scarce resources and capital, as well as eroding and altering natural resources. In addition, there were growing signs of negative social and environmental impacts. For these reasons, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the development of tourism as a panacea for the economic problems of the developing world began to be questioned by writers such as Varley (1978), de Kadt (1979), Britton (1979), Lea (1981) Wellings and Crush (1982) and Drakakis-Smith (1984).

When discussing the role of tourism in development, it is probably best to assess the industry in terms of its economic, social and environmental effects.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The economic effects are relatively easy to measure and can be assessed in terms of benefits and costs. Tourism has a major effect on the economies of destination areas, at local, regional and national levels, and may be seen as a major agent for change. The main aspects of the economic benefits and costs are summarised below.

BENEFITS:

- a. Tourism is an earner of foreign exchange. This is seen as the major benefit to poor, developing countries which are short of foreign currency. Tourism 'generates foreign exchange through the invisible export of goods and services' (Drakakis-Smith, 1984, p.23). There may be initial foreign capital expenditure on the infrastructure, followed by direct tourist expenditure. Because tourism is a growth industry, it will provide a steadily rising income compared with the fluctuating world markets for many primary products, upon which so many developing countries rely. Drakakis-Smith (1984) cites the case of Hong Kong, where tourism has contributed a steady 7% of GDP for a number of years and where tourism receipts in the early 1980s more than covered the visible trade gap.
- b. Tourism creates employment. It is a labour intensive industry creating many semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, which is seen as essential for a developing country. Often, tourist areas are located in remote but scenic parts of a country so that tourism has the added advantage of creating jobs for the rural unemployed or underemployed. In addition, Smith (1983) points out that the employment may be direct or indirect.
 - **Direct** employment will be created in road building and maintenance, in airports, hotels, 'fast food' outlets and in gift shops. In all these fields, people are required to plan, design and build them, as well as to operate and maintain them. There are also related service jobs created such as taxi and coach drivers, travel agents, tour operators, guides and interpreters.
 - **Indirect** or induced employment is reflected in increases in employment in economic sectors such as agriculture, food distribution, office services, financial and insurance institutions and manufacturing.
- c. Tourism increases incomes. 'New jobs are supported by new money, and this means new income for people obtaining the jobs' (Smith, 1983, p.170). Tourism is seen as adding wealth to the economy or, at least, transferring wealth between different groups and regions.
- d. Tourism has an economic multiplier effect. 'Each time a tourist makes an expenditure, a ripple of additional spending is sent through the economy' (Smith, 1983, p.171). The multiplier is the additional spending or job creation caused by a given level of tourist expenditure.
- e. Tourism may lead to improvements in local infrastructure. If the volume of tourism is large enough, roads, airports, telephones and medical services may all have to

be improved Not only does this benefit the local residents, but it may have a multiplier effect on regional development. In this way, tourism may be used in planning strategies to correct regional imbalances.

- f. Tourism may lead to an increase in land and property values, particularly where there is a demand for land for hotels. This will act as a stimulant to real estate investment.
- g. A developing country may benefit from built-in competitive advantages over other countries in the tourist industry. The possession of 'sand, sea and sun', wild animals, unspoilt scenic beauty, or particular physical features (like the Victoria Falls), may be the very things to attract large numbers of tourists.

COSTS:

Despite the benefits, the economic costs of tourism to the host country may be substantial. Smith (1983) summarises these costs as:

a. Development costs:

- The provision of tourist facilities costs in terms of land, labour and materials. Development capital is often obtained through loans, which means the repayment of capital and interest. If it is foreign investment, there is a leakage of capital back to the investor i.e. a foreign exchange leakage. If exchange rates become unfavourable, these costs may escalate.
- When investment lags behind demand, the governments of developing countries may offer incentives to multi-nationals to provide hotels. Free land, tax relief or lower import duties may be offered and these all represent a loss of revenue for the government and can lead to the dominance of foreign capital in the local tourist industry.

b. Operating costs:

- The costs of salaries, wages, utilities and maintenance tend to be high and to rise steadily.
- Expenditure on travel is usually the largest outlay for the tourist, but much of the benefit from this expenditure accrues to the developed nations through the operations of their airlines and travel agents.
- Sometimes, accommodation is also prepaid in the country of origin, in a package deal, and only a small proportion is remitted to the host country.
- The choice of destinations, too, is influenced by package deals and not by tourist areas or individual tourists.
- Expatriates, with superior expertise and skills, often dominate the tourist industry. This is especially so in the large hotels but occurs even in the provision of souvenirs, local tours and other services. This expatriate domination may result in a remittance of fees and salaries to the home country and therefore a further leakage of valuable foreign exchange. Meanwhile, locals are employed in the more menial jobs, such as waiters, drivers and cleaners and there is little transfer of skills.

- The tourist industry frequently has a high import ratio because of the tourist demands for imported food, drink and luxury goods.
- In many countries tourism is seasonal, leading to a seasonality of jobs. Therefore, even the employment levels are not always all that they are expected to be.

Overall, outflows of foreign exchange through imports, loan repayments, and remittances of profits and salaries for the tourist industry may be greater than the net earnings from tourism. Drakakis-Smith (1984) deals with leakages in some detail and points out that they indicate considerable foreign control of the tourist industry. He quotes Britton's (1979) figures for Fiji which showed that foreign ownership of local tourist enterprises relating to accommodation and travel in that country were 37,5% of all enterprises and 65,1% of all clients served. Furthermore, foreign owners received 65,6% of the receipts of all local tourist operations.

c. Opportunity costs:

Money spent on tourism development is 'no longer available for other uses. The value of these missed opportunities represents a hidden but real cost of any project' (Smith, 1983, p.173). Tourism development may drain valuable resources of finance, materials and manpower from the rest of the country to a tourist area. Tourism may also cause substantial rises in the local cost of living, resulting in inflation.

d. Risk and uncertainty may lead to actual financial loss:

Smith (1983, p.174) points out that tourism is a high risk industry for the following reasons:

- Changes in whim, fashion or taste in the tourist market may lead to the collapse of the tourist industry in a particular country.
- Fluctuations in disposable incomes in distant countries may seriously affect tourist numbers.
- Uncertainty concerning fuel supplies and costs, or higher interest and insurance rates, may affect the number of tourist flights to a particular destination.
- The uncertainty of local politics and threats of nationalisation of tourist amenities may discourage tourist arrivals.
- The vagaries of the weather, natural disasters such as earthquakes, or incidents involving wild animals may lead to diminishing tourist numbers.
- Finally, Smith (1983, p.174) states that 'tourism is a highly visible industry and, therefore, is a popular target for labour unrest, political demonstrations and even terrorism', any of which may destroy the tourist industry in the host country.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The social effects of tourism are equally important but more difficult to evaluate. Perceptions of social change are linked to personal values and are therefore highly subjective. It is difficult to decide whether these effects are 'good' or 'bad', and even more difficult to discuss the 'costs' and 'benefits' of social change.

The social effects of tourism are summarised by Smith (1983) as:

a. **The Demonstration Effect:**

Tourists bring their consumer lifestyle with them. This can be disruptive in a poor area, as it sets the example of a higher material standard of living than is traditional in the host area. There may be various results from this demonstration of material wealth:

- Local wealth is not saved or invested at the same rate as before, as people spend more acquiring material goods. This is even worse if the goods are imported, as it then affects the national balance of payments situation.
- The demonstration effect gives rise to what has been termed the **marginal man**. This is a resident of the host country who accepts the values and lifestyles of the tourists and attempts to emulate them. He is caught between two lifestyles or cultures and lives on the margins of both.
- Social problems may be created, such as the introduction of, or increase in, prostitution, drinking, gambling and drug abuse. These may be followed by an increase in murder, rape and other violent crimes.
- On the other hand, tourism may increase communication, reduce isolation and encourage an exchange of ideas and the development of friendships.

Smith (1983, p.175) points out that 'the demonstration effect is ironic'. The tourist is on holiday and living in a way which he would not normally live at home, but his lifestyle is accepted by the host country to be representative of that particular culture. In any meeting of cultures, the stronger culture will dominate and begin to change the weaker culture, so one gets a gradual weakening of the cultures of developing countries. For example, Varley (1978) found that the type of accommodation and consumer goods demanded by visitors to Fiji required the supply of modern, standardised, imported products. So, Fiji's tourist industry exposed the islanders not only to increasing numbers of foreigners, but also to their products and way of life.

b. **Relationships change amongst social groups in the host country as a result of tourism development, leading to increasing social stratification and social conflict:**

- In poorer countries, the addition of an active tourist industry will 'add new occupations and wealth, increasing the number and types of jobs and the range of wealth in each occupation group. This may change the basis of social class from occupation to income' (Smith, 1983, p.175) and may also lead to conspicuous consumption, reflecting competition through the acquisition of goods.

- Family structures may change. 'Family sizes might decrease, marriages can occur at different times of life from before, and mobility may increase as people seek new jobs in new locations' (Smith, 1983, p.175).
- Family conflicts may result from changing family structures. Generation conflicts may arise as young people adopt new, tourist induced, values and older people retain their traditional values. There may be neglect of the elderly, and female employment in the tourist industry may mean that home life and traditional male-female roles are altered.

As opposed to urbanisation and industrial development, where people leave the rural areas for urban centres and expect to find changes, tourism brings 'progress' and change to rural areas, whether invited or not. Traditional rural life becomes enmeshed in western values.

c. Smith (1983) points out that tensions relating to self-respect are created by tourism:

- 'Developers ... may fail to appreciate the significance of local traditions. Religious beliefs, traditional dress, secular celebrations and other mores might be reduced to tourist commodities' (p.176). Loss of self-respect frequently follows the commercialisation of culture.
- Many locals find themselves in subordinate and often demeaning jobs such as porters, waiters and cleaners.
- Locals may be excluded from the best recreational resources, either by cost or even by legislation.
- Foreigners, often unwittingly, may cause offence and may even trigger off violence by their dress, behaviour or lack of respect for local culture.

d. Alternatively, tourism may lead to a 'cultural re-awakening' which occurs when local residents develop or rediscover a sense of pride in themselves and their culture. Crafts, music, dance, literature, costumes, drama and ritual may all be increasingly emphasised. This type of reaction often leads to the restoration of important buildings and monuments or the preservation of particular landscapes.

e. The social changes created by tourists can result in xenophobia (the fear of, or hostility toward strangers).

- The crowding and congestion created by tourism may lead to annoyance and frustration amongst the locals. Exclusion of local people from what was formerly public space, as in the case of private beaches, may cause additional aggravation.
- There is an increasing feeling of loss of control over one's own destiny, compounded by changes in family structure, the growth of bureaucracy and the helplessness of many governments to control the growth of tourism, due to conditions imposed by foreign investors.
- Resentment grows between the 'haves' and 'have nots'. There is a feeling of dependency upon tourism, which in turn reinforces social inequalities as the

majority of people will not be participating in, or benefiting from, the industry. In Hawaii, for example, tourism is closely controlled by the major multinational companies and there is little 'spill over' for small scale or local entrepreneurs. People may even be dispossessed in the name of tourism, as occurred in East Africa when local populations were displaced during the creation of game reserves.

For all these reasons, the relationship between visitors and hosts often progresses from euphoria to apathy, then to annoyance and finally antagonism. Furthermore, the majority of the negative social impacts tend to affect people in developing countries, where the cultural differences between visitors and hosts are greatest.

ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The environmental effects of tourism are often considered of less significance than the economic and social effects, but these too may be extremely important. Natural environments are of major significance to tourism. Visitors are attracted to beautiful or unusual places and natural resources are often the reason for the initial development of tourism e.g. the attraction of unspoiled tropical beauty in the Caribbean (Hudson, 1986). Landscape ought to be a renewable resource, but this remains true only if the resource is used wisely, in a way which observes sound conservation principles.

Generally, tourism tends to protect natural environments when compared with mining or industry. The creation of national parks and the preservation of historical buildings are examples of this protection. However, tourism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction because the successful development of a resource or amenity can lead to the destruction of those very qualities which attracted visitors in the first place.

Tourism may detrimentally affect natural resources in a variety of ways:

a. Soils:

- Soil compaction may be caused by feet or vehicles. This may result in increased run-off and changes in vegetation.
- The composition of the soil may be altered by pollution and littering, causing leaching, the physical incorporation of new material and an increase in organic matter and nutrients.
- Increased run-off may lead to increased erosion and an increased silt load in the rivers.

b. Flora:

- Tourism may affect plant diversity, the total biomass and the health of plants through factors such as trampling and soil compaction. This may lead to an eventual loss of species, especially in fragile locations such as mountains and semi-desert areas.
- The picking of wild flowers and the transporting of plants by collectors may lead to a loss of species. Alternatively, the importation of exotic plants may displace the indigenous species.

c. **Fauna:**

- Most wildlife is adversely affected by humans and will, where possible, move to avoid human beings.
- * Loss of groundcover, changes in water quality and increased noise will disrupt mating and feeding habits. Some animals will begin to rely upon food supplements acquired from humans by raiding campsites. This is already evident amongst the honey-badger, hyena and elephant populations at Mana Pools National Park in Zimbabwe and amongst the black and grizzly bear populations of several national parks in North America.
- Overharvesting of wildlife for tourist purposes may occur as is the case with shellfish along the Transkei coast in South Africa.
- New species introduced may displace indigenous ones.

d. **Water:**

- The use of water increases as tourist numbers increase, and this may cause local water shortages.
- Increases in sewage may increase nutrient levels, killing fish populations.
- Water pollution may occur, as toxic chemicals are added from, for example, oil spills. Alternatively, water temperatures may change due to the addition of hot water from power stations and air-conditioning plants.

e. Noise levels may rise due to the introduction or increased use of vehicles, construction equipment, airports and aeroplanes, amusement parks, nightclubs and restaurants.

f. Finally, the landscape itself may be altered by the construction of hotels, condominiums and apartments. Inappropriate and unsympathetic development is often associated with tourism.

CONCLUSION

The question arises as to whether tourism brings sufficient benefits to developing countries to justify the investment required. There is a growing belief that tourism development brings larger adverse economic, social and cultural effects to developing countries than does the development of other sectors. Julius Nyerere's statement that 'tourism is a necessary evil but tourists must be isolated from the population' (cited in Bryden, 1973) sums up contemporary thinking in some developing countries.

There is no 'single right answer about the desirable level of tourism development or the capacity of a destination region to host tourists. Answers concerning limits and capacities are best obtained by a series of evaluations and policy reviews, while tourism development is allowed to proceed slowly and incrementally' (Smith, 1983, p.182).

Any development process implies continuous dynamic trade-offs within and between resource, economic and social systems. Development projects relying on tourism stand little chance of affecting the bulk of the population unless the local people

derive tangible benefits and are actually involved in the planning and control of the industry.

Drakakis-Smith (1984) points out that the over-riding concern must be to plan for increased local participation in all aspects of the tourism industry, so that the economic potential of the industry will be realised on behalf of Third World communities themselves.

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